Local Committees
SC

May 9, 1945

Mr. James M. Hinton, Secretary
Richland County Committee on Race Relations
P.O. Box 1145, Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Hinton:

Thank you for your letter of May 2. We are pleased to learn that the Richland County Committee on Race Relations has voted to become affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. I am enclosing copies of a form of affiliation agreement which we are using with local committees. If this meets the approval of your committee as it stands please sign the documents, keeping two copies for your files, and returning two to us. If there is any point which is not agreeable please advise us so that the agreement can be amended.

With very best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j
encl.

Negro Citizens' Committee of South Carolina

E. A. ADAMS, Chairman
2113 Lady Street, Columbia

S. J. McDONALD, Vice-Chairman
West Oakland Avenue, Sumter

J. M. BEATTY, Asst. Secretary
Box 434, Winnsboro

MRS. ANDREW W. SIMKINS, Reporter
2025 Marion Street, Columbia

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVES:

FIRST DISTRICT—

JOHN H. GREEN
30 Johnston St., Charleston

Allendale
Beaufort
Berkeley
Charleston
Clarendon
Colleton
Dorchester
Hampton
Jasper

SECOND DISTRICT—

R. W. MANCE, M. D.
2120 Hampton Street, Columbia

Aiken
Bamberg
Barnwell
Calhoun
Lexington
Orangeburg
Richland
Sumter

THIRD DISTRICT—

E. E. GAULDEN
1505 Vincent Street, Newberry

Abbeville
Anderson
Edgefield
Greenwood
McCormick
Newberry
Oconee
Pickens
Saluda

FOURTH DISTRICT—

L. W. LONG, M. D.
Box 12, Union

Greenville
Laurens
Spartanburg
Union

FIFTH DISTRICT—

S. A. MOORE
Winnsboro

Cherokee
Chester
Chesterfield
Fairfield
Kershaw
Lancaster
York

SIXTH DISTRICT—

G. GOINGS DANIELS
1215 Church St., Georgetown

Darlington
Dillon
Florence
Georgetown
Horry
Lee
Marion
Marlboro
Williamsburg

J. M. HINTON, Secretary
P. O. Box 731, Columbia

Rev. J. P. REEDER, Drive Director
805 Washington St., Columbia

H. H. BUTLER, Sr., Treasurer
1900 Sixth Avenue, Hartsville

May
2nd
1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The Richland County Committee on Race Relations, (Columbia, South Carolina), voted in its January meeting to become affiliated with The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

As secretary of The Richland County Committee on Race Relations, I am requesting information as to the necessary requirements for same.

Thanking you for said information at your earliest convenience. We meet again, May 22nd,1945, at (5:15) P.M.

Very truly yours,
J. M. Hinton
James M. Hinton, Secretary,
Richland County on Race Relations
P.O. Box 1145, Columbia, South Carolina.

AGREEMENT OF AFFILIATION BETWEEN THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL AND THE RICHLAND COUNTY COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS

This document, when signed by the authorized representatives of the Richland County (South Carolina) Committee on Race Relations and of the Southern Regional Council, shall constitute an agreement of affiliation. The Richland County Committee shall become an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council with the following understandings:

I. The Richland County Committee agrees:

A. To require all of its elected officers to become members of the Southern Regional Council.

B. To encourage all of its other members to become members of the Southern Regional Council.

C. To promote the program of the Southern Regional Council in Richland County to the best of its ability.

D. To pay an annual affiliate fee of $5 to the Southern Regional Council.

II. The Southern Regional Council agrees:

A. To accept all members of the Richland County Committee who wish to become members of the Council.

B. To encourage all of its members living in Richland County to affiliate with the Richland County Committee.

C. To assist the Richland County Committee in planning and implementing a program of action by providing, insofar as its resources will allow, consultants, speakers, informational material, and special literature.

D. To send to the secretary of the Richland County Committee 5 copies of The Southern Frontier each month.

III. It is understood that the executive officers of both organizations will work out to their mutual satisfaction such other details as are necessary for close cooperation.

For the Southern Regional Council	For the Richland County Committee
Guy B. Johnson	W. M. Perry
Executive Director	Chairman
Emily P. Clay	J. M. Hunter
Secretary	Secretary
Date May 14, 1945	Date MAY 30 1945

Fred Cm S.C

P.O.Box 1145, Columbia, S.C.

ck. 45.00
5/31/45

May
30th
1945

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432) 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, (3), Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

I am enclosing copies of the agreement of affiliation also a check for $5.00 affiliate fee.

In our meeting May 22nd, our affiliation agreement was read to those in attendance, and it was heartening to see the eagerness for same.

We will meet June 26th, and close for the months of July and August.

We will appreciate all information necessary for our group to become better acquainted with the aims and purposes of Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Very truly yours,
J. M. Hinton
James M. Hinton, Sect'y,

The Richland County Committee.
P.O.Box 1145, Columbia, S.C.

What lit. have we sent them? Should send a bundle of Thurtin each month

Richland County Committee on Race Relations

Sent, on July 9, 1945:

10 May Frontiers
5 copies of each SRC publication through No. 4, including After the War.

✓ ITM

Knoxville Interracial Commission

605 WEST CLINCH STREET
KNOXVILLE, TENN.
TELEPHONE 2-2103

OFFICE OF

June 29, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
706 Standard Building
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Certainly we ought to take some time out to express our sincerest appreciation to you for the contribution you made to us on your visit. I feel that the new approach will help this community greatly. We have done some things, but because of fear, we have left undone many other things. Perhaps a new idea will attract the persons we need. Again I wish to say thanks a lot for coming to us. We shall "stump" for membership, and already have a couple of dollars for subscription to "Southern Frontier".

Sincerely yours,

David N. Howell
E.H.

David N. Howell
Secretary

DNH:eh

Cansler Branch Y. M. C. A.
208 E. Vine Ave.
Knoxville 15, Tennessee

June 12, 1944

Mr. David N. Howell, Secretary
Knoxville Interracial Commission
208 E. Vine Avenue
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Howell:

Your letter of June 10 has just come in. It sounds as if we are going to have a full day. If by any chance some of these engagements don't materialize, it will be perfectly all right with me! Seriously, I shall be glad to do all of these things that I can, as long as I do not wear myself down with longwinded speeches.

I am very glad that you have reserved a room for me at the Y.M.C.A. It is good to have a place where one can freshen up a bit.

Looking forward to seeing you Thursday, with all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Knoxville Interracial Commission

605 WEST CLINCH STREET
KNOXVILLE, TENN.
TELEPHONE 2-2103

OFFICE OF

June 10, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thanks a great deal for your information and the pictures. I shall try to use both to the best advantage. We have not been able to perfect arrangements with the Kiwanis club, but shall be glad to have you speak to a group of Negro business and professional men here at 12:30 on Thursday. In the morning we shall have conference with the present chairman of our Commission and perhaps visitation on summerschool classes at Knoxville College and the University of Tennessee. For the afternoon we plan a small conference meeting with city officicals and officers of the Commission. We are also trying to work in a period for you to meet with top officials of the TVA. At night plans are being made for a meeting of all members of the Commission and friends.

I am not sure what your attitude is toward rooms, but we have reserved a room for you at the YMCA, 605 W. Clinch. If this is not satisfactory to you we shall try to make other arrangements, although hotel space in this town is at a premium. Shall inform you of any other developments.

Sincerely yours,

David Howell

David N. Howell
Secretary
208 E. Vine Avenue

June 7, 1944

Mr. David M. Howell
Secretary
Knoxville Interracial Commission
605 West Clinch Street
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Howell:

I shall be glad to be with you for the entire day of June 15.

I enclose two pictures and some information about the Council and myself.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Knoxville Interracial Commission

605 WEST CLINCH STREET
KNOXVILLE, TENN.
TELEPHONE 2-2103

OFFICE OF

June 5, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We appreciate your consent to serve us on June 15. If you can possibly arrange to spend the entire day June 15 with us, it would be most profitable, we feel. Arrangements are being made for your appearance before some classes at the University, and at the Kiwanis Club (if we can get a change in previous program) as well as our own group on Thursday evening.

Please send us two mats or pictures of yourself and any publicity material on yourself and Council immediately.

Sincerely yours,

David N. Howell
Secretary

DNH:eh

South Street
Community Center

MRS. GALLOWAY AND CHILDREN SERVING MILK

1105 SOUTH STREET
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

ORGANIZED JUNE 1942

A Community Chest agency operating under an inter-racial inter-denominational board through a trained staff, in cooperation with local churches, schools, health, welfare and recreation agencies to serve the citizens of South Nashville.

A DREAM COME TRUE

In June 1942 the citizens of South Nashville realized a long-cherished dream, a community center for their neighborhood, a center that might provide care for the little children of working mothers, improved health for old and young, and recreation for their boys and girls that would not only give joy but develop skills and characters, a center that could serve as a meeting place for adults where they could exchange thoughts, enjoy meeting each other, and plan and work together for the community good. Such a center was at last a reality.

HOW IT BEGAN

Citizens had dreamed this dream for years and from time to time one group or another had tried to get it going as a reality. But it was uphill work. At last people all over the city from many churches and both races became interested and in February 1942 about thirty of them met at the Y.M.C.A. to consider what could be done. They listened to a presentation of the need. When they had heard this and had asked many questions they were all of one mind. The need was real and should be met. So they determined to meet it. They had behind them no big organized body, no big donors ready to reach into their pockets and finance it, no paid staff to get to work on it; they had only the recognition of the need and the will to meet it. In a spirit of Christian fellowship and faith they pledged themselves to become a sponsoring committee to go to work and not stop until the center was an established fact. By June, just four months later, they had secured a place to meet, a qualified social worker, promise of a W.P.A. nursery school, and enough money to venture on faith to open the center.

WHO HELPED

This was a real community venture from the start. Hundreds of small contributions came in from both white and colored people, church groups, civic clubs and other organizations all over the city. The Council of Community Agencies and the Fisk Social Science Department helped with surveys and expert counsel. The Mayor and Board of Public Works leased the Board the abandoned Lawrence School buildings and grounds on South Street just East of Twelfth Avenue for a nominal sum. The W.P.A. supplied nursery school teachers and foodstuffs. Meharry Medical College supplied doctors to examine children in the nursery school each week. Board members and friends from the community gave freely of their time and sometimes of their possessions also, and neighborhood children helped clear up the accumulated rubbish that littered the grounds and buildings. The local public school sent milk to the nursery school and its principal served on the Board. Members of the local churches served on the Board and one church cooperated in launching the first Boy Scout troop. And so it went. Thanks to all these people and many more, the Center managed to get going and to run on individual contributions for six months. At the end

of that time it was rejoiced to be adopted as a Community Chest agency operating on a Chest budget.

WHAT WE DO

We have over 150 boys and girls in organized groups:

Troop 210 Girls Scouts.

Troop 66 Boy Scouts.

Cub Pack 3, boys below regular Scouting age.

Girl Reserves, girls 10-18, related to national Y. W. C. A. program.

Athletic Club for Boys, all organized sports we can have with our limited facilities. Takes part in city-wide tournaments.

Friendship Club for girls 12-18, a natural play group of friends with many common interests including home-making, beauty culture, and soft-ball.

Pop-Eye Club for the proverbial "forgotten children" 6-10.

Music, over 60 pupils who attend the Center at scheduled hours for individual and group instruction on piano, wind, and string instruments.

Fun Friday, a "free for all" supervised program of soft-ball and other games, impromptu dramatics, and group singing, once a week for all in the neighborhood who care to come.

A six-weeks summer Play School for 30 boys and girls.

We cooperate with other organizations in conducting at the Center:

A Nursery School for 30 children, 3 workers, with the Board of Education and Federal Works Administration.

Craft and club activities with part-time worker supplied by Nashville Boys Club.

A Venereal Disease Clinic with City, State, and Federal Health Authorities

Other clinic and health services projected.

A lending library and reading room, with the Carnegie Library.

Volunteer adult groups of troop sponsors and nursery-school parents.

Neighborhood and city-wide church and civic group meetings using the Center as a meeting place.

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

1. Visit us. Individual or group visits are welcome; but please telephone first on any week day to choose a good time.
2. Help sponsor some group activity.
3. Have your group put on a program at the Center for our groups.
4. Introduce us to your friends and them to us.
5. Make use of our facilities for your children, yourselves, or your organizations.
6. Volunteer to help us in the office, on the playground, or in group activities.

WHO ARE WE?

South Street Community Center Board and Staff

Officers 1944

President.....Rev. Julius C. Johnson
Vice President.....Mrs. S. S. Morris
Treasurer.....Mr. Charles H. Yarbrough
Secretary.....Miss Margaret C. McCulloch
Assistant Secretary.....Mrs. E. J. Turner
Headworker.....Mrs. Alfred C. Galloway

Local

November 21, 1944

The Rev. W. Fred Gates Jr.
St. Peter's Episcopal Church
Columbia, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Gates:

I was pleased to have your inquiry of November 10 and I regret that the pressure of our work is such that I could not reply immediately.

We are indeed interested in advising and assisting interracial committees as much as possible. We are preparing a new manual for use for such committees but it will not be ready for some time. However, I am enclosing copies of two letters and I am sending under separate cover some pamphlets which I believe will be of some help to you.

We are trying to compile a complete list of local interracial committees in the South. Will you be so kind as to send us the names of the officers of your committee as soon as the organization is completed. We want to keep in touch with you and to help your committee in every way we can.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

Enclosure

Letters to J. R. Young, Sept 27, 44; W. D. Lemos Oct. 4, 44
Separate cover
How Shall We Organize
What About It
SRC 1 & 2
Frontiers
Application cards
Understanding Our Neighbors, Study Guide
Repairers of the Breach

ST. PETER'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH
COLUMBIA, TENNESSEE

W. FRED GATES, JR.
RECTOR

November 10, 1944

The Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am interested in the formation of an Interracial Commission here in Columbia, and to that end have discussed the matter with members of my Church and other individuals. I am not very familiar with the steps followed in other communities in organizing these commissions, nor with the exact problems which they concern themselves with.

If it comes within the scope of your Council to give advice and information in such matters, I would very much appreciate hearing from you. If you have published any material along these particular lines, I will be happy to pay for whatever you can send.

Thanking you for any help which you can give, I am,

Sincerely yours,

W. Fred Gates Jr.

Tenn
Chat. Inter. Committee

November 29, 1944

Mr. A. M. Pennybacker
Y. M. C. A.
812 Georgia Avenue
Chattanooga 10, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Pennybacker:

I want to thank you for your hospitality during my recent visit to Chattanooga. I am glad to have had the opportunity of speaking to the Chattanooga Interracial Committee and of getting acquainted with you and the others there.

I want to keep in touch with the Chattanooga committee. As soon as we have more help on our staff we can visit local committees more frequently and can serve them in a more effective way than we can at present.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

Tenn.

Local Committees

November 17, 1944

Mr. S. Bartow Strang;
Hamilton Bank Building
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Strang:

Mr. Pennybacker has written me about the possibility of my speaking to the Chattanooga Interracial Committee on November 24. I am happy to have the invitation, and I am planning to be with you on that date.

I have to be in Washington on November 23 and will make a very close train connection following the conference there, but I hope to arrive in Chattanooga about 10:00 A.M. on the 24. I shall get in touch with you as soon as I arrive.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j
Special Delivery

CC to Mr. A. M. Pennybacker

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

CENTRAL: 812 Georgia Avenue
INDUSTRIAL: 1517 Mitchell Street
COLORED: 793 East Ninth Street

R. E. BIGGERS, PRESIDENT

PATTEN YOUTH CENTER: 200 E. 8th St.
CAMP OCOEE: Ocoee, Tenn.
BOY'S CLUB; 800 Georgia Avenue

A. M. PENNYBACKER, GEN. SEC.

Chattanooga, Tennessee
November 14, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We have had an Interracial Committee in Chattanooga for many years and it is still in existence though not very active at present. The Chairman, Mr. S. Bartow Strang, has asked me to write you and see if there would be a possibility of your visiting us on November 24th to speak to our Committee and advise them what procedures to follow under the new set-up. Mr. Strang would like, also, to have you for a dinner meeting with a small group of community leaders on that evening.

Please reply to him and address him Hamilton Bank Building.

Very sincerely yours,

A M Pennybacker

General Secretary

AMP:B

Loc. Committees

Tennessee

Basis of Procedure for the Chattanooga Inter-racial Committee:

Purpose: The purpose of the Chattanooga Inter-racial Committee shall be to create inter-racial understanding and good will and to aid in the solution of inter-racial problems.

1. The membership of the Committee shall be limited to not more than fifteen white and fifteen colored members. The terms of members to be for three years with one-third being elected annually, the length of the terms of the first group to be determined by drawing the names from a hat.

2. The officers of the Committee are to be a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected annually in September, following the election of Committee members.

3. There shall be a General Executive Committee to function for the whole Committee between meetings. It shall be composed of the officers and of four additional white members and four additional colored members, elected by the whole committee. This general Executive Committee shall be composed of two Group Executive Committees of which the General Chairman shall be Chairman of the white group committee and the Vice-Chairman shall be Chairman of the colored group committee. These Group Executive Committees may handle separately such matters as are referred to them, and may initiate for consideration any matters that they deem desirable. Meetings of the Executive Committees will be held upon call of their Chairmen.

4. The General Committee shall meet quarterly and at such special times as desired by the Chairman. The Chairman shall call within five days a special meeting upon petition in writing of five members.

5. The method of electing members of the Committee shall be as follows: Any member of the Committee may make nominations in writing on the regular proposal card. Such nominations shall then be submitted to the General Executive Committee and when approved shall be submitted to the full membership of the Committee for election or rejection.

6. It shall be the policy of the Chattanooga Inter-racial Committee to require matters to be presented to it to be first considered by the General Executive Committee or one of the Group Executive Committees. The Committee giving this consideration shall then submit such matters with its recommendations about them to the General Committee for decision. Matters presented on the floor without advance consideration shall be referred to one of the Executive Committees for decision or for report back to the General Committee with recommendations unless unanimous consent is secured for immediate decision.

Local Committees

Gen.

December 20, 1944

Mr. S. Bartow Strang
Hamilton National Bank Building
Chattanooga 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Strang:

Thank you very much for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of your talk to the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Chattanooga. I think that it is an excellent presentation, and I am sure that it opened the way for serious thinking about the problem of interracial understanding.

We are printing the resolutions adopted at the Council meeting on December 6, and the report of the Executive Directors which was presented to the meeting. You will receive these as soon as they are off the press.

With highest personal regards and best wishes for the Christmas season,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

S. BARTOW STRANG JOHN S. FLETCHER JOHN S. CARRIGER

STRANG, FLETCHER & CARRIGER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
HAMILTON NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
CHATTANOOGA 2, TENNESSEE

J. F. WHELESS
J. STORRS FLETCHER
L. D. L'HEUREUX

December 12, 1944

Mr.Guy B. Johnson,Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

On yesterday I was asked to talk to the Junior Chamber of Commerce and enclose herewith memorandum of my remarks on "Inter-racial Relationships". In it you will note that I used the seven point program recommended by the Southern Regional Council at its meeting in Atlanta on December 6. I have had requests for this program from a number of men here and have had copies made and sent to them.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes for the Yuletide season, I am

Yours very sincerely,

S. Bartow Strang

SBS:ma
Encl.

DEC 11 1944

INTER-RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

As head of the Chattanooga Inter-racial Committee, I want to discuss with you some things of vital concern that lie ahead of us, particularly here in our beloved Southland.

Our organization, headed first by the late T. C. Thompson, former Mayor of Chattanooga and a native of the deep South -- Charleston, South, Carolina, has as its purpose the creation of an inter-racial understanding and good will, and to aid in the solution of inter-racial problems.

In the South there are 25,000,000 people, one third of whom are Negroes. They are, therefore, a very integral part of our population and of our economic planning and growth.

The Negro has made tremendous advances in 80 years from Slavery. It rivals the progress of any people anywhere. That very rapid growth has caused growing pains and resulted in impatience among the Negroes and their leaders.

It is natural that as we emerge from this World War, and extend the helpful hand, as we will have to do to little peoples everywhere, our treatment of the minority group in our midst is going to be critcally examined.

In a conference on Race Relations held by Southern Negroes in Durham, North Carolina, October 20, 1942, this statement was made:

> "The War has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and descrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic

freedom as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious, etc."

Why are these issues acute? When this global war started we had to turn overnight from a nation engaged in peaceful pursuits and industry to the manufacture of ships and guns and airplanes and bombs. Our whole manpower was engaged. The Selective Service drew no distinction in color in putting men into the Armed Forces. Different, however, was the employment of factory workers. In one of the earlier War Bond Sales I remember and you remember that negroes — patriotic negroes here in our own city, complained that they couldn't get jobs; they felt that they weren't wanted. That they were not wholeheartedly assimilated into the National effort to beat Germany, Italy and Japan.

Yes, the Army took them even though industry didn't!

The first man of the Armored Forces to fall in this war was a Negro, Robert Brooks, killed outside Manila. The parade ground at Fort Knox, Kentucky, has been named Brooks Field in his honor.

The proportion of Negro soldiers in the Army parallels the proportion of the Negro race to the total population. (I believe there are 350,000 of them.)

There are two Negro Divisions in theUnited States Army, the 92nd and the 93rd.

There are two Negro fighter Squadrons in the U.S. Army Air Forces. Medical examiners have found that many Negroes are particularly well suited to air combat because of superior eyesight.

The highest ranking Negro officer is Brig. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis. His son is Lt. Col. Benjamin Oliver Davis, Jr., commander of an aviation fighter squadron.

In World War I the A. E. F. had 19,400 Negro enlisted men and 840 officers.

The 369th Regiment (negroes from Harlem was under fire for 191 days in that war and was the first regiment to reach the Rhine.

Not long ago the New Yorker published a story of a group of Negro soldiers in charge of a Negro Sergeant en route to a Western Post. They had to change trains at a small junction. They arrived at this junction early in the morning after travelling all night. Their train out would leave at 1:00 o'clock in the afternoon. These men were hungry. The sergeant asked the station master where they could get breakfast or something to eat. He said, "About two miles away". These negroes noticed a restaurant in the station. They also noticed that there were only one or two customers in the Restaurant. One of the men called the attention of the others to a group of some 12 or 14 soldiers under guard down the platform. These were German soldiers being taken to a concentration camp. Finally it was observed that these prisoners were all escorted into the Restaurant and served food at the tables. The negroes again went to the Station master and said, "We is hongry. We want something to eat." They were told to go around to the kitchen and some sandwiches and coffee would be sold to them. The big Negro sergeant, puzzled and exasperated, wrinkled his brow and wanted to know what he and his men were fighting for!

The German prisoners were well provided for but these soldiers of ours were not.

We have had some evidences of the tension between the races here. Our Police Department has handled wisely these and many cases of which there has been no publicity.

The most likely places for these clashes to occur is on buses, or street cars or public conveyances where segregation under crowded conditions brings the worst elements of both white and colored races together.

The Chattanooga Inter-racial Committee appeals to all of our people to manifest fairness and consideration toward each other in these critical times.

Subversive influences from abroad have been at work, stirring up dissent and discontent. The War is not yet over. These alien activities will continue and their success is bound to bring aid and comfort to the enemy.

This is the time for extra vigilance on the part of all of us to preserve good will between races and between employers and employees; between citizens of every kind and condition.

The 13th and 14th amendments to the Constitution of the United States were added for the Negroes.

The 13th amendment provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for a crime after conviction, shall exist within the United States or within its jurisdiction; and the 14th amendment provided for citizenship of all natural born or naturalized persons, and that the states among other things should not by law abridge the privilege or immunities of citizens, nor deprive any person of "life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person the equal protection of the laws".

The hopeful outlook is that over the South today, leaders of both White and Negro races are planning to meet the new conditions.

The World wide revolution that is in process is here. We shall not see a return to prewar economic or living conditions.

The Southern Regional Council formed not long ago in Atlanta has vision plus action. The Julius Rosenwald Foundation has given this Council $25,000.00.

Its program embraces 14 Southern states and only last year it put forth its recommendations which I subscribe to and which are:

1. Employment of all persons on the basis of ability, with due regard for seniority rights.

2. Abolition of the white primary where it exists.

3. Extension of the growing practice of employing Negro policemen and firemen in southerncities and equal treatment of members of both races by the police and the courts.

4. Equalization of educational opportunity and facilities and pay for teachers.

5. Extension of publicly financed low-cost housing.

6. Increased publisly financed medical and dental care available to both races on an equal basis.

7. That equal accomodations for Negroes as provided under the law be actually provided on all public transportation facilities and that discriminatory practices now common in travel be abolished.

Loc Cm
Tenn - Mem

January 12, 1945

Mr. Earle L. Whittington
Young Men's Christian Association
245 Madison Avenue
Memphis 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Whittington:

I am sorry you have been having so much trouble with me. I had so many things on my mind that after writing you on November 20 I must have put the letter out of my mind in the expectation of hearing from you again. I got the impression from Lloyd Killam that you wrote me about December 10, but if you did the letter never reached me.

I am looking forward to being with you on January 17. I believe my train reaches Memphis early on the 17th. I shall get in touch with you as soon as I arrive.

Very cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

T. WALKER LEWIS - PRESIDENT
E. W. SPRAGUE - SECRETARY
CHAS. G. CARTER - TREASURER

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

245 MADISON AVENUE • MEMPHIS 3, TENNESSEE

January 9, 1945

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HENRY JONES
COMMUNITY SECRETARY

Dr.Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Your letter of November 20 confirmed a tentative meeting in Memphis which you would attend during the week of December 10. I have been somewhat embarrassed as I had announced the meeting to several groups. I am sure you have been terribly busy. I would like to know when you can definitely come to Memphis so we can get this work underway.

Looking forward to an early visit, I am

Sincerely,
Earle L. Whittington
Earle L. Whittington

ELW:fl

(Telegram from R. L. Whittington, received January 10, 1945)

"Planning luncheon for you January 17."

R. L. Whittington

SERVING WITH YOUTH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD
1844 Y·M·C·A 1944

THE MEMPHIS Y. M. C. A. IS AFFILIATED WITH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF Y. M. C. A.s OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD'S ALLIANCE OF Y. M. C. A.s.

Loc. Committees

November 20, 1944

Mr. Earle L. Whittington
Young Men's Christian Association
245 Madison Avenue
Memphis 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Whittington:

I was glad to have your telephone call yesterday. We mailed you some material right away, and I hope that you will find it useful. As you surmised, your letter had got misplaced and overlooked during the terrific jam we have been in in the past few weeks. I am awfully sorry for the delay.

I am looking forward to coming to Memphis as soon as possible after our annual meeting on December 6. As I told you on the phone, there is a possibility that I can come during the week of December 10. I shall get in touch with you again as soon as I am able to give you a more definite idea as to my schedule. In the meantime, let me know if there is anything further I can do to help in the organization of your Committee.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

T. WALKER LEWIS - PRESIDENT
E. W. SPRAGUE - SECRETARY
CHAS. G. CARTER - TREASURER

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

245 MADISON AVENUE • MEMPHIS 3, TENNESSEE

October 27, 1944

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HARRY E. NORTHRUP, MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY
HENRY JONES, COMMUNITY SECRETARY

Dr. Guy Johnston
Interracial Council
Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnston:

The Memphis Council of Churches has asked me to be Chairman of an Interracial Committee and I am writing to ask you to send me all of the material necessary to begin this work. This will be greatly appreciated.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,
Earle L. Whittington
Earle L. Whittington

ELW:fl

SERVING WITH YOUTH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD
1844 Y·M·C·A 1944

THE MEMPHIS Y. M. C. A. IS AFFILIATED WITH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF Y. M. C. A.s OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD'S ALLIANCE OF Y. M. C. A.s.

Jem-Loc
Knoxville

January 26, 1945

Miss Virginia F. Hoffman, Secretary
Knoxville Interracial Commission
303 Forest Hills Boulevard
Knoxville 16, Tennessee

Dear Miss Hoffman:

As Dr. Johnson was unable to reply to your letter of December 31 before leaving the city for a week's absence, he asked me to write you. We regret very much the delay in sending you suggestions for the program of your local committee.

Since the Southern Regional Council is not yet a year old, we are unable to advise you as to the best techniques and methods of approach on the basis of our own experience. In the enclosed pamphlets of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, however, you will find information relative to the activities of some of the state and local committees. The Commission, as you perhaps know, merged with the Council early last year.

You may have seen our pamphlet THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ITS ORIGIN AND PURPOSE. In case you have not, however, I am enclosing a copy, as this gives a brief statement concerning the program and methods of the Council. The December issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, which is also included, tells something of our plans for 1945.

In order to interest other groups in promoting better racial understanding and improving the status of the Negro, it is advisable to invite a representative from each of the various organizations in the city to become a member of your Interracial Commission. This is the best means we can suggest of educating the members of other organizations and enlisting their support.

To be effective in advising the mayor of Knoxville on racial problems, the committee appointed for this purpose should first get the facts about conditions in the city which need improving. The suggested studies under the title WHAT ABOUT IT?, which we are sending herewith, will be helpful for this purpose.

Knoxville members of the Southern Regional Council are Mr. F. E. Barkley, P. O. Box 991; Dr. J. A. Bays, Church Street Methodist Church; The Rev. F. F. Brown, First Baptist Church; Dr. William E. Cole, TVA; Dr. J. Homer Slutz, 203 Fisher Place. Other Knoxville citizens who signed the Atlanta statement, but have not accepted membership in the Council, may be found in the list beginning on Page 11 of the DURHAM-ATLANTA-RICHMOND STATEMENT pamphlet which is included with the other materials.

If we can be of further service to you and the Knoxville Commission, please let us know.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

_____, 194__

TO: EHC

FROM: RBG

This material is referred to you for:

1. Information ☐ 2. Consideration ☐
3. Signature ☐ 4. Recommendation ☐
5. Reply ☒ 6. Suggested reply ☐
7. Please circulate to desk(s) of:

Miss Clay ☐ Dr. Reid ☐
Miss Fisher ☐ Dr. Johnson ☐
_____ ☐ _____ ☐

8. Please return to this office. ☐
9. Please return to secretary for filing. ☐

If you have time, could you write a letter on this?

303 Forest Hills Boulevard
Knoxville 16, Tennessee
December 31, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

In order to plan an effective program of action for the coming year, the Knoxville Interracial Commission feels that it would be helpful to learn what similar groups have accomplished in the field of race relations. We should like to know what specific activities your organization has undertaken and what techniques and methods of approach you have found most successful in achieving your purposes. If you have such information available for distribution, we would like very much to have it.

In addition we have some specific problems upon which you may be able to advise us. Our Commission is convinced that in order to promote better racial understanding and to improve the status of the Negro, it is of utmost importance to enlist the cooperation and support of other groups and organizations in the community. How to proceed to interest these groups to the point that they will take action on racial problems in matters over which they have jurisdiction is the question for which we need an answer.

We have taken preliminary steps toward suggesting to the mayor of Knoxville the desirability of appointing a committee of citizens to advise him on racial problems. Before we press the matter further, we feel it would be advisable to determine in some detail what we would like to see this committee accomplish. Although we realize that you may be unfamiliar with the specific needs and problems of this community we would appreciate any general suggestions you may have to make that would be applicable to the functions and duties of such a committee.

If possible, we would also like to have a list of the persons in Knoxville who signed the Atlanta Statement. Some of these people may not yet be affiliated with our local group.

We realize we are asking for extensive information. Perhaps other groups have posed similar questions and material is already

available on the subject. Any suggestions you may have to make or any sources of information to which you may be able to refer us will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Virginia F. Hoffman

Secretary
Knoxville Interracial Commission

Tenn

October 2, 1944

Mr. David N. Howell
YMCA of Knoxville
Gangler Branch
208 East Vine Avenue
Knoxville 15, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Howell:

Thank you for the four names of new subscribers to SOUTHERN FRONTIER. Send us the fifth name as soon as you can. Let me acknowledge receipt of $1.25 which you gave me last week to cover five subscriptions.

I am glad that the Knoxville Commission is interested in affiliating with the Council. I am enclosing a memorandum of affiliation which will give you further details. If there are additional matters which need clarification, please let me know.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure
Affiliation Memorandum

✓m

The Young Men's Christian Association
of Knoxville
CANSLER BRANCH
Telephone 3-0016
208 EAST VINE AVENUE (15)

Sept. 27, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Enclosed are the names and addresses of subscribers to SOUTHERN FRONTIER:

Harry Williams--407 Bankers Trust Bldg., TVA
Knoxville, Tennessee
Rev. R. W. Prevost--First Baptist Church
Knoxville, Tennessee
Betty Jane Peckham--2607 Parkview Avenue
Knoxville, Tennessee
Dr. I. P. Martin--2658 E. Fifth Avenue
Knoxville, Tennessee

There is one other name but I have not been able to locate it.

The Commission, last night, went on record as wanting membership with the Southern Regional Council. As soon as I shall receive full details we shall file our application.

Sincerely yours,

David N. Howell
Secretary

DNH:eh

5 Subs, S-F.
$1.25 received
pd. GBJ

Loc Com - Tenn

November 21, 1945

Mrs. C. W. Sheppard
1218 18th Avenue - S.
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Sheppard:

Thank you for your inquiry of November 19. I am afraid that there is no very active race relations committee in Nashville. I spoke to a little group at the McKendree Methodist Church there last year but I have had no further word to the effect that they are active. Persons who could tell you whether anything is going on in Nashville are the Reverand King Vivion, McKendree Methodist Church, and Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University.

The Southern Regional Council is contemplating forming its Tennessee members into a state division and encouraging the formation of local committees where there are enough members to serve as a nucleus.

We will be pleased to have you as a member of the Southern Regional Council. Invitation form is enclosed. Persons joining now are credited with dues for 1946. Dues are $2.00 a year.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

No. 1, Nov. Frontier, Free leaflets, invitation.

Memo to Miss Kerby,

1218 18th Ave.-S
Nashville 3, Tenn.
Nov. 19, 1945

SRC

Gentlemen:

Can you tell me if there is any citizens organization in Nashville which is working for the betterment of race relations. I would be interested in joining such a group if they would have any work in which a layman could assist.

Thank you for whatever information you can give me.

Yours truly,

Jane Sheppard
(Mrs. C. W. Sheppard)

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1945
Southern Regional Council

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL MEMBERS IN TENNESSEE

Mr. A. D. Huddleston
Aluminum Company of America
Alcoa, Tennessee

The Rev. Bernie H. Hampton
514 West Main Street
Athens, Tennessee

Mr. A. H. Myers
Tennessee Wesleyan College
Athens, Tennessee

Mr. W. E. Nash
5 Cleveland Avenue
Athens, Tennessee

Dr. James L. Robb
Tennessee Wesleyan College
Athens, Tennessee

Mrs. R. E. Clay
532 Woodlawn Avenue
Bristol, Tennessee

Mr. L. D. Collins
1019 Cypress Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Judge Leslie R. Barr
Box 248
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dr. R. A. Kilburn
University of Chattanooga
Chattanooga 3, Tennessee

Mr. Alfred Mynders
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

The Rev. John Paul Pack
First Christian Church
Chattanooga 2, Tennessee

Dr. L. L. Patton
425½ East Ninth Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dr. J. W. Perry
198 Ridge Avenue
Chattanooga 4, Tennessee

Dr. J. Homer Sluts
1911 Duncan Avenue
Chattanooga 4, Tennessee

Mr. S. Bartow Strang
225 Lindsay Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mrs. Andrew Dale
205 West 8th Street
Columbia, Tennessee

Mr. Vladimir E. Hartman
Searritt Rural Center
Crossville, Tennessee

Dr. Thomas L. Williams
516 Union Way
Erwin, Tennessee

Mr. H. W. Wiseman
Erin
Tennessee

The Rev. John A. King
919 Ohio Avenue
Etowah, Tennessee

The Rev. W. C. Daniels
726 Clinton Street
Harriman, Tennessee

Mr. Peter R. Sky
Lane College
Jackson, Tennessee

Dr. J. A. Bays
Church Street Methodist Church
Knoxville, Tennessee

Prof. James A. Bond
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

The Rev. F. F. Brown
First Baptist Church
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. P. R. Christopher
218 South Gay Street
Knoxville 24, Tennessee

Dr. William E. Cole
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Miss Louise Goodloe
Y. W. C. A.
420 West Clinch Avenue
Knoxville, Tennessee

The Rev. J. E. Milburn
3049 East Fifth Avenue
Knoxville 15, Tennessee

Mr. Earl M. Ramer
College of Education
University of Tennessee
Knoxville 16, Tennessee

Mrs. Charles M. Seymour
1705 Melrose Place
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. E. B. Shults
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mrs. Neal B. Spahr
924 Temple Avenue
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. Leslie N. Webb
410 North Bragg Avenue
Lookout Mountain, Tennessee

Mrs. M. H. Fitts
107 Poplar Street
Martin, Tennessee

Mr. F. M. Dickenson
1702-4 Columbian Mutual Tower
Memphis, Tennessee

The Rev. A. M. MacMillan
Holy Trinity Church
Cumming's Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Dr. H. C. Brearley
Peabody College
Nashville, Tennessee

Rev. Edward M. Brown
Department of Social Science
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dr. Ina Corinne Brown
Scarritt College
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Dr. O. C. Carmichael
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mrs. T. C. Clark, Jr.
161-8th Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Mr. Herbert B. Cross
2007 White Avenue
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Dr. J. L. Cunninggim
Sterling Court
Apt. C-3
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Rt. Rev. E. P. Dandridge
2307 Elliston Place
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dr. M. S. Davage
810 Broadway
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dr. James A. Dombrowski
507 Presbyterian Building
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Mr. Harold A. Ehrensperger
810 Broadway
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. R. B. Eleazer
810 Broadway
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Rev. William G. Gehri
266 Belvedere Street
Memphis 4, Tennessee

Dr. Gosten J. Harrell
2130 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Giles A. Hubert
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Thomas E. Jones
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Bishop Paul B. Kern
810 Broadway
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dr. Z. A. Looby
419 Fourth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dr. H. C. Nixon
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

The Rev. Roger T. Nooe
Vine Street Christian Church
Nashville, Tennessee

Mrs. Lillian M. Rice
161 8th Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dr. J. Q. Schisler
810 Broadway
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Mrs. C. W. Turpin
810 Broadway
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dr. King Vivion
McKendree Methodist Church
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dr. W. D. Weatherford
Royal Oaks Apartment 43
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Harvey C. Webster
English Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

The Rev. Peyton R. Williams
Christ Church
9th and Broad Street
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Miss Louise Young
Scarritt College
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Miss Joan Livingston
107 Kenwyn Road
Oak Ridge, Tennessee

Mrs. P. L. Cobb
Sequatchie
Tennessee

Dean Fleming James
Sewanee
Tennessee

Mrs. Fleming James
Sewanee
Tennessee

The Rev. George B. Myers
Sewanee
Tennessee

MISS ARTEMISIA BOWDEN, PRESIDENT

MR. NED McILHENNY, TREASURER

Texas
Local
Committees

ST. PHILIP'S JUNIOR COLLEGE

FOUNDED BY RT. REV. J. S. JOHNSTON
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

November 24, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your recent good letter inviving our interracial group to become a member of the Southern Regional Council. We shall look forward to doing so with a great deal of pleasure, and I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you in Atlanta on December 6 at the regional gathering.

Our organization is doing spleddidly, with a growing membership and a hig intereat. Under Dr. Granberry's leadership, we are helping to relieve some of the situations here which could not be conveniently reached through any other medium.

We hope, in the future, to contribute to the welfare of a wider area than just our city, and we shall also expect a visit from one of your staff members whenever convenient.

Very sincerely yours,

A. Bowden

A. Bowden

Local Committees
Texas

September 25, 1945

Mr. William M. Shapiro
2213 N. Kansas Street
El Paso, Texas

Dear Mr. Shapiro:

Thank you for your letter of September 11 addressed to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. You will be interested to know that when the Southern Regional Council began operation in February, 1944, it absorbed the Commission. The Council is carrying on the race relations program of the Commission as a part of a broad program for social, economic, and political progress in the South.

Under separate cover we are sending some Council literature. Among this material you will find a pamphlet which deals with the origin and purpose of the Southern Regional Council.

I am delighted to hear that an interracial group has been organized in El Paso. We have not had very much experience with committees involving whites, Negroes, and Mexicans, but being a Texan myself, I am sufficiently familiar with the situation to know that there are some particular difficulties involved. Your problems, of course, will have to be worked out on the basis of special local conditions and possibilities, but I will offer a few suggestions which I hope will be helpful.

(1) I suggest that before the group is allowed to crystallize and develop its structure, by-laws, etc. it should be convinced of the necessity of including Mexicans in its membership. On this point the white leadership will have to stand firm. If some Mexican leadership can be brought into the group before the structure is adopted, well and good; but if you are not successful in bringing them in at all at this preliminary stage, then your by-laws should be written so that membership is open to them if and when they wish to come in. The main problem here I think is simply some careful and persistent personal work on the Negro and Mexican leaders.

(2) A question which always confronts groups of this sort is the basis of membership. Shall membership be unlimited? Shall it be on individual or organizational basis, or both? Shall any quotas be adopted for various groups? We have seen various types of local committees, and our own feeling is that the best arrangement is place the membership on an individual basis and to have it open to any person who subscribes to the purposes of the committee. Some organizations use a combination of individual and

agency memberships. When this is done, the by-laws should carefully define the rights and privileges of the two types of members. One simple arrangement is to let each agency have one voting delegate on the committee.

(3) You will, of course, have an Executive Committee or Board which will carry on most of the work of the organization between meetings of the whole committee. While it is quite all right to provide for quotas on this board--in this case perhaps one-third of each racial group--I think it is preferable to throw the election of the board members wide open and let democratic processes take their course.

(4) The chief functions which voluntary local committees usually have are:

(a) Investigating interracial conditions and incidents and publicizing the facts whenever this seems to be the best way to stimulate action.

(b) Enlisting the aid of other agencies so that the committee is not in a position of playing solitaire when it is asking for action on certain problems.

(c) Acting as an unofficial advisory agency to the city government.

(5) Perhaps the most common error made by interracial committees is the error of getting off on the wrong foot. They frequently get started by the wrong people, that is, people who have become definitely tagged as "radicals" or "crackpots" of one sort or another. Such people have a definite contribution to make, but unfortunately, when they dominate a committee they scare off many of the people whose cooperation is necessary for building a successful organization. I think it is very important to bring in as many highly respected ministers, business men, educators, etc. as possible in the early stages, even if this means sacrificing a little of the aggressiveness of the committee.

(6) Nothing succeeds like success, so I would urge that the committee take up one or two specific projects as soon as possible and see them through. These projects should be things which have a good chance of success. This not only helps the morale of the minority groups, but serves to establish the confidence of the community in the organization.

Among the projects which are most frequently undertaken by local committees are: Health and sanitary conditions, improvement of school and library facilities for minority groups, playgrounds and other recreation facilities, the relation of the police to the minorities, radio forums or other programs for interracial understanding, and the promotion of Race Relations Sunday, which is being more and more widely observed throughout the country each February.

(7) You might find it advisable to get in touch with other organizations whose literature might be helpful to you. Among these are the American Council on Race Relations, 32 West Randolph Street, Chicago 1, Illinois; which incidentally, has a Community Relations Manual for distribution; the Columbus Council for Democracy, Room 7, 9 East Long Street, Columbus 15, Ohio; and the Los Angeles Council for Civic Unity, 215 West 7th Street, Los Angeles 14, California.

Please look over the literature which we are sending and let me know whether you would like to have any of it in quantities for use in your committee. We can make special rates on literature which is sent in bulk to one address. Please notice that we publish a little monthly paper, The Southern Frontier. Subscriptions are 25 cents a year, but we can supply packages at a considerable reduction if you are interested in receiving them. From time to time we publish free leaflets and I shall be glad to send copies of these.

I hope that these suggestions will be of some little help. Please feel free to call upon us at any time. Let me extend our very best wishes for a successful interracial committee in El Paso.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ:IBT

#1, 2, 3, 4, After the War, South-America's Opportunity Number One, 3 copies The Southern Frontier, and all other literature listed on our list of "Publications Available"

September 11, 1945

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1945
Southern Regional Council

Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs;

A few citizens, whom the undersigned has been appointed to represent in this communication, has recently organized an inter-racial group in El Paso. After several meetings, members of the group voted to form a chapter of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, for the guidance, objectives and informational advantages offerred by that organization.

However, for matters dealing primarily with race relations, we feel your organization can offer better suggestions. We have a particular problem in El Paso because of the approximately 60% Mexican population. We seek information particularly applicable to the integration of Mexican people in our organization. At present the group consists of White and Negro members.

There are no experienced organizers of inter-racial groups in our small organization; and we would appreciate any and all information dealing with such organizations which might aid us in avoiding common errors and having the greatest degree of success. In return we should be glad to offer any service or information from El Paso which might be of value or interest to you.

Thanking you kindly, I am,

William M. Shapiro

William M. Shapiro
2213 N. Kansas St
El Paso, Texas

Local Orms
Texas

Send - Oct. Frontier, #1, #2, #3, After the War, It Seems Queer,
Publications List, Adv. re South.

CW 10-26-45

October 26, 1945

Mr. Ewart G. Watts, Pastor
First Methodist Church
Cuero, Texas

Dear Mr. Watts:

Your letter of October 23 addressed to Dr. William E. Cole has come to my attention. Dr. Cole was engaged in some temporary work for the Commission on Interracial Cooperation just prior to the formation of the Southern Regional Council. He returned to his work at the T.V.A. and the University of Tennessee.

I am glad that you are interested in forming an Interracial Committee at Cuero. I realize that the problem of getting real cooperation between whites, Negroes and Mexicans is very difficult, but I am sure that if you proceed with patience and tact your efforts will meet with success.

Not long ago I had a request from El Paso for advice in setting up an interracial committee. I realize that El Paso is a large city, but I believe that the problems are essentially the same as they are in Cuero. Therefore, I am sending you a copy of the letter which I wrote to Mr. William M. Shapiro, of El Paso in the hope that it will contain suggestions that might be useful to you. If there are further points on which you would like to have our advice, please let us know.

Under separate cover I am sending some literature which may be of some value in the work which you are undertaking. We would be glad to have you as a member of the Council if you care to join us. You will receive an invitation shortly. The dues are $1.00 a year, which includes the Southern Frontier and other literature.

All good wishes for the success of your committee project. I hope that you will let us know what progress is made at Cuero.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT
Encl.

First Methodist Church
Cuero, Texas
October 23, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 26 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. William E. Cole,
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Your name has been given as a possible source of information concerning procedure in establishing a City-wide Interracial committee.

This is a small city of about 7000 people, but there is bad blood between the Negroes, Mexicans and Whites. Some of the leaders in the community are anxious to take steps which might improve the situation. Could you tell me what other communities this size have done and how they have gone about organizing?

Sincerely yours,
Ewart G. Watts
Ewart G. Watts
Pastor

Foc Com. Texas

December 11, 1945

2 copies #2
2 copies #3
2 packets
Frontier sample

Mrs. Byrdie Phillips
Box 1708
McAllen Texas

Dear Mrs. Phillips:

Your letter of December 7 addressed to the Southern Interracial Commission has come to our attention. The Commission and its related activities were absorbed by the Southern Regional Council in February 1944.

I am glad that you are interested in forming an interracial council in McAllen, Texas. Not long ago we had a request from El Paso for advice in setting up an interracial committee. I am sending you a copy of the letter I wrote Mr. William Shapiro, of El Paso, in the hope that it will contain suggestions that will be helpful to you.

Under separate cover I am sending some literature which may be of some value in the work which you are undertaking. We would be glad to have you as a member of the Council if you care to join. You will receive an invitation shortly. Dues are $2.00 a year.

All good wishes for the success of your interracial council.

Sincerely yours,

2 # 2

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

T

McAllen Texas, Dec 7 '45

Southern Inter Racial Commission
Atlanta Ga

RECEIVED
DEC 10 1945
Southern Regional

Dears: Our church is starting an Inter-Racial Council - Half of our population are Latin Americans - also some negro population

Please send us all the information you can so that we may study the project before our first meeting

Thanking you in advance

I am

Mrs Byrdie Phillips
McAllen Tex {on Rio Grande River
Box 1708

If you have plenty of literature send us two lots of each kind

Fort Worth Committee on Iterracial Cooperation

RECEIVED
FEB 11 1946
Southern Regional Council

Rev. Joseph I. Patterson, Chairman
Rev. F. Rivers Barnwell, Co-Chairman
Mrs. M. L. Kirkpatrick, Cor. Secretary
Mrs. Geo. Nelson, Rec. Sec'y.
Mrs. M. L. Evans, Treasurer

To Ministers of Churches:

From Fort Worth Commission on Race Relations

SUNDAY FEB. 10, 1946 is the Observance of the Twenty-fourth Anniversary of Race Relations Sunday.

This is a period when Christian Leadership has an opportunity to make definite pronouncements on the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God.

The Federal Council of Churches through its Department of Race Relations announces as a Theme: A Day of Decission. And the Ft. Worth Council of Church Women, urges this Observance in some organization of your Congregation.

We are truly at the Crossroads of Labor unrest, Housing shortage, Economic Insecurity, Veterans Readjustment and many other problems involved in our Race Relations The World War has brought us greater problems in Race Relations--the opportunity is for Christian Leadership and the Church in general to lead us into the light.

The Ft. Worth Committee on Interracial Cooperation earnestly requests the ministers of Churches to Preach Special Sermons in keeping with the spirit and purpose of this day. Where possible to make exchanges of pulpits, invite guests of other races, creeds or color as speakers to present messages in the church assembly and before young peoples' meetings.

Your cooperation in this movement for better interraial understanding will be most appreciated.

Yours for a Better Christian Society

Rev. JOSEPH I. PATTERSON, Chairman
F. RIVERS BARNWELL, Co-Chairman
Mrs. JAS. V. REID, Chm. Speakers Bureau Tel. 5-2308

NB A General Mass Meeting in keeping with Race Relations Sunday. Will be held at Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Sunday Feb. 10, 3:00 p. m. Speakers: Rev. Forrest C. Feezor, pastor Broadway Bapt. Church and Rev. J. H. Carruthers, pastor St. Andrews Methodist Church.

Local Committee - Texas

May 5, 1948

Mr. T. H. McNeill, Jr.
608 Peden Avenue
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. McNeill:

Thank you for your letter of April 30.

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation was merged several years ago into the Southern Regional Council.

If you will take time to read the enclosed leaflet, it will give you a good idea of what we do.

The Council's direct membership in Texas is some 142. We would greatly welcome additional membership. Perhaps various of those in your present group would wish to join us.

Two or three years ago the Council worked out a formal affiliation agreement with the Texas Committee on Interracial Cooperation, which you doubtless know about. The Chairman is Mrs. James S. Crate and the other officers are Mr. W. R. Banks, Prairie View, first Vice-Chairman, Dr. J. L. Clark, 421 West 14th St., Huntsville, second Vice-Chairman, and Mrs. J. L. Brock, 609 North Washington Street, Bryan, Texas, Treasurer.

2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Our normal means of getting anything done organizationally in Texas would be through that Texas Interracial Committee. Have you discussed working as part of it? I believe you will find that they have a useful program, and your group would have its proper democratic part in helping to build it.

Sent SRC Flemming report
Digest
TV Survey By the People
Police Oct. Nos.
March New Sent 1948

Jobs needing attention:

Housing
Education
Health
Police, and the administration of Justice
Civil Rights in general
A series of small-community self-surveys, on model of enclosed about Jacksonville, Florida
Better coverage of Negro news in ordinary newspapers, and fewed blunders on race in the news
The franchise
Land tenure
Employment opportunities

Would you write me what you decide to do? We would like to help in any way possible.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RECEIVED
MAY 3 1948
Southern Regional Council

608 Peden Avenue
Houston, Texas
April 30, 1948

Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Every year a group of white and Negro civic organizations in Houston combine their efforts to sponsor a program of speakers in an effort to improve relations between the white and Negro races in Houston.

This year, however, the group is anxious to start a permanent inter-racial organization that will be active all year long in bettering race relations and combatting intolerance. We are quite anxious that the group have a constructive program of action so that the members will not lose interest.

Most of our group are inexperienced in this field so we are turning to such organizations as yours for help. Perhaps you can suggest plans of action for us that you have already had experience in handling. Any information or suggestions that you can offer will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

T.H. McNeill, Jr.

T.H.McNeill, Jr.

DALLAS COMMUNITY CONFERENCE
BOX 1311
DALLAS, TEXAS

One of the most serious threats to unity and harmony in the nation today is the tension which exists in many places between white and Negro people. It is a threat so grave that responsible individuals and organizations cannot afford to ignore it or fail to seek a path toward better relationships.

For that reason, the Dallas Community Conference has attempted in the enclosed publication, "Let My People Go", to present some of the facts in a calm and reasoned manner, so that there may be a better understanding in Dallas of this long-standing problem.

Careful consideration of all the facts involved leads only to the conclusion that there are certain things that need to be done and need to be done now. These are listed in the recommendations at the end of the pamphlet.

It is the thought of the Community Conference that everything recommended here is reasonable, acceptable to the community, and will contribute toward healthy and harmonious relationships between the races.

If your organization agrees with the recommendations and believes that they will be of constructive value, and if you would like to join in an active program in the City of Dallas will you let us know.

Additional copies of "Let My People Go" may be had by writing the Conference at Box 1311, Dallas.

Very Truly yours,

Jane Stare, President
Dallas Community Conference

Norfolk Women's Council

November 21, 1945.

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason
969 Maypole Ave.,
Norfork, Virginia.

My dear Mrs. Mason;

While I am not much of a typist, I hope that you will bear with me. I have wanted to write you ever since I was in Norfork, but between a slight case of Flu and a very busy program, I have not written any letters. The office is still involved with the affairs of the recent annual meeting, so rather than put it off another day, I am doing it myself.

I know from the press reports that Negro Policemen in Norfork are now a fact. I do congratulate you and your group, for I know only too well that it was your sincere efforts that made this dream a reality. It has been with a great deal satisfaction that I have told other groups of the way you women promoted this action.

I am wondering just what will be your next step in your program. Had you ever given any thought to the ways you could help promote the G.I. Bill? Especially, the "Earn as You Learn" feature? It is the little known part of the Bill that really can be effective in the South to the masses as it deals with those service people who have not even finished High School or lower still, the seventh grade. If you would be interested in What our Director of Veterans, Dr. George Mitchell, is trying to get communities to do, write him at this office. He has been most interested in your group and feels that you could help in this way make a real contribution to Norfork.

I did so enjoy being at your meeting and hope that you will ask me again in the near future. It was nice to have Mr. Jafay here for the Board and membership meetings, hope he will tell you all about it.

With kindest regards and every good wish for your continued success,

Cordially yours,

Mrs. Henry Havens.

Local Committee: Virginia

November 16, 1945

Miss Carolyn Tunstall, Recording Secretary
The Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation
1334 Stockley Gardens
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Miss Tunstall:

Would you be kind enough to send me a list of the members and their addresses of the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation? From time to time we should like to send them leaflets and literature from this office that would be of interest to them. I had intended asking you to do this when I was with you in September, but must have forgotten it.

I cannot tell you how gratified I am to know that Negro policemen are a fact in Norfolk. I do congratulate each one of you for your determination and persistence in this successful campaign. You have set a pattern for other Virginia communities.

I do not know what your next project will be, but I wish to write Mrs. Mason an idea I have as soon as you send me her address. If you have had any regular meetings or Executive Committee meetings since I was with you, I would be most interested if you would write me about them.

With all good wishes to you for your continued success,

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Henry Havens

JHim

Norfolk Women's Council
on Int. Coop.

COPY

Mrs. Arnold Zetlin
1614 Runnymede Road
Norfolk 8, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Zetlin:

We are very happy to know of your new council for white and colored women in Norfolk.

Do you have a list of the Southern cities where colored policemen and policewomen are employed? Such a list is available, with comments on the success of this policy, and I believe may be obtained from Dr. Guy Johnson, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, which incidentally is another organization with which your group might well cooperate. You will probably want to have its monthly publication, The Southern Frontier. Address: 63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

I would advise that your committee include labor representation and a broad cross-section of the various groups in the city. I would be careful that all committees consist of people who will actually work on the problems of the committee rather than "big names."

For further action I suggest: (1) cooperate with the local branch of the Virginia Citizens Political Action Committee in preparing now a city-wide campaign to enlarge the electorate by getting the maximum number of people to qualify to vote, i.e., register and pay their poll taxes. (2) action on the FEPC and the poll tax.

For further reading and group discussion I suggest the following:

"The Races of Mankind" - 10¢
"The Negro in America" - 10¢
"Orientation Fact Sheet 54 - Fascism" - Free
(8 pages, and tops on this subject)

"Voting Restrictions" - Free
"For Your Children, Too" - 10¢ ea, $7.50 per 100.

Additional copies of these publications may be had from this office. We are sending you copies of "Voting Restrictions" and "For your Children, Too" under separate cover.

Also, I would recommend the "Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations", the best available.

If you would like to have some copies of the enclosed comic strip, featuring the work of the 99th Pursuit Squadron, please let me know. I will be glad to send as many as you can use, without charge.

We would be grateful for your help in securing individual memberships to the Southern Conference. Membership dues are $2 per year, which includes a subscription to the Southern Patriot. Individual subscriptions to the Patriot, without membership, are available at $1 per year.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

James A. Dombrowski
Executive Secretary

Local Coms - Va.

October 5, 1945

Miss Carolyn Tunstall, Recording Secretary
The Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation
1334 Stockley Gardens
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Miss Tunstall:

Mrs. Henry Havens, our field representative, has sent us a copy of the program of your meeting of September 28, and a copy of your Constitution and By-laws. We are delighted to know that the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation has made a fine start on an excellent program, and we want you to know that the Southern Regional Council wishes to help in every way it can.

Under separate cover we are sending a package of literature which will show you the type of publications that we have. We can make special rates on bundles of literature if your Council is interested in receiving literature in this way. Your members might be especially interested in our monthly paper, The Southern Frontier. It can be mailed to them individually at the rate of 25 cents a year or can be sent to your Council headquarters in bundles at the following rates:

Bundle of 25 copies	$5.00 a year
Bundle of 50 copies	7.50 a year
Bundle of 100 copies	10.00 a year

Incidentally, I have seen your poster headed "Attention Men--Patrolmen Needed". This was a splendid idea and I feel that it will get good results. As usual, the men hold back until the women push them into doing what they ought to do!

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

1, 2, 3, 4, Singers in the Dawn, After the War, Opportunities for the Negro Veterans, The South (with advertisement re prices), Sept. Frontier, Veterans: It Need Not Happen Again, Conflicting Racial Policies, The Negro in America.

C.W.
10/5/45

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

September 19,1945

Dear Member or the Prospective Member:

September is with us again marking the renewing of activities put aside during the summer months and bringing us, our communities,and the nation many new problems, and many significant changes in our economic and social patterns. The need for a deliberate, closer, more cooperative and understanding relation ship between people is brought into sharp focus as we face the transition between war and peace.

The Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation believes that no better beginning can be made in finding solutions to some of these old and new problems than right in our own community. We beleive, too,that there are many women in Norfolk who have a unique contribution to make toward the creation of a better citizenry and a better Norfolk. The Council offers an unusual opportunity for women to share in the creating and maintenance of a dynamic and living peace that gaining a firm foothold here may some day spread thruout the world. "Greetings" to our charter members," welcome,we need you," to our new ones.

The opening meeting of the Council will be held on FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28,1945, 2:30 P.M. at St.Paul's Parish House,201 Church Street, Norfolk,Virginia. The Agenda is as follows:

1.Opening
2."Why a Woman's Interracial Council"
3.Reading of Minutes of Last Meeting
4.Old Business
    a Report of Membership,Transportation and Police Protection Committees.
5.New Business
    a.The Constitution
    b.Correspondence
    c.Out line of Committee Work
6."Frontiers in Interracial Cooperation"- Mrs Henry Hovens,Atlanta,Ga., Southern Regional Conference.
7.Presentation of New Members
8.Collection of Dues
9.Adjournment

Enclosed please find a copy of the Constitution for your persual. We earnestly hope that every member and prospective member will be present at this meeting.

Cordially yours,

Vivian C. Mason,President
Carolyn Tunstall,Recording Sec.

1334 Stockley Gardens
Norfolk,Virginia

CONSTTUTION OF

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION OF

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

Preamble: In order to secure, extend and maintain basic human rights to the end that these rights will be common to all men regardless of race, color or creed, we form this organization known as The Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation of Norfolk, Virginia

Article I.

Purpose :

1. To secure that equality of citizenship for every citizen regardless of race, color or creed which is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

2. To gather, interpret and disseminate facts which will inform, increase understanding and gain support for action on matters ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ affecting the welfare of ~~xxx~~ all citizens.

3. To take appropriate action as is authorized by the Council on matters pertaining to the welfare of all citizens.

4. To publish periodically a bulletin setting forth the aimes and purposes of this Council together with the current program.

Article II.

Membership:

1. Any woman in sympathy with and willing to accept the purpose and program of this Council is eligible for membership.

Article 111.

Dues:

1. Annual dues of three dollars ($3.00) shall be payable as of July 1st.

Article 1V,

Time of Meeting:

1. There shall be regular monthly meetings of the Council September to June, inclusive.

2. Special meetings may be called at the request of the Executive Committee.

Article V

Officers:

1. The officers of this Council shall be a President; a First and Second Vice-President; a Recording Secretary; a Corresponding Secretary and a Treasurer.

2. All officers shall hold office for one year with the

privilege of reelection. 7

3. Annual election of officers shall be held at the regular meeting in June.

4. An election shall be held as soon as convenient to fill an office which becomes vacant prior to the expiration of the term.

Article Vl

Committees:

1. The standing Committees of this Council shall be: the Executive; Membership, School; Employment and Labor; Veteran; Transportation; Police Protection; and Civil Liberties; Community Education and Publication; Legislation; Child and Public Welfare; Housing and Recreation.

2. The Chairman of the Standing Committees shall be ~~by xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ named by the Executive Committee, Mem-
~~3. The~~ bership on the Standing Committees shall be by voluntary choice.

3. The Executive Committee may appoint additional members ~~xx~~ as the need arises.

Article Vll

Duties of Officers:

1. The President of the Council shall preside at all meetings of the Council. She shall be an ex-officio member of all Standing Committees.

2. The Vice-Presidents in order of their rank shall perform the duties of the President in case of her inability to serve.

3. The Recording Secretary shall record the minutes of the Council and of the Executive Committee.

4. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Council. She shall notify members of all meetings of the Council with the exception of the meetings of the Standing Committees. She shall be the custodian of all the correspondence of the Council.

5. The Treasurer shall receive all monies and keep the financial record of the Council. She shall deposit the funds in a bank and pay bills as directed by the Council. The Treasurer shall sign all checks which must be countersigned by the President.

Constitution

Article VIII

QUORM:

1. Any regular or call meeting of this Council shall be deemed sufficient to transact business provided one fourth of the active members are present. This number shall constitute a quorm.

Article IX

Parliamentary authority

1. The Council shall be governed by berts Rule of Order, Revised, in all cases to which the are applicable and in which they are not inconsistent with the By-Laws.

Article X

Amendments:

1. Members of the Council shall be notified in writing of proposed amendments to this Constitution at least one week prior to the meeting at which the amendment is to be considered.

2. A ~~xxxxxxxx~~ vote of two-thirds of the members present shall be required for the adoption of an amendment.

fx d-va

December 3, 1945

Professor W. W. Hayes
Bristol Council on Interracial Cooperation
Bristol, Virginia-Tennessee

Dear Professor Hayes:

We are delighted to have the summary of the findings from questionnaires which your committee sent out. Your group is doing splendid work.

If you compile a more detailed report on the basis of your questionnaires, I hope you will let us have a copy.

Very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

EMILY H. CLAY
Secretary-Treasurer

EHC:m

BRISTOL COUNCIL ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
BRISTOL, VA.-TENN.

REV. B. P. EDWARDS, PRESIDENT
STANHOPE LACY, VICE-PRESIDENT

PROF. W. W. HAYES, SEC'Y-TREAS.
ARMAND HECHT, CORRESPONDING SEC'Y

November 29, 1945

RECEIVED
DEC 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Miss Emily H. Clay, Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Madam:

I am enclosing the findings from questionaires which were sent to all the cities and counties in this state. These findings may be of interest to the Regional Council.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. W. Hayes (SRC member)

W. W. Hayes

Tentative Findings From Interracial Questionaire

I. Number of interracial groups 16.

III. Personnel: ministers, businessmen, teachers, doctors, domestic workers, (porters, janitors, maids, cooks), lawyers, mayors, social workers.

IV. Definite things that have been accomplished by interracial organizations:

1. Better housing conditions
2. More recreational facilities
3. Better schools and facilities
4. Initiation of nusery school for Negroes
5. Night school for illiterates
6. Improved opportunities for jobs
7. A bi-racial committee studied the educational, economic and civic relationships as human beings, rather than racial groups.
8. Better racial understanding in community life
9. Improved job opportunities
10. Contacts with local newspapers toward larger publicity of information and news concerning Negro activities of a laudable nature
11. Attempted to get Negro police into city force for Negro section.

VII. Some problems that an interracial group could assist in solving:

1. Problems arising from bus and street car transportation
2. Post-war adjustment problems
3. "Jim Crow" conflicts
4. Tension growing out of residential segregation
5. Better cultural opportunities
6. Helping to curve the liquor habit
7. Encourage the young people in their religious capacity
8. Better employment of Negroes on the basis of qualification
9. Help bring about better relationship in community
10. Juneville delinquency
11. Equalization of teacher's salaries
12. Transportation
13. Integrating Negroes into the welfare departments of the community
14. A better racial feeling with regards to law enforcement
15. Better educational opportunities and facilities
16. Various economic and political problems

March 19, 1946

The Rev. Thomas C. Allen
Virginia Council of Churches, Inc.
144 East Main Street
Room 215
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Allen:

I dropped off the afternoon of March 13th for a few hours at Suffolk, Virginia.

In so short a time I couldn't learn much about the town. It does seem to me a rather disturbed place. You remember that they called out the State Guard a year ago. I found very little evidence of anything useful being done about the colored veterans and not much about the white ones. Several people I talked to expressed a degree of prejudice that seemed to me unusual for Virginia.

The Interracial Committee is inactive. Its chairman died some time back, and its vice-chairman has thus far pooh-poohed all suggestions that the Committee be reassembled.

I have just lately been at Columbia, Tennessee, and one of the tragic things there was the fact that only three or four months before the riot, a minister or two had tried hard to get an Interracial Committee going, but had met with no encouragement. Now they intend to start it in a big way.

Perhaps you could put Suffolk in your books as a place to get to and see whether the Committee can be revived and reorganized.

The supervising principal of the colored schools is an elderly

man, Mr. Edward D. Howe, as you doubtless know. He is a member, and I believe an officer, of the derelict Interracial Committee and would like to see it going again. The principal of the school is Mr. J. J. Peele, Jr., quite able and judicial.

I found the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce quite interested in getting a Committee going, but he is an outsider recently come to the town and has accepted rebuffs on it.

The impression I got was that the town is relying on the State Guard to keep the peace, which is not a healthy reliance.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

July 29, 1946.

Mrs. Arnold Zetlin
1614 Runnymede Road
Norfolk, Virginia

My dear Mrs Zetlin;

My plans for the month of September are being worked out now and as I look them over I find that I will be returning from Pholadelphia the week of September 23rd. I hope to stop in Richmond a day or so. At this time last year, your group was having the fall meeting on the last Friday of the month, the 28th, that date this year is the 27th. I was wondering if you still are meeting at that time and if so may I attend the meeting? I do not mean necessarily as the speaker, but just to keep in touch with what you are doing.

With all good wishes and a hope that I may see you in September,

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Henry Havens.

BY AIR MAIL

February 8, 1946

See Comm - Norfolk

Mrs. Arnold Zetlin
1614 Runnymede Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Zetlin:

We have the exhibit THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE, which we are glad to lend to local groups without expense, except for carrying charges. If you prefer, however, you may purchase it for $25.00 from the Council Against Intolerance in America, 17 East 42d Street, New York 17, New York.

The exhibit is composed of twenty-three placards each twenty inches in width and thirty inches in height and one of double width which folds in the center. If there is not sufficient space for the complete exhibit, some of the placards may be omitted.

Please let us know if you would like to have this exhibit in Norfolk and it will be sent promptly by express, collect.

Another exhibit in which you might be interested is THE RACE OF MAN, which is described in the enclosed folder. We can supply this on a loan basis, also, if you would like to have it.

We shall look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

The Women's Council

For Interracial Cooperation

Norfolk, Va.

Februa ry 6, 1946

RECEIVED
FEB 8 1946
Southern Regional Council

By air mail

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta , Ga.

Gentlemen:

We are interested in obtaining information concerning a photogra phic display, "The Negro in American Life". We have been informed that this display was shown in Atlanta in 1944. Can you tell us where to write for this display, or if it is a vailable through your organization, give us the following information:

Size of displa y
Number of units and running feet space
How to obtain it for local use

We should like information also on any more recent displays suitable for libraries, school rooms and museums. Could you send your reply air mail, as we now have an opportunity for display which may not be repaeated. Thanking you,

Sincerely yours ,
Florence Zetlin
Mrs. Arnold Zetlin
Corresponding Secretary

1614 Runnymede Rd.
Norfolk, Va.

"The Negro in American Life"
Council Against Intolerance in America
17 East 45 St. New York 17, N.Y. — $25.00

December 28, 1945.

Mrs. Arnold Zetlin,
1614 Runnymede Road,
Norfolk, Virginia.

My dear Mrs. Zetlin;

It was good to have your letter and learn of the fine things the Woman's Council is doing and planning to do. Thanks so much for the membership list. I shall send invitations for membership to the SRC to them as well as leaflets of news that we are printing now. They will deal with voting, health and other interesting subjects.

I know that Mrs. Mason had been made a delegate to the Paris meeting of the International Women's Conference, but did not realize that she had gone yet. In my letter to her, I suggested that your group look into the "learn as you earn" feature of the GI Bill. We feel that this is the South's greatest benefit in the Bill as it has to do with the low education, seventh grad up, Veteran. And if communities will cooperate, it can help raise the standards of unskilled labor in all fields. I told Mrs. Mason that if you all were interested in having more information to write to Dr. George S. Mitchell at the office in Atlanta. Dr. Mitchell is on our staff as the head of Veteran Affairs.

It seems now, that I shall be in Virginia later in the spring and hope that I can see you all at that time. As soon as my schedule is complete I shall let you know. January will be spent doing some most interesting work with two cities in Florida, surveying conditions of Negro life, housing, health, education, recreation and transportation. It may be that some of the findings will be of value to your work.

We are most interested in your broadcst. I have passed this idea on, with the Negro Police one, to Mr. Thos. C. Allen, Director, of the Department of Interracial Cooperation, Virginia Council of Churches in Richmond. You probably will hear from him. They are most anxious to have Negro policemen in Richmond so felt that they should know how you did it in Norfolk. It helps to know what your neighbors are doing.

With all good wishes for the New Year and your continued success,

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Henry Havens.

RECEIVED
DEC 14 1945
Southern Regional Council

The Women's Council

For Interracial Cooperation

Norfolk, Va.

December 10, 1945

Copied in Atlanta
Elec
12/14/45

Mrs. Henry Havens
Southe n Regional Conference
Atlanta , Ga.

Dear Mrs, Havens,

Mrs. T unstall has turned your request for our membership list over to me. It is enclosed and let me tell you how glad we are to have our members on your mailing list. I know it will be educa tional for them and I hope many will join your organization.

Thanks for your congratulations on the Negro police. We expect two more to be appointed in January and four more have passed prelimina ry examinations.

Our latest project was extending the free X-Ray service, sponsored by the health department, for two weeks for the Negro population. Under separa te cover , I'm sending you a copy of a broadcast we had last week which tells the whole story. of our health campaign. The broa dcast was we think, another first for Norfolk. We had an informal discussion of the purpose and meaning of our organization, with one of our white and Negro members participating. It went over well and we hope to repeat it soon. There is a public service program here which is on 5 nights a week over our main station WTAR. Time is given to civic organizations free of charge.

We have been having monthly meetings plus executive and committee meetings as needed. Our newest committees are Health, Child Welfare Education, Housing. The work of the police and transportation committees continues. At our last meeting , Dr. Dorothy Lucker, of the Norfolk branch of William and Mary College reviewed Gunnar Myrdal's, "American Dilemma." We received excellent publicity in the newspapers, including a brief resume of Dr. Myrdal's salient points on race.

Mrs. Ma son is in Paris now as a delegate to the International Women's Conference. May I suggest you send your idea along to me or to Mrs. Arnold Strauss, vice president, as Mrs. Mason expects to be in Europe for some time. Mrs. Strauss's address is 1002 La ngley Rd., Norfolk.

We have just sent out 250 letters to local ministers, offering our cooperation on interracial projects and asking theirs in our work. We plan to send one to unions, and civic organizations after Christmas. If you have any suggestions for broadening our membership, we would be glad to have them. Thanks for your interest in our work.

Sinderely yours
Florence Zetlin
Mrs. Arnold Zetlin, Corr. Sec'y

1614 Runnymede Rd.
Norfolk, Va.

October 29, 1946

Mrs. C. B. Chissell
Executive Secretary
The Hopkins House Association
1011 Orenoco Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Chissell:

Let me thank you for the splendid reception given me at the meeting of the Alexandria Interracial Committee on Tuesday evening of last week. I thought that the attendance was very good and that the discussion after my talk showed a keen interest in the problems of the South.

In behalf of the Council let me express our gratitude for the donation of $25.00 which was handed to me by your treasurer. I have given the check to our treasurer, Miss Emily Clay.

With best wishes for the continued success of your work and hoping to have the pleasure of visiting your committee again,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

The Hopkins House Association
1011 ORONOCO STREET
ALEXANDRIA — VIRGINIA

Telephone ALexandria 2850

October 16, 1946

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of September 27th. We look forward to seeing you on the 22nd of October. You may reach me at 417 N. Fayette Street, telephone Al-2595 or our Vice Chairman, Dr. Durant at his office, 708 Pendleton Street, Al-2064.

We shall be very glad to take care of any taxie fare while you are here.

8 P.M.
U.S.O. – Pendleton St.
Go to Durant's office.

Sincerely yours,
Connie B. Chissell
Mrs C. B. Chissell
Executive Secretary
Hopkins House Association.

September 27, 1946

Mrs. C. B. Chissell, Acting Secretary
Alexandria Interracial Committee
1011 Oronoco Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Chissell:

I believe you wanted to know the subject of my talk before the Alexandria Interracial Committee on October 22. I suppose my talk might be put under some such title as "Wanted: A New South."

Incidentally, there will be no expense for your Committee except possibly a taxi fare. I have to be in Washington anyway on Trustee business at Howard University, and my travel expense will be taken care of.

I am looking forward with pleasure to seeing you in October.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

ALEXANDRIA INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE
1011 Oronoco Street
Alexandria, Va.
July 22, 1946

RECEIVED
JUL 31 1946
Southern Regional Council

Miss Emily H. Clay, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Cauncil, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Clay:

Dr. Johnson plans to meet with our local Inter racial Committee here in Alexandria on October 23rd. We are planning a public meeting and I an writing you for some information on Dr. Johnson and his work that we may use for publicity. His subject for the evening is left with him to choose. However, we should like to know that before October 16th.

Dr. Johnson did not mention terms in his letter, please advise me in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Connie B. Chissell

Mrs C. B. Chissell
Acting Secretary

The Hopkins House Association
1011 ORONOCO STREET
ALEXANDRIA — — VIRGINIA

August 12, 1946

RECEIVED
AUG 13 1946
Southern Regional Council

Local — Alexandria Com.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Your letter of August 6, received. We shall be very glad to change the date of your engagement to October 22.

There are several trains leaving here for Atlanta after ten P. M.

Sincerely yours,
Connie B. Chissell
Mrs. C. B. Chissell
Acting Secretary.

August 6, 1946

Mrs. C. B. Chissell, Acting Secretary
Alexandria Interracial Committee
1011 Orenoco Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Chissell:

Thank you for your letter of July 22. Since I wrote you last I have discovered that I will be through with my Washington engagement on the afternoon of Tuesday, October 22. Since I could speak to your group that evening and catch a late train to Atlanta, I would appreciate it very much if you could change my engagement to October 22.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

ALEXANDRIA INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE
1011 Oronoco Street
Alexandria, Va.
July 22, 1946

RECEIVED
JUL 31 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Your letter of July 19th received. We shall be very happy to have you meet with us on October 23rd. at 8:30 P. M.

We plan now to have a public meeting and would like to know ahead of time your subject for the evening.

Sincerely yours,
Connie B. Chissell
Mrs. C. B. Chissell
Acting Secretary

July 19, 1946

Mrs. C. B. Chissell, Acting Secretary
Alexandria Interracial Committee
1011 Oronoco Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Chissell:

Thank you for your letter of July 15. Although we have no plans at the present which will take us into your area in September, it may be that something will develop later. I have to be in Washington on October 21-22, and I will be glad to meet with your group on Wednesday, October 23, if this date is suitable. Please let me know what you have decided.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

RECEIVED
JUL 17 1946
Southern Regional Council

ALEXANDRIA INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE
1011 Oronoco Street,
Alexandria, Va.
July 15, 1946.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

A number of the members of our Interracial Committee are members of the Southern Regional Council and we find the Council literature very helpful in discussions and study groups.

From time to time we notice that you or some member of the staff on Interracial programs in this area. We are writing to see if any member of the staff will be in this section in September, If so, we should like to arrange for a public meeting and learn more of the SRC and its work.

Please send us information as to terms and dates.

Sincerely yours,
Connie B. Chissell
Mrs. C. B. Chissell
Acting Secretary.

22-Local Interracial Ctees — Virginia

December 1, 1949

Mrs. W. T. Mason
The Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation
909 Maypole Avenue
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

I greatly appreciate the invitation to be in Norfolk for the meeting January 10 and am most happy to accept.

Let me know later on when and where you will want me. I would expect to come on the Seaboard's "Silver Comet" which I think gets me in at eleven or so in the morning.

You were very kind to send the check for ten dollars, which is mighty helpful to us.

I remember my visit before and enjoyed that good company.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM;wgd

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL
for INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

909 Maypole Avenue,
November 29, 1949

RECEIVED
1 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation would like very much to have you as the guest speaker for the January 10th meeting. It seems important to us that a factual review of the current situation in the south as it pertains to the interracial level be given at the outset of the new year. The south is undergoing many changes as everyone who is interested can s ee but in order to stimulate and challenge us to new efforts we believe a positive approach to all our problems would be effective. There is no one I know more able to do this than you.

All your expenses of course will be paid by air or by any other means you choose. We are sorry not to be in a position to offer a real honorarium but as you know all our funds are secured from yearly membership fees. Perhaps you will recall speaking to a committee of the Council three or four years ago. Since that time we have tried to do many things more or less effective.

Mrs. Arnold Strauss is co-chairman of the program committee and joins me in the fervent wish that you will be able to meet our request.

I am enclosing a check for $10.00 for a contribution to the work for 1949 and hope to send another small gift directly after the holidays.

With kindest wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,
Venita C Mason
Mrs. W.T. Mason
Co-Chr. Progam Committee

to H.B.
Dec 1. 49.

Interracial Group To Meet Tonight

The annual meeting of the Richmond Committee on Interracial Co-operation will begin at 8 o'clock tonight at the YWCA, with the guest speaker, Mrs. Henry Havens, field representative, Southern Regional Conference, Atlanta.

Election of officers, a summary of the past year's activities, adoption of a constitution and plans for next year's program will be issues that will come before the meeting.

The Rev. Edwin S. Sheppe, Jr., pastor of Boulevard Methodist Church, will act as chairman.

22 - Local Interracial Cttees - Virginia

WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

RECEIVED DEC 20 1949 Southern Regional Council

N-E-W-S L-E-T-T-E-R December 1949

(Norfolk, Va.)

"I am concerned that our constitutional freedoms are not shared by all our people; my religion convinces me they must be and gives me courage to study, work, and lead others to the fulfillment of equal justice under the law. I will respond to calls from the Southern Regional Council to serve my faith and my community in the defense of justice."

With this pledge, 150 church women leaders from twelve Southern states ended a two-day conference in Atlanta called by the Southern Regional Council in cooperation with church women's groups and the National Board of the YWCA. The meeting was inter-faith, inter-denominational and inter-racial. They further pledged themselves to attack discrimination and inequality in their communities by personally checking on courtroom procedures, police administration, jail conditions, protection of the right to vote and increased respect for personal safety of all people.

Dr. Ralph Bunche, speaking at the opening meeting of the Florida State Conference of Social Work, said, "The voice of the United Nations is being increasingly heard and felt for a just world, a good world, a world fit to live in for all people, a world in which racial and religious bigotries are universally outlawed. The problem of race relations is a sore one in the American South. This is not merely a Southern problem. It is a national, indeed an international problem. That race relations are improving in the South and elsewhere cannot be doubted, but they still remain in a dangerous state and are a liability to the South and to the Nation."

The Norfolk City Council has unanimously endorsed a contract with the Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority which will set in motion the clearance of a large slum area and the erection of 3,000 low rent public housing units.

Twenty-five people have been named to serve on the City's bi-racial Citizens's Committee to work with the Superintendent of Schools and the School Board on building problems. The group will work on a plan to provide adequate physical facilities for all school children in the City.

The National Interfraternity Conference struck a blow against discrimination recently by recommending the elimination of restrictive membership provisions in college Greek-letter societies.

For the first time in history, educators themselves-100 college presidents, deans, registrars, heads of school systems-met in Chicago to deal with the national problem of discrimination in college admissions. The delegates adopted a 3-point program which calls for(1) development of a program by the college themselves that would eliminate discrimination, including publication of admission procedures; (2) government financial aid to improve facilities for higher education, funds to be administered only to schoolsthat do not practice discrimination; (3) a study of legislation now in operation to determine its use for other states and regions.

Many moving pictures are now being made which show what prejudice does to the person who practices it as well as to the person against whom it is aimed--"Crossfire," "Gentleman's Agreement", "Home of the Brave", "Lost Boundaries" and "Pinky".

Mrs. W. T. Mason, one of the founders and first President of the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation, was recently named Regional Vice-President of the National Council of Negro Women.

Progress in interracial cooperation and understanding is being made throughout the South. Examples from State of Florida: 1) Rollins College became the first Southern white college to honor a Negro for achievement by awarding an honorary degree to Mrs. Mary McCleod Bethune; 2) Negro night club entertainers appeared in Miami and Miami Beach night clubs; 3) Two Negro lawyers were admitted to practice before the State Supreme Court; 4) The Florida Student Government Association met interracially twice during the year; 5) The first even partially successful prosecutions for the violation of Negroes' civil rights took place; 6) The first Florida Negro to be ordained a Roman Catholic priest sang his initial mass before an interracial audience; 7) An "Enabling act" designed to permit Miami Beach to outlaw discriminatory signs or advertisements was passed by the state legislature; 8) At least 9 Florida cities passed ordinances forbidding the wearing of masks or the burning of crosses by the Ku Klux Klan; 9) Jackie Robinson and his Brooklyn Dodgers teammates played interracial exhibition baseball games in two Florida cities; 10) For the first time, Negroes attended the "open house" at the Governor's Mansion, and the formal reception held in the State Capitol in connection with the inauguration of Governor Warren.

Only copy -

CONSTITUTION

of the

RICHMOND COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

ARTICLE I. NAME

The name of the organization shall be the Richmond Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

ARTICLE II. PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVE

Section (1) The purpose of the organization shall be;

1. to promote understanding between the various races and develop patterns by which they may work and live together;
2. to seek equality of opportunity through education, research and united action;
3. to improve economic, civic, educational and health conditions in the city of Richmond;
4. to cooperate with the Department of Interracial Cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches by mutual discussion and administration;
5. to recognize and preserve the spiritual values in human relationships.

Section (2) The objective of the organization is to make it possible for members of all minority groups to share fully in the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship.

ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP AND DUES

Section (1) Membership in the organization shall be opened to those persons living in the Richmond area, who are in accord with the purpose and objective, and are recommended by the membership committee.

Section (2) Annual membership dues shall be two dollars ($2.00). One dollar and fifty cents ($1.50) of such annual dues shall be paid over by the Treasurer to the Department of Interracial Cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches.

ARTICLE IV

Section (1) The officers of the organization shall be a Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and Treasurer.

Section (2) The officers shall be elected by a majority vote of the members present at the annual meeting of the organization and shall serve for a term of one (1) year or until their successors take office.

Section (3) There shall be a Director, who for coordination of social planning and financing, shall also be the Director of the Department of Interracial Cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches.

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES

Section (1) The Executive Committee shall be composed of the officers, chairmen and co-chairmen of all committees.

Section (2) The Executive Committee may establish program, membership, publicity, legal and such other special committees as may be required.

ARTICLE VI. MEETINGS

Section (1) Regular meetings shall be held monthly from September through June inclusive, at least three of which shall offer an appeal to the general public.

Section (2) The Executive Committee shall meet preceeding each such regular meeting.

Section (3) The annual meeting shall be held in June or at another regular meeting designated by a majority vote of the members present at any regular meeting.

ARTICLE VII. AMENDMENTS

This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the annual meeting, provided the proposed amendment in writing has been submitted at the next preceeding regular meeting.

CONSTITUTION

of the

ALEXANDRIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

ARTICLE I — Name

The Alexandria Committee on Interracial Cooperation is hereby constituted as an independent, local, organization cooperating with the Southern Regional Council, the Department of Interracial Cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches, and other organizations of like purpose.

ARTICLE II — Purpose

The purpose of this organization shall be to promote acquaintance, understanding, good will, justice, opportunity, and fair-dealing between the races; and to preserve the spiritual values which arise in human relationships.

ARTICLE III — Officers

The officers shall consist of a Chairman, a Vice-chairman, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and an Assistant Secretary, elected annually by a majority vote of the members present at the election meeting.

ARTICLE IV — Committees

The Chairman shall appoint such annual committees as in his discretion seem necessary.

ARTICLE V — Membership

Membership-at large shall be open to all citizens of the community upon payment of annual membership dues. Such members shall have a voice and vote at all regular meetings.

ARTICLE VI — Executive Committee

There shall be an Executive Committee membership composed of the Officers and eight to ten additional members chosen annually from the membership-at-large by majority vote of those members present at the election meeting.

ARTICLE VII — Dues

An optional Combination-Membership in the Alexandria Committee and in the Southern Regional Council, including all rights and privileges of both organizations, is offered on payment of $2 annual dues.

Dues for local membership only shall be $1 annually.

ARTICLE VIII — Meetings

Regular meetings shall be held monthly, except any such meeting may be omitted by a majority vote of the Committee in meeting. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman as occasion may require.

ARTICLE IX — Committee Year

The Committee Year shall be the calendar year, with elections held annually at the January meeting.

ARTICLE X — Amendments

No alteration or amendment of this Constitution shall be made unless the same be proposed and accepted by a majority vote at one monthly meeting to be presented for adoption by a majority vote at the next monthly meeting.

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

June 12, 1957

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I am planning to go to New York next week prior to the weekend conference in Virginia. My plane is due in New York at 4:15 p.m. on Wednesday, June 19th, and I will be catching a plane out for Richmond at about 2:30 on Friday, the 21st. What are the possibilities of our getting together? If there is no chance of seeing you in New York, I will try to work out some kind of jog to Philadelphia. But it would be nice if we could work out a kind of get together with Dave Freeman that you suggested. I am writing Dave about my coming, but I will leave any possible meeting of the three of us to you.

I think we have time to exchange notes, so I will await word from you.

All the best,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. I expect to be staying at the Roosevelt if you should want to leave a message.

HCF

RECEIVED JUN 14 1957

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

June 13, 1957

Dear Harold,

Thanks for yours of the 12th.

How's this? I'll meet you at the Roosevelt at 11:30 a.m. on Thursday, the 20th, and then we can have lunch at 12:30 at the Roosevelt with Dave. I'm writing to Dave today and making this suggestion.

I'll have to get a 3 p.m. train to Philly.

Best regards

Sincerely
Frank

P.S. If the morning appointment is bad for you, say the word and we can work something else.

P.P.S. Let me know if you would like to spend Wednesday night at my home and go to New York next morning.

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

June 14, 1957

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your prompt reply. The plan you suggest suits me fine. I hope this isn't putting you to unnecessary travel and trouble.

Since I am to be in New York such short time, I expect I had better fly on in Wednesday night. Among other things, I need to spend some time with Josephine Wilkins. So reluctantly I will take a rain check on your much appreciated invitation to stop over in Philadelphia.

I am looking forward to seeing you - and Dave if he can make it.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Did you see the enclosed in the New York Times?

MEMORANDUM

June 22, 1957

Dear Harold,

I hope you can conveniently see Brenda Bailey, wife of the director of the Quaker Team at the U.N. She will be traveling in the South for a few weeks. She'll be in Atlanta with Sherm Stanley beginning June 28 for a few days. Then she goes to Augusta, Etc. (Itinerary enclosed).

She wants to visit in a Negro home and attend a Negro church.

Brenda grew up in Germany and left just in time. (She has some Jewish ancestry.) She is keen. So is her husband.

FRANK S. LOESCHER

He does a column for The Christian Century, along with [illegible] the US [illegible]

Many thanks

Sincere,

Frank.

June 28 to 30th Atlanta Friends
Phern Stanley, 525 Avery St Decautr, Georgia

July 1st to 4th
Augusta Friends
Faith Bertsche, 2230 Edgewood Street Augusta

July 5th ~~xx~~ travelling all day

July 6th to 9th
David Stanfield, 601 Springfield Rd
High Point , N.C.

July 10th Travelling back to New York

June 25, 1957

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I will be glad to see Mrs. Bailey and give her any help I can. I will get in touch with Phern Stanley about timing.

Mr. Cronje came by the office on your recommendation and, in my absence, talked at length with John Constable.

I have just finished reading your prospectus on the exchange program. I think it is a very clear and persuasive proposal and should capture the interest of anyone who is genuinely concerned in that field. By the way, I just spent a day and a half with Emory Ross at the Phelps Stokes conference in Capahosic, Virginia. We found common ground, among other things, in our mutual friendship with you.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VIA AIR MAIL

July 15, 1957

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I don't think I've yet acknowledged your helpful note about your conversation with Yorke Allen and Harry Meserve. Although Allen's views certainly don't sound encouraging, it is good to get this line on him.

The Arkansas Council, working through Winthrop, has a request before the Brothers -- with our blessings. If they get it, we will probably hold off, at least for some time. But I will keep a weather eye out for Meserve.

Incidentally, Arkansas seems to have a real opportunity. With the three largest districts and one other beginning school desegregation in September, the small West Arkansas districts may be encouraged to move. Nat Griswold is working hard at this. Ashmore worked out a deal with Hutchins, whereby we are making a special grant for this project to Arkansas with the prospect of reimbursement by the Fund at its September board meeting. So the door isn't hermetically sealed!

Sorry there was no opportunity for a rendezvous in New York or Washington this month. I've been pretty fully involved on the home front, what with state aid to be negotiated, the heavy press demand for our voting data, and other matters.

3

Hope the exchange project is progressing well and that we can get together again before too long.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Frank Loescher, Phila. address, airmail

Dear Frank:

I don't think I've yet acknowledged your helpful note about your conversation with Yorke Allen and Harry Meserve. Although Allen's views certainly don't sound encouraging, it is ~~xxxxxxxx~~ good to get this line on him.

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Hope the exchange project is progressing well and that we can get together again before too long.

Sincerely,

HCF

June 27, 1957

Dear Harold,

I had lunch on Monday with Yorke Allen and a new man, Harry Reserve (MESÉRVE), a Unitarian minister whom I had met ten years ago when he directed an AFSC work camp. Allen really is conservative. He thinks of his counselling scheme as a way of keeping ministers in their churches (from losing their jobs). I spoke of the Batesburg Baptist and the Presbyterian minister in South Carolina, both of whom had been most discrete and still had lost their jobs. He started to criticize Chas Jones and I could take it no longer. I said I knew of no minister who worked more carefully with his church board.

Well, this doesn't sound promising. Apparently Reserve will do some leg work, so you should look him up and cultivate him, send him New Smith

and try to get him to one of your meetings. Allen figures on getting a very wise minister in two or three denominations on a 2 or 3 year leave to go around quietly visiting ministers. Little is said about guiding the ministers into social action. Loescher is a radical compared to Allen!

Still, there's money there. They'll probably do something in the South with the churches, so while you shouldn't put a lot of energy on this, after you get to know what Reserve is really up to, you might think up a proposal for the Brothers.

I had a full week. We are still trying to settle on the best organization to administer the exchange scheme. I got a lot of ideas, but until we have an "umbrella", it's hard to raise funds.

Best regards

Sincerely

Frank

P.S. I plan to be in New York July 1-2, 8-9, 15-16. Perhaps in Washington on July 12.

File

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

SH-Tuscaloosa
7-0277

September 10, 1957

Dear Harold,

I had lunch today with Dick Bennett at his request. Dick is a part-time consultant to a Philadelphia foundation (it does little in race relations, but when the "old man" dies there will be millions and the possibility of grants for race relations); he is also as of September 1 giving 2 days a week as a confidential consultant on race relations to Max Hahn. (Max wrote me about this and said he hoped when the big "dough" came in there might be a spot for me at times).

The point of all this is that Dick is to spend a week in the South - Atlanta and Nashville, probably. He probably will be in touch with you. I don't know how confidential he will be with you, but

I think you should not let on you know he is with Field. Chances are, however, he'll tell you all.

Dick says that Hahn talks about another year before Field gets any real money, but he thinks he is operating within a figure of perhaps $100,000. I suggest you give him the VIP treatment including a drink at your home if you possibly can make it. I told him about your "coordinating" work at Tuskegee, Atlanta etc. and the respect in which you are held by all agencies.

Dick may phone you and ask you to arrange one or two interviews for him. I suggested he do this.

Thanks for sending me Hodding Carter's editorial and Paul Douglas' letter. I feel for you these days. The Little Rock and Nashville events are too painful for words.

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

Dave Freeman tells me he is leaving September 18 with good terminal leave. I hope to lunch with him on the 16th, the day before arrangements are scheduled to be made for setting up the U.S.-S.A. Leader Exchange Program under the African-American Institute. (The Institute has been strengthened by the addition to its Board of Alan Pifer (Carnegie Corp.), Dana Creel (Rock. Bros.), et al.) I think with these people on the Board and a more "neutral" or factual newsletter, the S.A. government may not block the program.

Our group still has to raise the money for the program and we will approach Ford, Rock. Bros., Carnegie Corp., New World and two

smaller foundations. If all goes according to plan, the operation may start by Thanksgiving or Christmas with F.S.L. as director.

I would like to raise the matter of my doing the sort of consultant work for the SRC that we discussed. I am inclined to say I am available, possibly as of October 1, should you still be interested. If you are and if my advisory group on the exchange scheme has no objections, we might make a deal. I do want your advice on certain ethical problems that are bound to arise; for example, my session today with Dick Bennett. It seems to me that I would have to put my cards on the table.

My best to you and your wife and kids

Sincerely

Frank

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

RECEIVED SEP 23 1957

September 21, 1957

Dear Harold,

Dr. Ellen Hellman, past president of the South African Institute of Race Relations distinguished anthropologist and leader in all good causes, plans to be in Atlanta from October 6 to October 12, probably staying at Atlanta University. I am writing to Brazeal and asking him to introduce her to his colleagues there. I would appreciate it if you would see Ellen when she phones you and give her a few local leads - Calhoun, e.g.

I hate to bother you with this, but Ellen is a very special friend and if you can spare an hour I know you will find her a kindred spirit and well worth knowing.

Incidentally, she traveled

in the South in 1944-45.

There are two cities where a letter of introduction from you would help her a lot — Montgomery Oct. 15-16 (King, Thrasher) and Louisville Oct. 20-24 (Carmichael, McCandless and C.H. Parrish.).

The exchange scheme did not get the full blessing from the African-American Institute Board last week, but I think we'll have it if a few foundations commit themselves.

I hope you and your family are well. I think of you and your associates a lot. If I were a real praying man, you would be high on my list.

Sincerely,

Frank

Loescher, Frank
Wk. Feeler
1957

VIA AIR MAIL

September 23, 1957

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

This is to confirm our agreement by telephone this morning that you will undertake certain consultant services for the Southern Regional Council. Here are the highlights of our agreement as I understand it. Let me know if you feel anything should be changed.

1. Our arrangement will be, for the time being, on an informal month-to-month basis, at a monthly fee of $200, beginning October 1, 1957.

2. We recognize that this will permit you to give only a limited amount of time exclusively to SRC's interests, but our mutual feeling was that many of the people you will be seeing in other connections may suitably be interested in our work.

3. Within these limitations, we will look to you (as indeed we have to a considerable degree already!) as a kind of "up-east representative" to tell our story to foundation people and others who can be helpful.

4. We also agreed that you might represent SRC at appropriate meetings and conferences that you find it possible to attend.

5. Undoubtedly there will be many occasions in which I or others can backstop your efforts or follow through on leads that you develop. Don't hesitate to call on us for this staff support, and feel free to telephone me collect.

I realize that a final commitment from you must await checking with your advisory group. We'll consider ourselves blessed if there are no obstacles and you can work with us in this way.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VIA AIR MAIL

October 4, 1957

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I finally received word of the date set for the CCD Mass Media meeting in New York, which Elmo Roper is expected to attend. It is Tuesday the 22nd. So I can now go ahead and lay some plans for the trip.

I appreciate your invitation to spend Sunday night with you. This means that I would be able to speak briefly to the AFSC staff meeting Monday morning if that turns out to be convenient for everybody. I haven't checked the air line schedules yet, but imagine I can get the Sunday afternoon flight which stops in Philadelphia. Once my reservations are definite I will let you know my exact time of arrival.

I am glad our new arrangement is in effect and that we will have a chance when I am there to hash things over in detail. I will tell you more about it when I see you, but you should know that Josephine Wilkins expects to be in New York again soon, striking a few blows for the Council too. I don't think there is any great danger of any duplication of efforts or crossed lines, but I hope the two of you will have a chance to discuss your respective activities.

Dick Bennett is here. We had a very productive day and evening together yesterday. I think he can do some real good

both for the Council and for the cause in general.

I will be writing you again next week. Meanwhile, all the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Brazeal called me about Ellen Hellman yesterday, and I am to see her next Tuesday. Needless to say, I will do everything I can to facilitate her visit in Atlanta and at other Southern points.

HCF

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

September 26, 1957

Dear Harold,

Thanks very much for your letter of September 23. Let's begin the relationship October 1, 1957, on a month-to-month basis.

I see no point in discussing this with the exchange folks; there is no telling just when the program may start. At the earliest it's a matter of months, I think, and I can't see any conflict with the exchange program or any of my other connections.

I'm still hoping you can spend the night with us. Perhaps

I can arrange for you to speak to the 9 a.m. October 21 staff meeting — about 200 people, confer with a fund-raiser and lunch with AFSC Community Relations staff. If this could be done, it might be best for you to stay with us Sunday night, October 20. (You could take an early afternoon train to New York if necessary.) Warm regards

Sincerely
Frank

MEMORANDUM

Sep. 26, 1957

Dear Harold,

Remember our discussions of the "war of ideas" all over the country?

Here is a story that indicates the battle is being fought in Philly.

Regards

Frank

FRANK S. LOESCHER

Negro students, en route to
dent of the Arkansas NAAC

Gang Situation Seen Explosive

Gibbons Notes Unrest Over Little Rock

Police Commissioner Thomas J. Gibbons said this afternoon that street gang fights in Philadelphia are tied to the fight over integration in Little Rock, Ark.

He described the situation as "explosive."

Unrest over the Little Rock crisis, he said, has "given rise to rumors which fly from mouth to mouth and get kids excited."

Urges Calmness

Typical of these rumors, he said, was one that several white boys had been shot and killed in South Philadelphia.

"It's rumors like this that can trigger real trouble," he said.

He pleaded with Philadelphians to keep a level head and pay no attention to rumormongers.

"We are having trouble now that we never had before," he said.

Gets Report on Fights

Gibbons commented after conferring with Police Sergeant Douglas Cuthbertson, head of gang control in the Juvenile Aid Bureau.

Cuthbertson reported to Gibbons on the disturbance of last night, when sporadic gang fights broke out in several sections of the city.

Cuthbertson also reported on yesterday afternoon's demon-

Continued on Page 40, Col. 5

Gang Situation 'Explosive'

Continued From First Page

stration of about 250 South Philadelphia High School pupils. He said he believed it was linked to the Little Rock situation.

Fear Gang Revival

"The unrest on which the rumors feed is traceable to Little Rock," said Cuthbertson.

One of the Police Department's biggest worries, Cuthbertson said, is that the unrest and "nervousness" over integration in the South will "bring the 20 street gangs we've managed to deactivate back into action."

The gang fights broke out last night despite extra details of JAB officers and other police.

Several gangs were dispersed before trouble could start.

Brothers Attacked

Shortly before 8 last night, Rudy DiLauro, 21, and his brother, George, 22, of 1204 Federal st., were attacked by a gang of youths at 15th and Reed sts. The youths, Negroes, had sticks, clubs and bottles.

The brothers, who are white, broke away from the gang, and ran to a friend's house.

When police arrived at the scene of the attack, they followed one youth to his home on Reed st. near 17th.

He said he was Earl Hines, 17. He was slated on charges of assault and battery and disorderly conduct and sent to the Youth Study Center.

The DiLauro brothers were taken to Graduate Hospital and treated for cuts and bruises.

After this incident, Police Commissioner Thomas J. Gibbons had a general radio message sent out to all cars in the city to be on the lookout for groups of teenagers congregating on the streets.

Break Up Groups

Police then began breaking up any group of more than two or three.

At 8.25 P. M., at 23d st. and Columbia av., a gang of Negro boys was dispersed.

A gang of white boys was picked up at 9.05 P. M. for throwing bottles at 17th st. and Snyder av.

Gang fights were reported at Gaul and Berks at 9.20, at Broad and Tasker at 9.55 and at Broad and Clearfield at 10.

Things began quieting down after 10.30. Police said this resulted from enforcement of the curfew law.

RECEIVED SEP 30 1957

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

9/27/57
Harold
Can you make it?
Regards
Frank

September 26, 1957

Frank S. Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

As far as I can tell now we would be delighted to have Harold Fleming speak at staff meeting Monday morning, October 21. If this works out let me know in confirmation and I can tell you nearer the date the amount of time we can set aside to hear Harold.

I am sure all the staff will be most interested in meeting him and hearing his significant analysis of the situation in the South. Thanks for this very helpful suggestion.

Sincerely,

Lewis
(WS)

Lewis M. Hoskins
Executive Secretary

LMH/bs

(dictated but not read)

RECEIVED OCT 7 1957

MEMORANDUM

Saturday, Oct. 5, 1957

Dear Harold,

I saw Dave Freeman on Wednesday. He has a temporary office in the Assn of the Bar of New York City (60 W. 44 St.) He is doing some work for the Norman Foundation (about $400,000) and hopes that they may develop a $100 000 a year race relations program. Two sisters live in Atlanta and he plans to visit them. He wants to talk to you before going to Atlanta. I told him you expected to be in New York the week of the 21st.

You might write him at his home Rumson, New Jersey: Oyster Bay Drive* and a copy to Assn of the Bar, saying I told you he would like to see you and letting him know when you will be in New York.

I am still hoping you can spend Sunday night, Oct. 20 with us.

The Chase Fund (Quaker fund of which I am a trustee) gave $5000 to the exchange scheme!

FRANK S. LOESCHER

Phone RUMSON 1-1230 over

They also gave $3500 to Penn.

We must talk about the right approach to Chase by SRC. Perhaps through Marion Wright.

I have been doing some research at the Foundation Library Center and I hope to have a stack of 3x5 cards to show you when next we get together.

My best to Ellen Hellman

You might pass on to Ellen my latest literary effort when you are finished.

Best regards

Sincerely

Frank

Oct. 7, 1957

Dear Harold,

Alex is lining things up for you to speak at 9 on Oct. 21. I hope you can lunch with Community Relations staff. If you are pressed for time, you can get an train every hour that afternoon to New York.

I will see if we can have coffee at 10 with one of the fund raisers.

See you on the 20th. I'll meet your plane.

Regards

Frank

Encl: 1 Congressional Record
Fri - July 26, 1957

VIA AIR MAIL

October 10, 1957

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

You have really done a job of setting things up!

I have a reservation for Sunday the 20th on Capitol Flight 174, which is supposed to arrive in Philadelphia at 4:25 p. m. (I'm not quite sure how daylight time affects this.) It is mighty nice of you to offer to meet me at the airport, but believe quite unnecessary. I can easily take a taxi in and save you that long trip.

Going on to New York presents no problem, since my first really scheduled appointment isn't until Tuesday morning. If I get to New York Monday in sufficient time to make a few calls, well and good.

I have written Dave Freeman, as you suggested, asking him to let me know where I should call him when I get in. I will certainly want to get together with him. I know one of the Norman sisters and her husband.

I had a good long talk with Ellen Hellman, and she was a guest of honor at the Hungry Club where I spoke yesterday. We are writing several letters to Montgomery and Louisville for her. She was glad to get a copy of

your good article in the Christian Century. It is good to see your ideas on South Africa reaching a thoughtful audience.

I am looking forward eagerly to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

File

RECEIVED OCT 14 1957

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

October 13, 1957

Dear Harold,

Thanks for your letter. I look forward to meeting your flight #174 next Sunday about 4:25.

All is set at the AFSC — 9 a.m. staff meeting (about 200); then about coffee with one or two fund-raisers (Henry Russell and possibly Alphonse Miller); about 11 you meet with Barbara and the chap in the publicity office whose name I have a block on; about 12 lunch with AFSC Community Relations staff where you may be asked

about the Southern situation and, time permitting, hear about AFSC work in Philadelphia suburbs.

It will be good to have you at 414 although I'm sorry it means taking you from your family.

Sincerely,
Frank

November 5, 1957

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Your several recent notes are deeply appreciated. I am embarrassed that so much travel has prevented me from writing you sooner.

Let me say, first of all, how much I enjoyed and appreciated all you did for me in Philadelphia. My warm thanks to you and your nice wife. Tell her that I kicked myself when I realized on the train that I had left the plastic dinosaur behind. However, I did make a good haul at the Museum of Natural History, emerging with all manner of horrible metal replicas.

The New York trip was, I think, fruitful, and I will be writing you more about the results as matters progress. My problem at the moment is to get all the follow-up done. I have so far only written to Thompson of the Farfield Foundation about the possibility of their giving us $5,000 for the foreign visitor program, and I am getting off a lot of background dope about our finances and program to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, as requested; we are to put in an application to them within a few weeks. In the works are follow-up letters or requests to the New York Foundation, The Schiff Foundation, The Rosenthal Foundation, Ittleson, the several foundations that you and I agreed I should write exploratorily, and the latest two possibilities you have written me about. I am still awaiting word from Dave Freeman

about the outcome of his negotiations with the family members of Norman Fund. Marion Wright was to explore the possibilities of aid from Chace with Mr. Evans last week, and I will discuss this with Marion Wright at our annual meeting next week. Many thanks for passing along the name of the West Coast foundation and also for putting in a good word with Edwin Wolf. I will be following up on both possibilities shortly. Many thanks too for speaking to Mrs. Freedman on our behalf. I take it that I am to write her within the next few days expressing the hope that a request from us might be considered at their next board meeting.

You have certainly done a magnificent job of turning up the leads for us and paving the way for direct approaches. Thanks to you, we have got more fund-raising efforts underway by far than ever before in the history of SRC. I am sure that they will bear good fruit.

Warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Max Hahn which is self explanatory. We will certainly have a request in whenever they do meet again.

RECEIVED NOV 4 1957 Oct. 31, 1957

① Field Hr
② Advise of follow up
③ Acknowledgment
④ Thanks

Dear Harold,

The West Coast foundation interested in controversial matters is the Hopkins Charities Fund (Dr. Prynce Hopkins) 1920 Garden St., Santa Barbara, California.

Incidentally, David C. Walden, 714 West California Street, Pasadena, California, who is trying to organize a foundation consulting service gave me the name of this foundation last summer, but I didn't make an appeal since the Exchange Program had no umbrella. I hope you strike a responsive note.

Why don't you also write Walden (use my name; he also knows Mr. May)

and ask him to keep SRC in mind as he meets foundation people?

I saw Edwin Wolf, 2nd, today and he's interested in Exchange Program. (I mentioned $10,000 and he seemed to like the figure) I also asked him about possible support for SRC and said you had seen Gallagher. He said he would be glad to hear from you. Address him at The Library Company of Philadelphia, Broad and Christian Streets, Phila. 47, Pa.

Vernon Eagle wrote me a very encouraging letter. I have heard that Lilly Foundation is inquiring at ACLS about the Exchange Program. (Lilly has 98 million!) Have you ever taken a sounding?

Best regards Sincerely
Frank

RECEIVED NOV 1 1957

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 30, 1957

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO OFFICE
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 132
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in informing me that the Fund for the Advancement of Education has made a grant for preparation of a manual on desegregation.

And now there is one piece of news which I must pass on to you. That is, that our officers decided over the weekend that due to lack of funds the Foundation is not warranted in having a meeting next month and that we probably will not meet to make grants for some months.

I can assure you that as soon as our finances improve the board will be eager to get together to put available funds to work constructively. I shall continue to process applications so as to be ready for the meeting when we can hold it.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

RECEIVED OCT 28 1957

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

Oct. 27, 1957

Dear Harold,

Hold off for a week writing to Jane, rather Mrs. Abraham L. Freedman. I am sending her the clipping from today's Times in which Popham mentions again SRC voting study plus a copy of study and Paul Douglas' Congressional Record reprint.

Best regards

Sincerely

Frank

RECEIVED OCT 28 1957

414 S. 46 St.
Philadelphia 43, Pa.
October 26, 1957

Dear Harold,

I hope your New York trip was a good one and bears lot of fruit.

I talked to Hugh Moore about West Coast foundation interested in controversial matters. He couldn't remember the name and promised to check on it and let me know. (Remind me of this in a month if I don't get to you first.)

I spoke to you about the Sunstein Foundation in Philadelphia. ($20,000 in 1953). I called Mrs. Abraham L. Freedman, the daughter and an officer, and she said her

father had most to say, that any grant would be small but to have you get in touch with her. I suggest a letter with voting study and putting her on New South. ~~Ask when next Board meeting is called forth~~. I am guessing, but there might be a $1000. Jane Freedman is worth cultivating. She is treasurer of A.D.A. and active in race relations field. Her home address is 1014 West Hortter Street, Philadelphia.

Say you hope the Sunstein Foundation might be interested in helping the SRC and you would like to submit a request at next Board meeting if she thinks there would be interest.

Best regards

Sincerely

Frank

P.S. She said I could speak for SRC*, but I said you come North regularly.

* presumably to her father

BARBIZON-PLAZA HOTEL
106 CENTRAL PARK SOUTH . . . . NEW YORK 19

File
Loeb

November 20, 1957

Dear Harold,

I had lunch today with Dave, Monty Bradley and Harry Meserve. Monty said the Bros. Fund was giving a lot of thought to the SRC (He mentioned that they had put you thru the wringer, so to speak, getting all the dope.) Apparently, Arkansas Council on H.R. is being given separate consideration, with SRC first.

He said they were waiting to hear from you about election of board members and your proposals. He said they were interested in two areas especially: educational conferences and law and order. I spoke of your consultant's assistance in Youth Gov.

cable address "BARBPLAZA" • telephone Circle 7-7000

(Dave spoke of a scheme a Committee once tried to raise money for — unsuccessfully — sending a team of police specialists into communities facing a crisis.) It occurred to me that a top police official, a community relations specialist (one of your consultants) and possibly a respected National Guard officer (this was Dave's idea) might be made available as a team to southern cities, not at the time of a crisis, but for training purposes.

VCCJ supports a police — community relations program at Michigan State and they might have ideas on personnel. Also, Manny Fagan once had a joint NAIRO - International Assn of Chiefs of Police conference on police-community relations. He might have ideas.

I asked Monty how much they were going to give SRC. He said "We're not going to pick up where Fund for Republic left off". I said

BARBIZON-PLAZA HOTEL
106 CENTRAL PARK SOUTH . . . . NEW YORK 19

"Would you give $75000 a year for three years?" He said, "We are more likely to give $25000 a year for three years."

Anyhow their Board meets in January and I think SRC's request ought to get up pretty soon. You may want to ask Dave's advice on how much to ask for. If Monty's right in his estimate of $25000 a year for three years, you might want to ask for, say, $40,000 a year for 3 years.

I am getting a little encouragement from corporations. I'm hopeful about Benjamin Rosenthal. Monty thinks Lock. Bros

won't do much for a year or two about South Africa.

That seems to be it.

When are you coming up? Try to let me know and I'll plan to be in New York; I hope without a cold. And you know you are always welcome at 414.

Best regards

Sincerely

Frank

November 20, 1957

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

We've been swamped here - among other things by our annual meeting. This is a hasty attempt to catch up on a variety of things.

(1) Dabbs is our new president. I'll send you a list of the Board as newly constituted as soon as the acceptances are in.

(2) The interagency meeting went well, I think, and we were glad to have Jean Fairfax with us. I'll see that you get the minutes when they are ready.

(3) Fortunately, I caught and corrected "Kreel" before the letter went off to the Brothers Fund! We just failed to correct it on the carbon you received.

(4) I'm grateful for your note about Dave's expectations. I have written him to ask if a request is now timely and, if so, to give me any advice he can on what will fit the framework.

(5) I'd like to meet Paffrath. It's not exactly related, but you'll be interested to know that the Carnegie Corporation has steered a Professor S. P. Olivier of Capetown

University to us.

(6) Marion Wright didn't get a chance to discuss SRC with Mr. Evans at their recent meeting. He proposes to write Paul Brown and ask him to sound out the situation. I don't know whether or not this is an effective first step, but we will follow through one way or another.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BARBIZON-PLAZA HOTEL
106 CENTRAL PARK SOUTH . . . . NEW YORK 19

Nov. 13, 1957

Dear Harold,

At lunch with Dave yesterday I understood him to say he was waiting on you to send him a packaged request. Hope I'm not being a "butinsky"

He said he had had a good meeting on Sunday with the Norman family and they went along with his suggested program.

All the best

Frank

P.S. Next time we're in New York together, I want you to meet Leslie Laffraeth of the

cable address "BARBPLAZA" • telephone Circle 7-7000

Carnegie Endowment. He gets around and is a good guy to have on the SRC side.

He suggested that I write to a dozen wealthy individuals for a $500 or $1000 contribution. As an example Edward R. Murrow who makes $300 000 a year.

We can talk about this in terms of SRC too.

BARBIZON-PLAZA HOTEL
106 CENTRAL PARK SOUTH . . . . NEW YORK 19

RECEIVED NOV 13 1957

November 12, 1957

Dear Harold,

I have just read the copies of your letters to Montgomery Bradley and John Thompson. I am very glad to have this background material. It is really impressive.

In your letter to Bradley, you spelled Dana S. Creek's name with a K, "Kreel". Don't worry about this, just use

cable address "BARBPLAZA" • telephone Circle 7-7000

a C when you apply for $50 000 a year! (This is not to be compared with a slip George made in addressing a letter to Ping Ferry as "Dear Wilbur"!)

I'm seeing Dave Freeman for lunch today. If I pick up any dope, I'll pass it along.

The very best

Sincerely

Frank

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

November 9, 1957

Dear Harold,

Thanks for your letter of November 5. Yes, you are to write to Mrs. Freedman.

I am glad you feel I have been helpful. I have some funny feelings about being on your pay-roll, but as long as I seem to be unearthing possibilities, all o.k. I am sure that having this formal relationship keeps me on my toes. I hope I can play a part in

helping SRC get $50,000 in new money in '58, $75,000 in '59 and 100,000 in '60! (Isn't it nice to have nice round goals!)

I have written to 60 foundations and 20 corporations about the U.S.-S.A. Leader Exchange Program, including James A. Farley of Coca-Cola. I have 20 foundation rejections. I do believe that I may be more useful to you as the weeks and months go by.

I'm wondering what you think of the Civil Rights Commission and how your conference went this week with Jean Fairfax present.

Keep me posted on your travel schedule.

The best to your family

Sincerely

Frank

P.S. Chase Fund meets on Thursday, the 14th. Let me know anything important you hear from Marion Wright. Next meeting in January

November 25, 1957

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I was all set up by your note reporting on your luncheon with Bradley, Meserve, and Freeman. We are going to do our best to follow through effectively on this very promising situation with the Rockefeller Brothers. I must say I am having to readjust my thinking - upward - to cope with these large sums.

Enclosed are a couple of fund-raising items I wanted you to see. First, the letter to Mrs. Freedman, with enclosures as listed. I hope this was the right note to sound.

Second, a request for general support from the New York Foundation. Since this is for overall help, the request covers the water front of our activities. Basically the same request, only asking for $15,000 for one year, went to the trustees of the Schiff Fund, including a letter to Mr. Wolf. I am enclosing a copy of my letter to Wolf so that you can see how I put it to him.

Don't get frightened and think we are going to send you every stack of manuscripts that we send out for fund-raising purposes. But I thought you ought to have this one to New York and Schiff because it shows our pitch on the full range of activities.

Repeated thanks for all your good work on our behalf and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold G. Fleming
Executive Director

HGF/mf
Enclosures: Copy of Proposal to N. Y. Foundation and Jacob R. Schiff Fund
Ltr. to Mr. Edwin Wolf
Ltr. to Mrs. Abraham L. Freedman

File

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

November 26, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Many thanks for your letter of November 20.

Idea. I think you should meet people at the Carnegie Corporation and I can't decide whether it should be Alan Pifer and Stephen Stackpole who handle exchanges (e.g. South Africans) or John Gardner, the President. I am inclined to suggest that you try to see Gardner. After all, Carnegie Corporation put up $300,000 for Myrdal study. You could speak of your implementation of Myrdal but emphasize your work with Carnegie traveling fellows and other foreign visitors.

Incidentally, S. P. Olivier, believe it or not, is Nic Olivier's brother, the big heavy-set advocate of territorial separation who was down with you and George in '54.

Paffrath of the Endowment knows a lot of people; he has a big heart and quite a bit of imagination. You can't tell what might come of a meeting. Phil Woodyatt, Director of the New World Affairs Center also in the Endowment Building, is someone else to see for the same reasons.

As for Paul Brown sounding out Harold Evans, chairman of the Chace Fund, I would only do this if Brown knows SRC. If he doesn't, Wright should write Evans directly. (There is a Board meeting January 7.) Is Dabbs on Penn Community Services Board? Maybe he should write.

Have you written to Dr. Prynce Hopkins? David Walden tells me that Board will meet no later than the Easter season. Walden says you should "first write Hopkins and ask for their "Information and Instruction Sheet for Applicants." If you don't hear from him within a reasonable

time, I should make the application anyway. "It is a good bet" for a grant in the neighborhood of $500 to $5,000."

And I hope you will put David C. Walden on your mailing list and drop him a note at my suggestion. He can do you good. He is a consultant to a few foundations and if his "Claremore Plan" goes through he will be consultant to dozens! He's a Quaker and used to be fund-raiser for A.F.S.C. Southern California office.

Address him c/o The Wells Foundation, 540 West Huntington Drive, Arcadia, California (unfortunately it is interested in family medicine and emotional illness).

Are you coming up in December? January? Give me any dates so I can put them on my calendar.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher, Chairman
Finance Sub-Committee
United States-South Africa
Leader Exchange Program

!

Blame it on the public stenographer unless you want to contribute!

November 26, 1957

Mr. David C. Walden
The Wills Foundation
540 Huntington Drive
Arcadia, California

Dear Dave,

Thank you very much for your letter of November 18. Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Dr. Hopkins, following your suggestion.

I have suggested to Harold Fleming, Director of the Southern Regional Council that he look into the Hopkins Fund. I hope you won't mind if he puts you on the SRC mailing list. Fleming, a very good man, heads the Council, rightly called by John Popham of the New York Times the "South's foremost interracial organization."

Since the Fund for the Republic shift in program, the SRC is really hard pressed. I am a consultant to the Council on its fund raising problems, trying to help them find $50,000 in new money during the next year.

I shall be on the alert as I move around foundation circles to any mention of Dave Wolden or the Claremore Plan. Should I hear anything, I'll let you know.

In addition to $5,000 from the new Quaker Chace Fund, we just received $1,000 a year for three years from Phelps-Stoker. We also have the equivalent of another $5,000 from the African-American Institute in the form of secretarial service and office space. But we should like to have $25,000 on hand or committed by December 13 when we meet with the Institute to decide on whether we should start the program January 1. This amount would guarantee a few exchanges the first year.

There is a good possibility of $10,000 from the New World Foundation which also meets on December 13. Several other foundations are interested, but they are likely to take months before acting. The same is true of corporations, three of which have invited me to discuss the scheme.

The very best to you.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Loescher, Chairman
Finance Sub-Committee
United States-South Africa
Leader Exchange Program

RECEIVED DEC - 5 1957

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

December 4, 1957

Dear Harold,

I reached Jane Freedman and she said she was impressed by what you sent her and has passed it on to her father. She will be in town on Dec 19 & 20 and I am to call her when you know your schedule.

It was good talking to you today. The check arrived. Thanks a lot.

Sincerely,
Frank

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Fairfax, Jean

REGARDING:

Memo - Visit to Dallas

DATE

December 6, 1957

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT

American Friends Ser. Committee (General Correspondence - 1957)

Congratulations on being in the Times on Christmas!

12/26/57

MEMORANDUM

RECEIVED DEC 27 1957

Dear Harold,

Incidental intelligence:

A very able Negro, Leon Sullivan, pastor of Zion Baptist Church, Broad & Venango Street, Phila. 40, is spending week of Feb. 9 in Clinton, Johnson City, Elizabethton and McKeesport, Tenn. Speaking and consulting.

Sullivan helped to organize a relief operation in Philadelphia for Orangeburg S.C. one a year ago.

I gather the Junior Chamber of C. in one of these towns is using him, but I'm vague on this.

He is a real "international" person and could be very useful.

Best regards

Frank Loescher

FRANK S. LOESCHER

RECEIVED JAN - 6 1958

414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pa.
January 2, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you very much for the check and the list of suggestions. Incidentally, Bob Cushman, now retired from Cornell and teaching at Vanderbilt, is available for 1958! (Dave Freeman made this suggestion after I told him that South African Information Officer mentioned idea of a specialist on United States Constitution in view of trend toward a Republic.)

Good news about William C. Whitney and Prynce Hopkins. Too bad New World is not meeting till May, but maybe if you get him in Atlanta, you can then make a bigger request.

Wishing you the very best,

Sincerely,

Frank

FRANK S. LOESCHER, Director
United States - South Africa
Leader Exchange Program

P. S. You can reach me % S. A. Institute on Race Relations, P. O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

File Frank Loescher

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

Capetown, February 3, 1958

Dear Friends:

This has turned out to be a more intricate assignment than I envisaged. But with the invaluable assistance and guidance of Dr. Brink of the Dutch Reformed Church and Professor Olivier of Stellenbosch, it is now safe to say that we are in business.

Just this afternoon Nic Olivier and I saw Eric Louw, Minister of External Affairs. Louw is definitely interested. He sees the good that can come from a scheme like this and the necessity for promoting better understanding. He is doubtful about American policy and most sensitive to outside attacks on South Africa, but he has no objection at all to this program. Any official approval, if ever sought, must wait on performance.

The help of Dr. Brink and Nic Olivier who literally spent several hours every day with me while I was in Johannesburg from January 14 to 26, plus the advice of Dr. Van Eck, director of the South African Industrial Development Corporation, who made several excellent suggestions for the South African members of the Advisory Committee, have resulted in a very strong committee that certainly influenced Eric Louw.

Dr. Brink and Nic Olivier personally introduced me to the people who have accepted membership on the Committee. They helped to edit our Prospectus, and the Agenda for the organizational meeting in Johannesburg on February 14, and even urged a higher percentage, 1/3, as the goal for the South African share of the budget. (A. M. Savory, former CPA to Vicks, duplicated 100 copies of the Prospectus for free and the SABRA office duplicated the Agenda and the tentative budgets and a memorandum on possibilities for exchange in America in 1958 and 1959.)

Down here I have been with Nic Olivier every day, meeting people in Stellenbosch and Capetown. In addition to those who will serve on the Committee, we have talked to Professor Avril Malan, chairman of Volkskas (Afrikaans bank) and Nationalist M. P.; Dr. Diedericks, economist and Nationalist M. P., L. P. Le Reux, Nationalist Whip, Dr. I. D. Du Plessis, Commissioner of the Division of Colored Affairs; Dr. Gerdener, elder statesman of SABRA and Dutch Reformed leader; and Dr. J. C. de Wet, head of the Department of Law at Stellenbosch, and Piet Meiring, head of the State Information Office, Phil Weber and Cilie of Die Burger, and Mr. Jooste, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs who arranged our appointment with the Minister.

At this point the following have agreed to serve: Dr. C. B. Brink, Former Moderator and now Assessor of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Transvaal; Dr. W. J. Busschau, Economist with New Consolidated Gold Fields, and Chairman of the South African Institute of International Affairs; Dr. W. A. Landman, Cape Dutch Reformed Church and Chairman of SABRA; Dr. M. S. Louw, Chairman of SANLAM (Afrikaans Life Insurance Company); Professor N. J. J. Olivier, Professor at Stellenbosch University, and vice-Chairman of SABRA (South African Bureau of Racial Affairs); Anton Rupert, Chairman and Managing Director of Rembrandt Cigarette Company with branches in New York, London and Australia; Dr. H. B. Thom, Principal of Stellenbosch University and head of Association of Afrikaans Cultural Organizations; Frederick J. Van Wyk, Assistant Director of South African Institute of Race Relations; Dr. J. B. Webb, leading Methodist Clergyman.

There are three more people we hope will serve: Col. Eugene Maggs, Chairman of the South African Tourist Corporation, and Chairman of the Banter Press and director of many companies; T. P. Stratten, official of the Union Corporation and director of several companies; Dr. H. J. Van Eck, Chairman of the South African Industrial Development Corporation.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

There are no non-whites on this list. It is our hope, and belief, that within a reasonable time the membership can be increased to provide for participation by African, Indian and Coloured people. Three places are available.

I saw a Mr. Cooper, administrator of the Abe Bailey Trust. He doubts that our program falls within the charter of the Trust, but he likes the program so much he is sending the prospectus to his trustees.

I have also seen the following: Dr. Sutton, principal of Witswaterand University; W. Van Heerden, editor of Dagbreek; Gordon Richdale, president of Engelhard Industries; Ellen Hellman, Quenton Whyte, Leo Marquard and other South African Institute of Race Relations leaders; Dr. Z. K. Matthews and his son Joe; Tony Deluis and Victor Norton of the Cape Times; Dr. R. E. van der Ross, principal of Batswood Training College; Dr. Shiela van der Horst of the University of Capetown; Jack Patten and Allen McIntosh of The Starr;

Ambassador Byroade; Dr. Kenneth Snyder, Embassy Public Affairs Officer; Arthur Beach, Johannesburg consul-general; Sam Boykin, Capetown consul-general (all are pleased to know of our program);

Advocate Molteno, new president of the Institute of Race Relations; Oscar Wolbheim of CAFDA; and Professor Beinast of the Law Department of Capetown University and Chairman of the Cape Western Regional Office of the SAIRR.

I plan to see George and Eleanor Loft, representatives of the American Friends Service Committee in Salisbury, from February 6 - 10. Prime Minister Todd's fate may be decided at a party congress on the 8th. (I have also met with Friends Meetings in Johannesburg and Capetown.)

I hope you have heard the good news by now. I received a cable last week from Vernon Eagle, director of the New World Foundation, stating that our grant request had been approved.

One very important matter. Dr. Brink, Nic Olivier and I are agreed that there should be no publicity about the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program until after the elections. As a matter of fact, we may wish to withhold any publicity until we are ready to announce our first exchanges.

I won't attempt to give you my impressions of the situation. However, I do want to mention the testimony of the SABRA people before the Commission holding hearings on the Separate Universities Bill. Professors Tomlinson and Olivier testified for SABRA and created a sensation. Olivier said he was not opposed to the principle of separation. (After all, there are separate English and Afrikaans universities.) But he was opposed to the use of force. He said universities for non-whites should be genuine universities and so good that the non-whites would choose to attend them. Non-whites should not be barred from Capetown and Witswatersrand.

I have talked to the managing directors of several American firms: Wrigley of Caltex, Black of Otis Elevator, Bloem of S. A. General Electric, Hiergesell of United States Steel, Pollard of R. C. A., and I am flying to East London tomorrow to see David Hill, managing director of Berkshire Knitting.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

It is beginning to dawn on me what a big responsibility we undertook back in May, 1955, at Haverford College. The patience and thought and work of our Committee and our many friends in Americanand South Africa have produced a fine instrument. And now we move on to the next stage.

Sincerely,

Frank Loescher

Frank Loescher

P. S. From February 10 to 22 I plan to stay at The Langham Hotel, Johannesburg. From there I expect to make stops in Acera (Ambassador Hotel) and London (Brown's Hotel) before returning to U. S. A. about the middle of March.

FSL/jh

Copies sent to:
~~Advisory Committee~~
Emory Ross, Board For Fundamental Education
American Friends Service Committee - Africa Sub-Committee
John George, Institute of African American Relations
Vernon Eagle, New World Foundation
David Freeman
Edmund A. Rosenthal, Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation
Harold Fleming
Harold Duling, Lily Foundation
Don Price, Ford Foundation
Gordon Allport
Harold Evans, AFSC
Frederick Patterson, Phelps-Stokes
Philip E. Woodyat, World Affairs Center for U. S.
Vernon McKay, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns-Hopkins University
Sydney Bailey, AFSC
Edwin Wolf, II
Frank Barnett, Richardson Foundation

February 12, 1958

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I'm sending this against your return from South Africa.

As you will see, we have submitted a request for $5,000 from the Chace Fund for three years, with a covering letter from Dabbs to Evans and a supporting letter by Tartt Bell. No acknowledgement yet, as of this writing. I hope we have cast the right kind of proposal.

I hear from Dave that your trip has met with great success. I'm eager to hear about it on your return.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Chace Fund Proposal)

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Walden, Mr. David C.

REGARDING:

Contacts with West Coast Foundations - particularly
HOPKINS CHARITIES FUND (Suggested by Frank Loescher)

DATE

March 5, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

~~Gen. Correspondence - "WA"~~
Walden, David C.

VIA AIR MAIL

March 21, 1958

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your note, which just arrived. Real fine that you have arranged appointments with both Paffrath and Pifer.

My plans are all set - borrowing such catastrophies as another blizzard. My plane is due in at LaGuardia at about 3:00 o'clock, and I will come straight to the Carnegie Endowment Building. I expect to be staying at the Commodore again.

We have received official notification and the check from the Chace Fund, as well as official notification of the $5,000 grant from the New York Foundation. I talked briefly with Dave Freeman yesterday about some internship business and gathered from him that Vernon Eagle had spoken of us very favorably in some useful places. I trust you and Eagle had a good get-together.

It will be good to see you again next week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 4/7/58

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

April 3, 1958

Dear Harold,

Thank you for the check which I am returning. It came as a complete surprise as I thought we had terminated the relationship.

I cannot accept anything because I did practically nothing. (Besides, I suddenly remembered this was the month the Chase Fund acted and I must not act like an F.C.C. member!)

"Let's talk" next time we get together. I want to help and will try, but I wonder if my conscience, pricked by dollars, will be effective now that I am so deep in the U.S.-S.U. exchange.

I'll be lunching with Pifer next week and I'll also see Stackpole. If I hear anything, I'll let you know.

All the best

Sincerely,
Frank

P.S. Think I should try to come down in May? When?

P.P.S. I had lunch today with John Miller of NPA ~~today~~ and he had good things to say about SRC

VIA AIR MAIL

April 11, 1958

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your good letter about your conversation with Stackpole and Pifer. I am way behind in our communications, so I will deal with several matters in this one letter:

(1) We are delighted that your idea of a low pressure approach to the Carnegie people concerning foreign visitors is showing promise. I will be able to get off to you first thing next week a draft proposal for aid, covering the various points you suggest and listing the foreign visitors serviced during the last year or so. I believe we can justify a request for as much as $10,000 for this program, especially considering the need for increased and more systematic services in the period just ahead. I would welcome guidance from you as to whether and how we should refer to these prospective needs of your program.

(2) I was glad to get the information on the impending visit of the Marquards. I may be away during the first several days of their stay in Atlanta but will see that the staff here is fully prepared to assist in every way. And I should be back in ample time to get together

with them.

(3) We are sorry to lose you as a formal SRC consultant, but I can readily understand why that is no longer possible. The real benefit to the Council is your continuing friendship, and that I know we have.

(4) We just had a South African Dutch Reform minister named Gerhardus Oosterhuizen, and his wife. He struck me as a very interesting and thoughtful person, groping earnestly from some good answers. He had heard of you and the Exchange Program, and expressed the hope that he would be able to meet you when he returned to his principle base at Union Theological Seminary. He wants to discuss with you the idea of getting some of the more conservative Dutch Reform churchmen into Southern seminaries, where they can see the Christian conscience grappling with racial problems here.

(5) I had been meaning to let you know that we are now an applicant to the Field Foundation. My last day in New York I talked with Max Hahn and found, to my amazement, that I was already over the deadline for applications to be considered by their next board meeting. Neither Dave, Dick Bennett, nor anybody else seemed to know that they were stirring. The only think I could get Hahn to show any receptivity to at all was a request for about $10,000 to make possible a follow-up to our voting study. Breaking the record, I got the request in to him within 48 hours after our conversation.

(6) Your P. S. about the standing invitation warms the cockles of my heart. I will keep it in mind.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Foundation

Ans 4/11/58

3 MITCHELL PLACE (at 49th Street) • NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
Telephone: ELdorado 5-7300

April 9, 1958

Dear Harold,

I saw Stackpole and Piper yesterday and there is interest in possibility of support for a foreign visitors program. However, proposal should not be limited to South Africans or Carnegie grantees. Stackpole wanted to know cost, what staff you would need etc. I said I guessed you might need 1/2 time of a secy and 1/2 time of a professional.

Piper suggested you give me a proposal that I could show Carnegie. Piper would show it to appropriate person at Carnegie, some one, I believe, in their American section.

My guess is that the kind of proposal you gave Christopher Reynolds would fill the bill. I would stress fact that US gov't sends many of their foreign visitors to you and that you are able to handle successfully non-white as well as white.

Stackpole asked if there were problems getting non-whites in white homes. I said I thought there were, but if anyone could arrange for this, SRC could.

Your idea of foreign visitors coming straight to Atlanta for broad over-all interpretation and planning of itinerary seems good.

Try not to cut figures too close. I don't know if your $5000 is enough. Carnegie Corp is 3rd largest fdn!

3 MITCHELL PLACE (at 49th Street) • NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
Telephone: ELdorado 5-7300

Play up your contacts with newspaper editors and universities.

Play up your network that includes members of various occupational backgrounds.

Perhaps you could edit roughly a copy of your proposal to Christopher Reynolds and let me look it over and we could discuss it before you make up a formal proposal.

Indicate that it is important for one agency to handle itineraries in order that a half dozen agencies don't send everybody to Holding Carter or Ralph Magill.

Also, you might show that in addition to half time Jay and half time professional (if that is correct) some of your time, some of Fred's, et al plus administrative overhead would be involved. Possibly

Carnegie believes in equal-

$10,000 is the figure. I don't know.

I hope this is a bit helpful.

All the best

Sincerely,

Frank

P.S. Hodding Carter is interested in going to SA in June '59.

P.P.S. Anytime you want a break (Summer '59?), you have a standing invitation.

VIA AIR MAIL

April 16, 1958

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I almost forgot to follow up our conversation about the possibility of your coming South next month. The dates set for the next Southern interagency conference are May 27-28, beginning at noon and ending at noon the second day. I seem to recall that you had a conflict at the end of the month. Could you come down earlier and perhaps leave right after the meeting?

If this won't work, let me know when you can make it. The only affair of importance we have scheduled is an executive committee meeting in the middle of the week beginning Monday, May 12. It will probably be on Tuesday or Wednesday, and we'd be delighted to have you here then.

The main thing is for you to come. I'll be looking forward to word.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Sent to Loescher 4/20/58

~~DRAFT~~

A PROPOSAL FOR AID TO THE FOREIGN VISITOR PROGRAM ~~TO THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION~~ OF ~~FROM~~ THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Summary of Proposal

The Southern Regional Council has found itself increasingly called upon by governmental and private agencies as a resource for foreign visitors travelling in the South. These demands have reached the point at which special support is required if the Council is to give this function the staff attention which its importance warrants. Hence, this request for a grant of $10,000 a year for three years in support of the Council's services to foreign visitors. As the following paragraphs seek to explain, the Council is uniquely fitted to help visitors from other lands achieve a constructive understanding of the changing South. We are acutely conscious of the international implications of this function, and we earnestly ~~hope~~ believe that ~~the Carnegie Corporation will feel~~ it merits support.

The Need

In recent years, and particularly since the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954, the flow of foreign visitors has steadily increased. ~~During 1957, approximately eighty such~~ Approximately 100 visitors a year ~~visitors were~~ are now received by the Council. ~~Nearly~~ About half of these ~~were~~ are sponsored by the Department of State or other agencies of the United States Government. The largest professional category ~~was~~ has been that of writers and editors; churchmen, government officials, educators, businessmen, and labor leaders ~~were~~ have also been well represented.

The 1957 total included both whites and non-whites from 21 countries in Europe, Africa, and Asia. (The Union of South Africa alone accounted for ten of the total.) From the attached list it may be noted how many of these visitors are influential leaders and opinion-makers in their respective countries.

On their return home, not only the newspapermen but often those of other professions present their observations and reactions in newspapers and magazines. Thus their impressions of the South may influence the views of many thousands of their fellow countrymen. We have been gratified that many of them communicate with the Council after they leave this country. We have had from many of them requests for further information on specific aspects of Southern race relations.

The widely publicized events in Little Rock have stimulated even greater interest and concern over Southern racial problems among foreigners travelling in the United States. (~~It appears likely~~ The trend thus far in 1958 indicates) that the Council will be called upon to serve an ~~larger~~ increasing number of visitors in the ~~current year~~ period ahead.

Substitute copy attached for this entire section

The Council's Services

Our professional staff is equipped to give emissaries from abroad a detailed and balanced picture of developments within the South, the historical background against which they must be seen, and prospects for the immediate future. The Council's reference files, maps, publications, and other resources provide as documentation as a visitor may wish -- and that is often a great deal. The fact that the Council

has associated interracial organizations in the various Southern states makes it possible to refer visitors to informed and sympathetic persons in whatever part of the region they may visit. Moreover, the Council enjoys friendly relations with editors and universities throughout the South. The list of Council board members attached will suggest the professional diversity and standing of the Southerners who cooperate in the Council's work.

INSERT in substitute copy

Apart from factual briefing and interpretation, we are often ~~called on~~ asked to advise on shhedules and itineraries, to make advance appointments, to secure accommodations, to provide local transportation, and to arrange suitable hospitality. The Council is perhaps the only regional organization with contacts throughout the South which can readily bridge the gap between the white and Negro communities in making such arrangements. This has a special importance when the visitors in question are non-white. By the same token, the demonstration value of an inclusive body of white and Negro Southerners working together for progress in race relations is uniquely valuable.

We have found it advantageous for visitors travelling South to come first to Atlanta, where the Council can give them an overall view of the South and advice on persons to see elsewhere in the region. This not only benefits the visitor, but als makes it possible to avoid over-working the relatively few Southerners who are well known to national programmers.

The Request

In carrying on this activity, the Council faces a serious dilemma. We feel very keenly the importance of ~~gi~~ helping foreign visitors ~~to~~ get a mature and balanced view of the South. At the same time, other demands upon the Council have greatly increased as the strains of racial tension and controversy have grown. The problem is to give the proper amount of time and systematic effort to the servicing of foreign visitors without crippling the main program activities of the organization. The annual grant of $10,000 requested would enable us to do the following:

(1) Allocate at least the half-time services of a professional staff member exclusively to the administration of the foreign visitor program.

(2) Enable other senior staff members and consultants to devote a reasonable amount of time to foreign visitors, as staff specialties and visitor interests dictate.

(3) Provide the necessary supporting clerical services, equivalent to a half-time secretary.

(4) Arrange for suitable persons in the community to assist with hospitality in the home, transportation, and introduction to local institutions. These persons would volunteer their time but should be reimbursed for special expenses incurred.

INSERT #2 (following mailing) over

(5) Bear the cost of other essential administrative overhead — telephone and telegraph, ~~(free materials,~~ followup mailings, use of office space and equipment.

Insert #3 (over)

Insert #2

(5) Send the Council's monthly publication New South and other appropriate materials to the visitors for a year or more after they ~~return to their country~~ leave the United States.

Insert #3

~~The~~ A foreign leader who ~~are brought~~ comes to this country under public ~~and~~ or private auspices, does so at considerable expense to the sponsoring agencies. ~~The modest amount here proposed~~ A ~~modest~~ reasonable investment to assure that an important part of his visit is wisely + constructively spent would seem more than justified.

Foreign Visitors 6

Enclosed are materials which describe the origin and history of the Council, its structure, and its program activities. We shall be glad to furnish any further information that may further the consideration of this request.

Enclosures

Annual Report
List of Board Members
New York Times Reprint
Congressional Record Reprint
List of Foreign Visitors, 1957
Sample Letters from Foreign Visitors Assisted
Letter of Tax Exemption

Substitute p. 3

The Council's Services

Following is a point-by-point summary of the Southern Regional Council's assets as a ~~major center of foreign~~ travelling ~~visitors~~ primary service center for foreign visitors ~~in the~~ South:

1. ~~The Council~~ At its Atlanta headquarters, the Council maintains ~~a~~ and interracial staff of fourteen, ~~experienced~~ experienced in race relations and ~~widely~~ informed about social and economic developments in the region. ~~Thus~~ The staff members are equipped to give emissaries from abroad a detailed and balanced picture of the South, the historical background against which current events must be seen, and prospects for the immediate future. The specialties of the full-time staff can be readily supplemented by ~~the~~ the Council's officers and Atlanta board members, local consultants, and community leaders in various fields ~~with~~ with whom the Council has cooperative relations. INSERT FR P. 3

2. ~~As~~ The Council is recognized, in the South and elsewhere, for its studies of the many aspects of Southern race relations, ~~in its many aspects.~~ Its reference files, maps, publications, and other resources provide as much authentic documentation as a visitor may wish -- and that is often a great deal.

3. The Council works closely with major Southern newspapers, ~~and~~ insitutions of higher learning, and religious groups. Such outstanding editors as Ralph McGill, Harry Ashmore, and Hodding Carter have been intimately related to the Council since its founding; the same is true of many leading college educators and church men and women. These ties are of great value to the work with foreign visitors

Substitute p. 4

4. In addition to the relationships just mentioned, the fact that the Council has associated interracial organizations in the various Southern states makes it possible to refer visitors to informed and sympathetic persons in ~~xxxxxxxx~~ any part of the region. The Council is frequently called upon to advise on schedules and itineraries, to make suitable appointments in advance, to secure accommodations, to provide local transportation, and to arrange suitable hospitality. This is perhaps the only regional organization with contacts throughout the South which can readily bridge the gap between the white and Negro communities in making such arrangements. By the same token, the demonstration value of an inclusive body of white and Negro Southerners working together for progress in race relations is uniquely valuable.

5. The increasing interest in the Southern ~~U.S.A.~~ United States among visitors from Asia, and ~~more recently~~ increasingly Africa, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxx~~ gives special significance to the Council's primary focus on race relations. ~~The~~ Representatives of Asian and African countries are intensely concerned with the race issue in this country, particularly in the contested Southern situation. It is ~~extremely important for them to~~ vital that they be ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ acquainted with the hopeful and positive, as well as the negative developments within the South. They can greatly benefit from first-hand exposure to Southerners who are wrestling ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ with this great moral question, ~~who are~~ searching their consciences, and looking on old attitudes and practices with new eyes. It is one of the Council's great advantages that it can ~~afford~~ give such an exposure to the foreign traveller.

6. The new U.S. - South African Exchange Program ~~xx~~ ~~xxxxxxxx~~ typifies the ~~mounting~~ MOUNTING importance of race relations in international

Substitute p. 5

exchange. Certainly the ~~flow of~~ South African leaders whom ~~will be~~ this program will bring to the United States will be deeply interested in what can be learned from the situation in the South.

7. We have found it advantageous for visitors travelling South to come first to Atlanta, where the Council can assist them in gaining an overall view of the ~~South~~ region, and advise them on persons to see elsewhere in the ~~region.~~ South. This benefits the visitor by giving him a region-wide ~~perspective~~ picture to which his experiences in the South can be meaningfully related. Through systematic scheduling, it is also ~~It is also~~ possible to avoid over-working the relatively few Southerners who are well known to national programmers.

"The South has been a most interesting subject for me for several years, and the conversation we had with you, highly enlightening though brief, has contributed a great deal to the understanding of this subject and, we believe, will remain as a happy memory of our stay in this country."

Seizo Tanetani, First Secretary, Embassy of Japan,
Washington

"I want to especially thank you and the staff of the Southern Regional Council for the very splendid cooperation and assistance given to us in connection with the visit of the foreign delegation to Atlanta early this month. I might add, also, that the itinerary which you put together in a short time certainly gave them an effective and basic orientation of the Southern scene."

William H. Oliver, Co-Director, Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department
United Auto Workers

"....it (Southern tour) will all be treasured and useful in my work in the future. ....To meet all of you and see a little of your efforts was a great experience."

Mrs. Mary Saran, Secretary of the International Council of Social Democratic Women

"Again may I express, for the U. S. Government Agencies participating in this program, our appreciation for your continued interest and help in realizing the objectives of our program.....~~and~~ Insofar as an individual foreign visitor is concerned, your efforts may in fact determine the success of failure of the program."

Mrs. Alden R. Crocker, Chairman - Interagency Committee on Community Participation, International Cooperation Administration, Washington, D. C.

"From time to time we receive visitors from Europe who inquire about race relations in the United States. One such visitor, who was in your office a few months ago, commented on the clarity of the materials that he saw. I wonder if you could send us a copy of your materials that deal with this subject."

Basil Karp, Education Consultant
American Committee on United Europe

"Thanks for being so very nice to me in Atlanta and for writing all along the line and causing me the kind and helpful reception I received..... It was a very real pleasure to see something of the work the S.R.C. is doing."

Ellen Hellman, Past president, South African Institute on Race Relations

"On behalf of the Governmental Affairs Institute and myself, your courtesies extended to Sir Leslie Plummer on his recent visit to Atlanta were very much appreciated. Your timely contributions seemed to me to shed new light on the stale problems of race in the deep South, and our visitor expressed similar sentiments."

Dr. Robert E. Williams

4/23/58

To H Fleming

These members of
Chase Fund Committee
might receive
New South

All the best
Frank

Harold Evans - (I believe he receives this)
~~On New South~~
Willis H. Satterthwaite mf
Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co
6th & Chestnut St., Phila.
Sarah R. Benson (Mrs Lewis Benson)
254 West Walnut Lane
Phila
Elizabeth Yarnall (Mrs. D. Robert Yarnall)
425 Roumfort Road
Chestnut Hill, Phila
Ruth Vail (Mrs James G. Vail)
6 College Ave., Swarthmore
John H Word
7 Greenwood Place Wyncote

The Religious Society of Friends
(QUAKERS)

over

Invites You to a Series of

Thursday Noon-Hour Addresses

From 12:25 to 12:55 P. M.

The Friends Meeting House
20 S. 12th St., Phila., Pa.

1958

February 27 **Henry J. Cadbury**
Formerly professor at Harvard U.
THOUGHTS ON THE CRUCIFIXION

March 6 **Lyle Tatum**
Sec. Am. Friends Service Com., Middle Atlantic Reg.
VOYAGE OF THE SPIRIT

March 13 **Elizabeth Gray Vining**
Author "Windows for the Crown Prince" and others
THE USES OF SORROW

March 20 **Norman J. Whitney**
Formerly professor at Syracuse U.
THAT WAS ALL HE TAUGHT

Meetings will close promptly at 12:55

We hope you will invite your friends

ok 5/8/58

414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pa.
April 26, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am on my way from Chicago to Indianapolis where I have an appointment with Manning Patillo, Duling's assistant. I hope to raise subject of S.R.C. during the interview.

Mildred told me over the phone that a draft proposal to Carnegie. I'll try to write P.S. comments to this letter after it's typed.

Now for your letter of April 11.

1. I hope to make suggestions in my P.S. about the needs of my program.

2. Thanks so much for arranging for the Marquardo. He is not an eager beaver. One or two small group leisurely sessions would be perfect.

3. Sometime we can talk about my future relationship to the Council.

4. I hope to see Oosterhuigen. His idea of getting DR clergy in southern seminaries sounds good.

5. I'm glad you got something to Hahn. Vernon Eagle is still unhappy about that situation. (Vernon is really in your corner!) I must try to see Hahn again about my program.

6. Maybe you could go to Union from, say, March to June 1959. That is apt to be a quiet season in the South.

7. I don't believe I can come down for May 27-28 meeting. George Carpenter (International Missionary Council) of my Committee hopes to give me a spot to discuss clergy exchange on theprogram of an interdenominational meeting.

   May 13-14 is not good for me either. Maybe the end of June will work out. I had an encouraging letter months ago from Scripto and I should like to see them in the near future. That would provide an additional reason for going.

8. The name of Dr. Carl Pritchet, Pastor, Bethesda Presbyterian Church, Bethesda, Maryland, has been mentioned as a possibility for U.S.-S.A. exchange. Pritchet, I believe, left his church in South Carolina rather than see it split. Think he would go all right in the Union? I have a favorable impression of him based on joint participation in the National Council of Churches TV show three years ago.

9. I am working on two foundations, Dearborn and General Services. General Services supports Catchings' work. Dearborn, K. Taylor told me, once put up money to bring over some Indian women. You might keep these on your list.

Are you coming up during the next month?

All the best,

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher
Program Director
United States-South Africa
Leader Exchange Program

PS Enclosed are two "kits" for your files.

PROSPECTUS

UNITED STATES SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
of the
AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

In May, 1955, the American Friends Service Committee called a conference at Haverford College: (1) to examine the value of two-way exchanges between the Union and the United States; (2) to determine the most effective type of exchanges, and (3) to explore the organizational and financial resources for carrying out such exchange programs. Eighteen representatives of eleven religious, philanthropic, educational and cultural exchange organizations agreed to the validity of this proposition: the most important thing Americans can do to be helpful in the South African situation is to encourage the development of exchange programs between Americans and South Africans who are leaders or potential leaders in their countries.

Types of Leader-Exchanges

The most immediately effective educational technique within the financial reach of private organizations is leader-exchange. Opportunity is presented to men and women of maturity and ability to acquaint themselves with new truths. It is the mature thinker who is best able to recognize what is new and applicable to an already known situation. The leader is in the best position to create and practice new techniques and give voice to new philosophies which grow out of his observations and studies.

A variety of types of leader-exchange programs can be offered to organizations in the United States and South Africa: one year exchanges of families, "functional" team programs, "focused" short term study or research projects, and opportunities for participation in special purpose conferences.

In all exchange programs an effort should be made to provide safeguards against mere junkets of sightseeing. An American who visits South Africa or

a South African who visits America for a few months without a definite focus and definite job to do will probably end up by seeing the horror spots and return merely deploring conditions. Exchanges should be encouraged in both directions by people who have approved projects with definite sponsorship (or at least with assured co-operation) in the host country. The aim is to provide participants with a meaningful and broadening experience significant to their future life's work.

A. One Year Exchanges of Families.

Exchanges of secondary school teachers, journalists, civil servants, clergymen, social workers, university professors, et al. with their families are highly desirable. The aim should not be primarily to assist people to further their academic qualifications. People should go for a year and spend most of the time working at their chosen occupation, but with opportunity for some travel. In order to have a real impact, ultimately there should be at least 50 people per year. Funds may be available to hold regional and national conferences of exchangees each year in both countries. A representative of the program should visit these reunions and evaluate the program periodically.

Many American organizations might be interested in exchanging personnel with South Africa for one year -- YMCA's, YWCA's and other youth serving agencies, churches and church organizations, libraries, hospitals, social settlements, newspapers, business and industry, government agencies, schools and universities.

Responsibility for hospitality, job placement, finding a home, schooling for children and travel arrangements should be borne by the employing organization. The leader-exchange program should be able to provide matching funds.

B. Individual Short Term Focused Study or Research Projects.

These projects might include paying part of the expenses of a journalist to become affiliated as Associated Nieman Fellow at Harvard for a year; or to allow an American psychologist to do perceptual research in Zululand for a few months; or to enable a gifted Bantu artist to work in some museum school in this country.

C. A "Functional" Team Program.

Six to ten leaders might be invited each year over the next few years, selected on account of some particular problem facing the Union in which the

United States has knowledge and experience. In connection with the socio-economic development of the Native Reserves it might be useful to have top-level people concerned with agricultural and industrial development come to the U.S. to discuss and see the T.V.A. or other rural community projects and developments, the electrification of rural areas, the system of small family farm units, etc. in the South.

Other examples of this nature might be educational experience in rural areas North and South, literacy and adult education, industrial organization, soil conservation, mass immunization schemes, etc.

A group of six to ten which could discuss things among themselves while on tour would mean a better use of new ideas presented, and a hitting of mind and mind.

D. Other Types of Exchanges and Visits.

Sports and recreation are worthy of exploration, including individual stars, coaches, directors of athletics and teams.

Participation in religious, educational, scientific, social welfare, youth conferences and projects should be encouraged. Persons would be invited to the United States for a short period, perhaps three months, to participate in a conference but with opportunity for travel.

The United States - South Africa Leader Exchange Program might also explore the possibilities of providing counseling services to South Africans coming to the United States or to Americans going to South Africa for business purposes or study who are not affiliated with agencies participating in this exchange program. It is believed that many such persons would avail themselves of opportunities to obtain a deeper knowledge of the peoples and cultures of the respective countries if these visitors knew that agencies of competence were willing to be of service to foreign visitors.

Values of Two-Way Exchanges

A two-way program is recommended in order that (1) Americans can see at first hand the realities of the situation in South Africa and thus gain better understanding of the difficulties facing the peoples of South Africa, learn of the efforts being made by South Africans to meet these difficulties, and gain insight into the differences between race relations in South Africa and the United States; (2) South Africans can become acquainted with the difficulties facing America, see how Americans are trying to solve their complex racial problems, and gain insight into the crucial role that Africa, and

particularly the Union of South Africa, is playing and will play in the general problem of East-West relations.

Through two-way exchanges Americans and South Africans will have opportunities to interpret their problems to each other face-to-face - problems which are often oversimplified by mass media.

Illustrations of Practical Values:

1. Librarians. An American library that had a South African on its staff for a year would have expert advice on building a more complete collection of books and materials not only on South Africa but on all of Africa. Conversely, an American working in a South African library could help in the selection of representative American works.

2. Journalists. A South African newspaperman would give American editors and associates and readers a more realistic knowledge of his country and continent. South Africans would benefit in like fashion from an American newspaperman serving on a South African paper.

3. Medical Specialists, Internes and Nurses. Interpretation would take place here too, but there would also be distinct advantages to hospitals in need of personnel with special abilities and to the practitioners seeking an opportunity for specialization.

4. Labor-Management Experts. American companies with foreign branches would benefit by having their industrial relations and personnel men work in South African industries. South African companies might find it profitable if some of their specialists had a first-hand knowledge of American experience.

5. Clergymen. Ministers of religion in both countries are very sensitive to the problems of intergroup tensions. American and South African church people would gain new insight from associating with religious leaders from another nation facing comparable problems.

6. University Professors, High School and Elementary School Teachers. In these established fields of exchange of persons the values have been demonstrated many times.

The Haverford Conference group appointed an Interim Committee to conduct a survey of the degree and kind of exchanges between the two countries and to make recommendations for action at another conference.

Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, was named chairman of the Interim Committee. The other members

were George H. Bennett, Institute of International Education, Dr. William O. Brown, Boston University, Dr. George W. Carpenter, International Missionary Council, Dr. Frank S. Loescher, independent consultant on intergroup relations, Prof. Rayford W. Logan, Howard University, Leslie Paffrath, Carnegie Endowment, and Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, National Council of Churches.

Robinson Report

The Interim Committee was able to obtain a small grant for the survey and the research services of Virginia Robinson, formerly of the Africa division of the U. S. State Department. Miss Robinson's report makes it clear that there is very little data available in the field of exchange programs between the United States and South Africa. Exchange programs are limited, the program of the Carnegie Corporation being the only one of any size. Different interpretations of the term "leader" make statistical reporting hazardous. The International Educational Exchange Service of the State Department had 25 leader grantees from South Africa during the period 1950 to 1956.

The following leader exchange figures for 1955 from the American Council on Education which supervises a large number of United States Government-sponsored grants show how South Africa compares with other areas and countries:

Germany	140	
Europe (remainder of) ..	76	
Near East	19	
Middle East	12	
Far East	58	
Latin America	40	
Africa	6	(Union of S.A. ... 1)

While the size of the sample and the various interpretations placed upon the word "leader" make evaluation difficult, the report cites specific examples in concluding that exchange with South Africa has been effective.

Miss Robinson recommended that organizations interested in this problem should be encouraged to increase their present programs, or, where no program exists, undertake new programs.

Second Conference

In May, 1957, the Interim Committee called a second meeting of the organizations that had attended the Haverford Conference two years before to consider Virginia Robinson's findings and to decide if an administrative unit could be established to stimulate more exchanges between South Africa and the United States.

The Conference group again stressed the desirability and urgency of more cultural exchanges and authorized the Interim Committee to take the following steps: (1) to seek funds to finance a program director whose responsibilities will include stimulating and assisting organizations to accelerate the exchange of persons, especially of the leader type, between the United States and the Union of South Africa; (2) to explore the possibilities of having the program director work under the "umbrella" of an appropriate existing organization.

The Organization

The Board of Trustees of the African-American Institute, a tax-exempt organization (formerly Institute of African-American Relations), in December, 1957, agreed to add the United States - South Africa Leader Exchange Program to its existing programs. The program will be supervised by a Management Committee of fifteen Americans and fifteen South Africans. The Institute has appointed three Trustees, Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc., Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff, and Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York; and seven members of the Interim Committee, George H. Bennett, Dr. William O. Brown, Dr. George W. Carpenter, Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Prof. Rayford W. Logan, Leslie Paffrath and Rev. Theodore L. Tucker as American members of the Management Committee. The

other American members will be named shortly.

As of January 1, 1958, Dr. Loescher was appointed Program Director of the United States - South Africa Leader Exchange Program. A consultant on intergroup relations, Dr. Loescher previously directed the City of Philadelphia's Commission on Human Relations and served as intergroup relations consultant to the Fund for the Republic.

In January and February, 1958, Frank Loescher conferred in the Union on the organization of the South African membership of the joint Management Committee, and the Trustees of the African-American Institute appointed the following South Africans: Ds. C. B. Brink, Assessor of the Synod, Transvaal Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Church); Ds. W. A. Landman, Chairman, South African Bureau of Racial Affairs; Dr. M. S. Louw, Chairman, Bonus Investment Corporation of S.A.; Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Charles Maggs Investments; Prof. N. J. J. Olivier, Professor, Stellenbosch University; A. E. Rupert, Chairman and Managing Director, Rembrandt Tobacco Corp. of S.A. Ltd.; T. P. Stratten, Managing Director, Union Corporation Ltd.; Dr. H. B. Thom, Principal, Stellenbosch University; Dr. H. J. Van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director, Industrial Development Corporation of S.A.; F. J. Van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations; Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of S.A. Four other South Africans will be named later. The South African members held their first meeting in Johannesburg on February 14, 1958.

Dr. Van Eck is Chairman of the joint Management Committee; Ds. Brink and Dr. Hoskins are Vice-Chairmen; Dr. Loescher is Program Director and General Secretary; Prof. Olivier is Secretary in South Africa.

Thus far, appeals to American foundations and corporations for financial support for a three year program have resulted in grants of $50,000. In

addition, the African-American Institute has budgeted $15,000 for office space and secretarial service for the program. Approximately £2,000 has been raised in advanced gifts in South Africa. Additional financial support is being sought from American and South African foundations, industries and concerned individuals, plus gifts-in-kind from airlines and steamship companies.

Five South Africans and three American leaders have already been recommended for exchange during the coming year.

Funds are needed to make it possible for many institutions in both countries to exchange leaders. South African and American non-governmental organizations participating in exchange programs will be encouraged to share not only by providing hospitality but by financial contributions from their members. Diversified financial support along with diversified participation by voluntary organizations will strengthen the people-to-people character of the program.

Relations with the Union of South Africa

In June, 1955, Emory Ross and Frank Loescher met with South Africa's then Ambassador Holloway in Washington to report on the discussions of the Haverford Conference and found his attitude favorable. In May, 1957, Dr. Loescher saw South African Ambassador Du Plessis in Washington and told him about this project. The Ambassador was very encouraging and asked to be kept informed of progress. Monthly progress reports have been made to the Ambassador. His interest in leader exchanges remains keen.

On his recent trip to South Africa Frank Loescher saw Minister of External Affairs Louw. Mr. Louw expressed interest in the program and hoped that the United States - South Africa Leader Exchange Program would serve to improve relations between the two countries.

Relations with the United States State Department

Officials of the State Department in the United States and South Africa have been kept informed of this concern for more exchanges. (The State Department has six leader grants for 1957 and six for 1958 allocated for the Union of South Africa.) The State Department which was represented by an observer at both conferences is sympathetic to the aims of this program.

Conclusion

South Africa reveals in microcosm the world-wide problem of how a minority of white-skinned peoples are to live at peace with a majority of dark-skinned peoples. Leader exchange programs between the United States and South Africa are of value to both countries. South Africans can benefit by first hand experience with America's pluralistic society. A better knowledge of South Africa's multi-racial society will help Americans both domestically and internationally.

In the interests of the peoples of South Africa, of America's stake in Africa, and of world peace itself, there is an urgent need to promote a greatly expanded program of exchanges between the Union of South Africa and the United States.

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
of the
AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N.Y.

P.O. Box 225
Stellenbosch, Union of South Africa

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

American Members:

George H. Bennett - Director of Special Programs, Institute of International Education.
Dr. William O. Brown - Director, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University.
Dr. George W. Carpenter - Secretary, International Missionary Council.
John B. George - Director, African-American Institute.
Harold K. Hochschild - Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc.
Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins - Executive Secretary, American Friends Service Committee.
Dr. Frank S. Loescher - Program Director, U.S.-S.A. Leader Exchange Program.
Prof. Rayford W. Logan - Professor, Howard University.
Dr. Edwin S. Munger - African Associate, American Universities Field Staff.
Leslie Paffrath - Secretary, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
Alan Pifer - Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York.
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Officers: Dr. Van Eck - Chairman of the Management Committee.
Ds. Brink and Dr. Hoskins - Vice-Chairmen.
Dr. Loescher - Program Director and General Secretary.
Prof. Olivier - Secretary in South Africa.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

Head Office: 1234 Twentieth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

PRESIDENT: Dr. Emory Ross, missionary and consultant on Africa.

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD: Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc.

VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD: Judge Edward R. Dudley, former U.S. Ambassador to Liberia.

TREASURER: Lansdell K. Christie, President, Liberia Mining Company.

SECRETARY: E. Ladd Thurston, Washington Attorney.

CHAIRMAN, SCHOLARSHIP COMMITTEE: Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York.

CHAIRMAN, PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE: Dr. L. Gray Cowan, Columbia University.

Dr. Horace Mann Bond, Honorary President, Lincoln University.

Chester Bowles, former U.S. Ambassador to India.

Dana S. Creel, Director, Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

John B. George, Director, African-American Institute, ex-officio.

William Leo Hansberry, Professor of African History, Howard University.

Etta Moten, film and concert artist.

Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff.

April 9, 1958

SUMMARY

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
of the
AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N.Y., USA

P.O. Box 225
Stellenbosch, Union of South Africa

In May, 1955, eleven leading American church, educational and philanthropic organizations met to discuss the value of two-way leader exchange between the United States and the Union of South Africa. A subsequent survey indicated that existing exchanges, though very limited, appeared to have been effective in creating better understanding.

Encouraging discussions were held with diplomatic representatives of the United States and South Africa, with leading South Africans in the Union itself, and with various American students of African affairs.

In May, 1957, the interested organizations met again and decided to undertake an effort to stimulate leader exchange between the U.S. and S.A. In December, 1957, the African-American Institute agreed to add the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program to its existing programs.

Objectives of the Program:

The function of the Institute's program is to promote exchanges between the United States and South Africa, particularly by encouraging, counseling and assisting industrial, religious, scientific, youth, labor, educational and other organizations in the U.S. and S.A. to undertake, or to expand, their own programs of leader exchange.

The program is focussed on S.A. and U.S. leaders and potential leaders on the assumption that these individuals will be in the best position to create and practice new techniques, and to give voice to new philosophies which grow out of observation and studies.

Values of Two-Way Exchanges:

A two-way program is recommended in order that (1) Americans can see at first-hand the realities of the situation in South Africa and thus gain better understanding of the difficulties facing the peoples of South Africa, learn of the efforts being made by South Africans to meet these difficulties, and gain insight into the differences between race relations in South Africa and the United States; (2) South Africans can become acquainted with the difficulties facing America, see how Americans are trying to solve their complex racial problems, and gain insight into the crucial role that Africa, and particularly the Union of South Africa, is playing and will play in the general problem of East-West relations.

Through two-way exchanges Americans and South Africans will have opportunities to interpret their problems to each other face-to-face -- problems which are often oversimplified by mass media.

Types of Leader Exchanges:

1. One-year exchanges of families: In this, the leader would actually work on the staff of an organization in the U.S. or the Union, as the case might be in his specific field. Responsibility for hospitality, job placement, finding a home, schooling for children and travel arrangements would be borne by the employing organization. The Management Committee could provide matching funds to the employing organization, as might be necessary. Examples: librarians, journalists, industrial relations experts, clergymen, professors, school teachers, civil servants.

2. Individual short-term focussed study or research projects: This would enable the individual leader to undertake a specific piece of research or work in his particular field.

3. "Functional Team" programs: Teams of six to ten leaders could be selected to study intensively in the U.S. some particular problem, e.g. soil conservation, rural electrification, etc., facing the Union in which the U.S. has knowledge and experience.

4. Other types of exchanges: This would include short-term visits to participate in conferences; exchanges of sports and recreation leaders, etc.

Management of the Program:

The Institute's program will be supervised by a Management Committee of 30 members -- 15 American and 15 South African -- with Dr. Loescher as Program Director. The following members thus far have been appointed to the Management Committee:

American Members

Messrs. Hochschild, Munger and Pifer - Trustees of the African-American Institute.
George H. Bennett - Director of Special Programs, Institute of Internat'l Education.
Dr. William O. Brown - Director, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University.
Dr. George W. Carpenter - Secretary, International Missionary Council.
John B. George - Director, African-American Institute.
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As of January 1, 1958, Dr. Loescher was appointed Program Director of the Institute's United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program. A consultant on intergroup relations, Dr. Loescher previously directed the City of Philadelphia's Commission on Human Relations and served as intergroup relations consultant to the Fund for the Republic.

African-American Institute:

This organization (formerly the Institute of African-American Relations) is headquartered in Washington 6, D.C. (1234 Twentieth Street, N.W.), and has the following Officers/Trustees:

PRESIDENT: Dr. Emory Ross, missionary and consultant on Africa.
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD: Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc.
VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD: Judge Edward R. Dudley, former U.S. Ambassador to Liberia.
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William Leo Hansberry, Professor of African History, Howard University.
Etta Moten, Film and concert artist.
Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff.

Financing of the Program:

Thus far, appeals to American foundations and corporations for financial support for a three year program have resulted in grants of $50,000. In addition, the African-American Institute has budgeted $15,000 for office space and secretarial service for the program. Approximately £2,000 has been raised in advanced gifts in South Africa. Additional financial support is being sought from American and South African foundations, industries and concerned individuals, plus gifts-in-kind from airlines and steamship companies.

Rec'd 5/6/58

Harold FYI Info. Frank

ack 5/8/58

Mildred + I had a grand time with you and Jane

414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pa.

May 3, 1958

Mr. Milton H. Musser
Assistant to President
Scripto, Inc.
P. O. Box 4847
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. Musser:

Since I last wrote you on December 24th, I have been to the Union to complete the organization of the Management Committee for the United States - South Africa Leader Exchange Program. You will be glad to know that I saw Scripto products in dozens of stores in the Johannesburg, Cape Town and other cities.

A distinguished group agreed to serve. Their names are listed in the enclosed Summary statement and also in the Prospectus which includes a report of my conference with the Minister of External Affairs.

The Program is now in operation. Our Quarterly Report (copy enclosed) lists the first South African and American leaders to be exchanged.

I plan to be in Atlanta in June and I should be pleased to have an opportunity to discuss the Program with you. Would the week of June 23rd be a convenient time for you to see me?

tentative date X

Sincerely yours,

FRANK S. LOESCHER
Program Director
United States - South Africa
Leader Exchange Program

Enclosures

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

May 12, 1958

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Thanks for thinking of me in connection with your letter to Mr. Musser of Scripto. I have noted the possibility that the week of June 23 may be the date of your visit to Atlanta, and I will look forward to final word when your plans are complete.

The Marquards were here last week, and several of us on the staff had good sessions with them. Of course, they were scheduled and hosted by Dean Brazeal, and perhaps we didn't do as much for them as we might have. But certainly our exposure - and theirs I hope, was a pleasant and informative one.

In your earlier letter, you asked about Carl Pritchett, formerly of Anderson, South Carolina. Our experience with him was very favorable, both as to the degree of his commitment and the soundness of his judgment. I should think he would be a suitable candidate for the Exchange Program.

I hope to get a re-worked draft of the Foreign Visitor Proposal to you very soon.

Jane and I are still congratulating ourselves on our good luck in picking a time when both you and Mildred were in New York. We enjoyed our time with you immensely.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Enclosed is a run-down of contributions to SRC thus far in 1958. I thought you might like to see it.

H.C.F.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Frank Loescher

REGARDING

Foreign Visitor Program Proposal

DATE

May 29, 1958

Proposal dtd: May 23, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Foundations: Carnegie Corporation

YU 65320

AFRICAN — AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES — SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
DR. F. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
U.S.A.

South African Secretary:
PROF. N. J. J. OLIVIER
P.O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

June 9, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of May 29th. Last Monday I left the Foreign Visitors Program proposal with Steve Stackpole's secretary. Here's hoping.

Many thanks for the Moolman suggestions. I am working with Gilbert White of the University of Chicago. I am glad to know about Georgia Tech and will keep this in mind.

Congratulations on RBF and New World. That's really marvelous.

I am not sure if I'll get down the week of June 23rd. Will you be around? *
The very best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher
Program Director

FSL:mb'

* When do you go on vacation? Will you be around in July and August?

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNET (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); W. J. BUSSCHAU (S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

June 10, 1958

Mr. Milton H. Musser, Assistant to the President
Scripto, Inc.
P. O. Box 4847
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. Musser:

Thank you for your letter of May 6th. I thought I would be coming down the week of June 23rd, but now I find I cannot get away until July or August.

I shall write you again when my plans are more definite as I should like to discuss our program with you.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

Copy: H.C.Fleming

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

MF –

Please mail 12 copies of South Carolinians Speak to Frank Loescher.

HCF

Mailed 6/19/58 MF.

June 26, 1958

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

This is the first chance I have had to write you since I saw Allen Pifer last Friday. I tried to call you before I left New York, but had the misfortune to find you out.

I had a very good hour's conversation with Pifer. He said that he and Stackpole thought well of our request, will discuss it with the American Program staff whose recommendation would be all important, and that we might expect word in September or early October. He did say that they would like a budget breakdown showing generally where the money would go, and I will be sending him that in a day or two. In short, I think we are in as good shape as we could expect, and I am grateful for all your help.

I spent a couple of days with Vernon Eagle at the Phelps-Stokes Fund's Capahosic Conference. I suppose I needn't tell you that both he and Pifer spoke of you in glowing terms - as indeed everybody interested in your program seems to do.

I will be looking for word from you one of these days on your plans for a trip to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AFRICAN — AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES — SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
DR. F. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
U.S.A.

South African Secretary:
PROF. N. J. J. OLIVIER
P.O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

June 13, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I talked to Pifer yesterday about SRC proposal. (Stackpole was out.) Pifer said he had just received it and was looking forward to reading it. I said you were coming up and would be glad to discuss it, but I couldn't make a date for you. I suggest you phone Stackpole or Pifer on arrival to see if either or both want to talk.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNET (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); W. J. BUSSCHAU (S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

AFRICAN — AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES — SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
DR. F. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
U.S.A.

South African Secretary:
PROF. N. J. J. OLIVIER
P.O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

June 30, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter of June 26th. I am glad you had an hour with Alan Pifer and that the door is still open.

Thanks for passing on the kind words of Vernon and Alan. I don't need them this morning, having just returned from a week in Vermont, but there'll come a time!

My plans to visit Atlanta are a bit up in the air, but I'll keep you posted.

Christopher Reynolds gave us $5000. Prynce Hopkins wrote that the Board had met in New York (!), but had rejected our request because the selection of South Africans was being made by Americans! We have rushed full description of our joint Management Committee based on my trip to the Union and asked for reconsideration of the misunderstanding. This really was a surprise. Have you heard from them?

The very best to you in a very bad week. I have my ears glued to the radio to hear what the Supreme Court says.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNET (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); W. J. BUSSCHAU (S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

July 7, 1958

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Program Director
National Council of the YMCA
The Southern Area Council
706 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of June 26th which Hallock Hoffman kindly forwarded to my home.

I wish I could come up with some useful suggestions of foundations that might be interested in helping the YM. I think your best bet is to talk to Harold Fleming. Harold knows the foundations interested in work in the South and he also knows your current programs. I don't mean to "pass the buck", but this would seem to be the most efficient use of your time and energy.

I am sure you know the names of foundations other than the Fund for the Republic that have assisted Southern organizations--Field, New World, Rockefeller Brothers, etc.--but I do not know which ones might be prepared to consider the program of the YM.

I hope you have an interesting job in prospect where you can advise the program should funds be found to keep it going.

Enclosed is a brief statement about the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program. Perhaps some of our South African Fellows will have an opportunity to meet you in their travels.

Here's wishing you the very best.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb
Enc. 1

bcc: Hallock Hoffman
Harold Fleming

8/6/58

Dear Harold,

To keep you posted – our latest report.

I plan to phone you 8/11 to see how you feel about the last line on this page. And don't hesitate to tell me you can't do.

I also want to ask you about Al Frendly who is going to Africa.

Best regards

Frank

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

of the

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

QUARTERLY PROGRESS REPORT, No. 2

April through June, 1958

I. South African and American Leaders Recommended or under Consideration for Exchange:

Since the Program was inaugurated in January, 1958, the following South African leaders have been recommended for exchange by the South African and American members of the Management Committee:

Dr. Simon Biesheuvel, Director of National Institute for Personnel Research of the S.A. Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

Dr. Francois J. DeVilliers, Organizing Director of Industrial Development of Department of Native Affairs.

Ds. Jacobus S. Gericke, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch.

Dr. Jan H. Moolman, Director of the Natural Resources Development Council.

Dr. G. D. Scholtz, Assistant Editor of Die Transvaler.

The following American leaders are under consideration for exchange:

Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, Executive Secretary for the United States of the World Council of Churches, New York.

Hodding Carter, Editor & Publisher of Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Mississippi.

Prof. Guy Johnson, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina.

David A. McCandless, Director, Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville.

II. Preparations for Visits of South African Leaders

The first two South Africans are expected in September, 1958.

a. Ds. Gericke, Vice-Chancellor of Stellenbosch University, will be in the United States for three months studying the administration of American colleges and universities, student religious work and the trend in American race relations. Dean Elmer A. Homrighausen, Princeton Theological Seminary, has invited Ds. Gericke to spend the month of October at Princeton as a guest of the Seminary. Using Princeton as a base Ds. Gericke will visit universities, intergroup relations agencies and church headquarters in Boston, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia and Washington. Later he will visit universities in the Mid-West and also observe race relations in the South under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council.

b. Dr. Moolman, Director of the Natural Resources Development Council, will be accompanied by Mrs. Moolman. Dr. Moolman is especially interested in regional planning and regional development, development of backward areas, and ways and means of coordinating development activities. Prof. Gilbert White, Chairman of the Geography Department of the University of Chicago, has extended an invitation to Dr. Moolman to spend the month of October at the University where he will have opportunity for discussions with specialists in planning, economic development and related fields. There is a possibility that Dr. Moolman will be the first Eisenhower Exchange Fellow from the Union. Thus our funds can be stretched to cover another South African leader.

c. Dr. DeVilliers, Program Director of Industrial Development of Department of Native Affairs, expects to arrive in March, 1959. He will probably study economic development in Puerto Rico, the TVA and the work of the Indian Bureau.

d. Dr. Scholtz, Assistant Editor of Die Transvaler, the Johannesburg Afrikaans daily, and Mrs. Scholtz are expected in March, 1959. It is hoped that Dr. Scholtz may be invited by the University of Chicago as a visiting research fellow in the History Department. Dr. Scholtz will use the University as a base for his contacts with American journalists.

e. Dr. Biescheuvel, Director of the National Institute for Personnel Research, is uncertain when he can come over. Professor Gordon W. Allport at Harvard University has expressed interest in having Dr. Biescheuvel lecture in the Department of Social Relations and an American foundation has indicated interest in financing Dr. Biescheuvel's visit.

III. Preparations for Visits of American Leaders

None of the American leaders thus far nominated by the American members of the Management Committee will be able to go to South Africa before May or June, 1959.

a. Mr. McCandless, Director of the Southern Police Institute, has been invited by the South African Police College to lecture for two weeks at headquarters in Pretoria and then consult with police officials on the Reef in Cape Town and Durban. Mr. McCandless hopes to go to South Africa in the late spring of 1959. An American foundation has expressed interest in assisting Mr. McCandless to visit the Union.

b. Dr. Barnes, Executive Secretary for the United States of the World Council of Churches, New York, will probably be able to go to South Africa in May or June of 1959.

c. Mr. Carter, Editor and Publisher of the Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Mississippi, hopes to go to the Union with Mrs. Carter in August, 1959, for three months. There is a possibility that Mr. Carter will be invited by some of the daily papers in South Africa to write weekly articles on developments in American race relations. An American foundation may finance Mr. Carter's trip.

d. Dr. Johnson, Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, expects to go to South Africa with Mrs. Johnson in September, 1959, for one year. Dr. Johnson would like to lecture in his field in South African universities.

IV. Other Americans under Consideration

The following Americans are under active consideration by the American members, having been tentatively approved, but not formally nominated: Mr. Francis Bosworth, Executive Director of the Friends Neighborhood Guild, Philadelphia, who probably could leave in February, 1959, for three months; Dr. MacLeod Bryan, Professor of Philosophy, Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, who would go in June, 1959, with his wife and children to teach for one year; Dr. Lorus J. Milne, Professor of Zoology, University of New Hampshire, who would also go with his wife to teach for one year; Mr. John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina.

V. Efforts to Interest Distinguished Americans to Go to the Union this Fall or Winter

Since none of the Americans under consideration is able to go to the Union this year, the American members of the Management Committee deem it vitally important that our Program send an outstanding American to the Union this fall or early winter. The following persons have been approached but none is available during the next six to nine months: Dr. Harold W. Dodds, former President of Princeton University; President Buell G. Gallagher of the City College of New York; Dr. Frank P. Graham, United Nations Representative in India and Pakistan; Dr. Philip Jessup, Professor of International Law, Columbia University; Mr. Philip Reed, former Chairman of the Board of the General Electric Company; Mr. John D. Rockefeller III, Chairman of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Efforts are continuing to interest a distinguished American in going to the Union within the next few months.

VI. New Committee Members

Mr. Harry Goldberg, Chairman and Joint Managing Director of Ellis Furnishers Ltd., Chairman of Lewis Appliance Corporation, Ltd., has been elected a South African member of the Management Committee.

Two American businessmen who have shown interest in our Program are being invited to serve on the Management Committee.

VII. Joint Participation in Management Committee Meetings

Mr. A. E. Rupert, a South African member of the Management Committee, attended the June 3rd meeting of the American members when he was in New York on business for the Rembrandt Tobacco Company of which he is Chairman and Managing Director.

Three South African members of the Management Committee are expected at the September 18th meeting of the American members: Mr. H. Goldberg, Ds. W. A. Landman, former Chairman of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, and Dr. H. B. Thom, Principal of Stellenbosch University.

Dr. Edwin S. Munger, an American member of the Management Committee and Trustee of the Institute, who is in Africa for the American Universities Field Staff, attended the February, March and May meetings of the South African Group.

VIII. Other Recent Developments

On June 2nd we moved into the new office of the African-American Institute on the tenth floor of the Carnegie Endowment International Center. On the same day Miss

Mary L. Bayles started working as office secretary, giving half-time to Dr. L. Gray Cowan and the Institute's affairs and half-time to the U.S.-S.A. Leader Exchange Program.

Copy for a printed folder about the Program has been prepared with the assistance of Mr. Joseph P. Lyford of the public relations staff of the Fund for the Republic. This folder will be printed now in South Africa in English and Afrikaans to help the South African members of the Management Committee with fund-raising. Printing of the folder in the United States will be done by the Institute which is having all of its literature redesigned.

IX. Financial Report

Since April 1st the following contributions have been received:

Christopher Reynolds Foundation	$5,000
Wyomissing Foundation	1,000
Bristol-Myers Company	1,000

Fund-raising continues to be a major activity of the Program Director.

The South African members of the Management Committee are following up the Program Director's contacts with the following companies: California Texas Oil Company, International General Electric, Otis Elevator, States Marine (Safmarine). The South African members have also initiated contacts with other companies.

Attached is a statement of income and expenses for the first six months ending June 30, 1958.

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

FINANCIAL REPORT

Statement of Income and Expenses
For First Six Months Ending June 30, 1958

RECEIVED FOR 1958

New World Foundation	$ 10,000
Chace Fund	5,000
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000
African-American Institute (for office space and secretarial services)	5,000
Engelhard Industries (U.S.A.)	2,500
Norman Fund	2,500
Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation	2,500
Phelps-Stokes Fund	1,000
Wyomissing Foundation	1,000
Bristol-Myers Company	1,000
	$35,500

COMMITMENTS FOR 1958

Engelhard Industries (S.A.)	$ 2,800
South African Breweries	1,400
	$ 4,200

COMMITMENTS FOR 1959 AND 1960

New World Foundation	$20,000
African-American Institute (for office space and secretarial services)	10,000
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000
	$32,000

TOTAL INCOME AND COMMITMENTS FOR THREE YEARS	$71,700

EXPENSES

Salary of Program Director, Jan.-June, 1958, @ $750 per month	$ 4,500.00
Program Director's Trip to South Africa and Ghana, including cost of organization meeting, travel for South African members, secretarial services	2,062.50
Advance to South African Secretary for Part-Time Typist, postage, stationery, committee travel	2,000.00
Salary (½) New York Office Secretary, June, 1958	166.66
Agency Fee, Washington Travel (½)	95.09
Other Secretarial Services in U.S.A. Dec. 13, 1957 to June 30, 1958	577.69
Trips to Washington (4/2-4/4), Chicago-Indianapolis (4/21-4/24), Princeton (6/12)	208.42
Office (Rent, Telephone, etc.), June, 1958	83.33
Committee Travel	65.91
Committee Luncheon Meetings	58.75
Telephone	52.25
Postage	60.65
Cables	21.40
Cabs and Subways, New York	25.85
Stationery	9.17
Books	4.50
Miscellaneous	2.50
TOTAL EXPENSES	$ 9,994.67

P.A. f4I Please Return

cc mailed to N. Y. address

VIA AIR MAIL

August 25, 1958

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

It was good to talk with you Saturday. This is a catch-up letter, in anticipation of seeing you Wednesday or Thursday.

(1) I thought your letters to Eagle and Garrison were wise and helpful. Most grateful for the good words about SRC. Here is a copy of my memo to Eagle, looking toward his meeting with Field board in September. I've reiterated most of your recommendations.

(2) I'm also enclosing a copy of my report to SRC's executive committee on the Washington mission. You may be able to use this information discreetly to further other efforts by AFSC, etc.

(3) We're glad to have the background on Dr. Gericke. We will be planning for his visit.

Until I see you --

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3

September 3, 1958

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

No news can be good news, it seems. We just received a check for $2,500 from Prynce Hopkins! It seems the grant was approved early this summer but the check-signers weren't available.

I'm mindful that we first learned of the Hopkins Fund through you, and I could only wish your own request had also been approved.

Our appreciation, as always, and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES–SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
U.S.A.

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

October 9, 1958

Mr Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The enclosed news release for Monday, October 6th, briefly summarizes our progress and lists some of the South African and American leaders to be exchanged in 1959.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb
Enc.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER. (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
OF THE
AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

FRANK S. LOESCHER, PROGRAM
DIRECTOR
PHONE: YUkon 6-5320

FOR RELEASE: A.M. Newspapers
Monday, October 6, 1958

NEW YORK -- Establishment of a United States - South Africa Leader Exchange Program to further understanding between professional, business and civic leaders of the United States and the Union of South Africa was announced today by Frank S. Loescher, director of the program.

The first South African leader to come to the United States under the program is the Reverend J.S. Gericke, Vice Chancellor of Stellenbosch University. The Reverend Gericke, pastor of the largest church in South Africa and a leader in missions and student work of the Dutch Reformed Church, is studying the administration of American universities, student religious work and basic trends

(MORE)

in American race relations.

The first American leader to go to South Africa under the exchange program will be Hodding Carter, editor and publisher of the Delta Democrat-Times of Greenville, Mississippi. Mr. and Mrs. Carter and their 11 year old son will go to the Union for four months in January, 1959.

Dr. Loescher said that two way exchange will enable Americans to see South African life at first hand and gain better understanding of the efforts South Africans are making to solve their problems. It will also enable South Africans to study America's way of life, see how Americans are trying to solve their problems and become acquainted with American conceptions of the crucial role that Africa is playing in relations between East and West.

Dr. Loescher stated that the United States - South Africa Leader Exchange Program is seeking support for the exchange of 50 leaders per year in the next decade. To date, approximately $150,000 has been contributed by 18 American and South African foundations and corporations.

Twelve American and South African leaders will be exchanged in 1959, including Dr. G.D. Scholtz, Assistant Editor of the Transvaler, a Johannesburg Afrikaans newspaper; Dr. F.J. De Villiers, Organizing Director for Industrial Development of the Department of Native Affairs;

(MORE)

Prof. D. Hey, Director of Nature Conservation in the Cape Province; David A. McCandless, Director of the Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville; Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, Executive Secretary in the United States for the World Council of Churches, and Dr. Guy Johnson, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Carolina.

An International Management Committee supervises the program and selects leading citizens for exchange. The Chairman of the Management Committee is Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director of the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Ltd.; the Rev. C.B. Brink, Assessor of the Synod, Transvaal Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Church), and Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Executive Secretary, American Friends Service Committee, are Vice Chairmen; Prof. N. J. J. Olivier of Stellenbosch University is Secretary in South Africa; Dr. Loescher is Program Director and General Secretary. A consultant on intergroup relations, Dr. Loescher was previously director of the City of Philadelphia's Commission on Human Relations and served as consultant to the Fund for the Republic. He is a Fellow of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education.

The other American members of the Management Committee are:

Dr. George H. Bennett, Director, Asia-Africa, Institute of International Education

Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University

Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, International Missionary Council

Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc.

Prof. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University

Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff

Leslie Paffrath, Secretary, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of N.Y.

Gordon V. Richdale, President, Engelhard Industries, Inc.

Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches

The following South Africans are also members of the Management Committee:

H. Goldberg, Chairman, Lewis Appliance Corp., Ltd.

Rev. W.A. Landman, Director of Information, Cape Dutch Reformed Church, (N.G. Church)

Dr. M.S. Louw, Chairman, Bonus Investment Corporation of S.A.

Col. E.O'C Maggs, Charles Maggs Investments

A.E. Rupert, Chairman and Managing Director, Rembrandt Tobacco Corp of S.A. Ltd.

T.P. Stratten, Managing Director, Union Corporation, Ltd.

Dr. H.B. Thom, Principal, Stellenbosch University

(MORE)

F. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations

Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of S. A.

Three types of exchange fellowships have been planned:

1. One-year exchanges of families: The leader will actually work on the staff of an organization in the U. S. or the Union in his specific field. Responsibility for hospitality, job placement, finding a home, schooling for children and travel arrangements will be borne by the employing organization. The Management Committee can provide matching funds to the employing organization, as may be necessary. Examples: librarians, journalists, industrial relations experts, government officials, clergymen, professors, artists, school teachers.

2. Individual short-term projects: This will enable the individual leader to undertake a specific piece of work in his particular field, and participate in conferences.

3. Team programs: Teams of four to six leaders may be selected to study intensively in the U. S. some particular problem, e. g. soil conservation, rural electrification, etc., facing the Union in which the U. S. has knowledge and experience.

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program will be administered by the African-American Institute, a private, non-political American organization founded in 1953 to foster closer relations between the peoples of the United States and Africa.

#####

VIA AIR MAIL October 24, 1958

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 S. 46th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

As you will have heard, Gericke's stay here was cut even shorter by his decision to go to Jacksonville before visiting Hodding Carter. But his stay here was a very good one, from our point of view, and I suspect from his, too. I thought you might like to have a brief run-down on it.

First, everybody who dealt with him found Gericke an extremely likable and impressive person. Though his position on South African race relations is a fairly conservative one, he maintains it honorably and persuasively.

Unfortunately, I had less time with him than I would have wished -- mainly because I was on jury duty all this week. However, we had him to dinner en famille Saturday evening. Jane and her mother, who was visiting us, were delighted with him and with the discussion. You'll be interested to know that Gary and Tony took to him like an old friend; we couldn't have been more surprised.

Since Gericke stayed at Atlanta University the first few days, he had ample opportunity to meet Dr. Clement and others there. Sunday he was entertained at dinner by the Coulborns (white A. U. faculty members) and their guests. The only jarring note of

the whole visit, as far as I know, was Rushton Coulborn's apparently rather rude attack on Gericke's views. I later explained that Rushton behaves this way chronically; in any case, Gericke seemed more entertained than upset by the episode.

Fred Routh had Gericke in tow for most of his time here this week. Fred got him together with, among others, the (quite conservative) dean of the Emory Theology School for a spirited discussion, in which Gericke acquitted himself very well. Also with a businessman named Culpepper, who is the very model of an "intelligent segregationist"; I gather that Gericke found this one of the most interesting conversations he had here. Even Fred was impressed by Mr. Culpepper's gentlemanly moderation. You might be interested to know that we arranged this interview through a staff member of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

As you know, everything was cleared for the visits with Hodding Carter and with Vernon Eagle in Chicago.

We liked your first exchange, and I for one acquired from him some helpful insight into the South African situation. I hope you and he will feel his Southern swing was as successful as we are inclined to rate it.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Hope your trip to Chapel Hill was a pleasant one for you both.

HCF

November 10, 1958

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 S. 46th Street
Philadelphia 46, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your letter of November 4.

It's a measure of our non-commercial purity that we have no billing form - except for New South. Enclosed is an improvised statement which may serve.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

STATEMENT

November 10, 1958

TO: United States - South Africa Exchange Program

FOR: Services to Ds. J. S. Gericke, October 18-23, 1958 $100.00

Ruth H. Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

414 S. 46th St
Phila 46, Pa.

November 4, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburan Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you very much for your letter about Ds. Gericke. I appreciate all that you and Fred did for him.

I look forward to an early opportunity to discuss in detail your impressions of Gericke and get the benefit of your ideas for our future programming.

I want to have a check for $100 sent to SRC, but I need a statement from your office. Please send me a bill.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
of the
AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

November 17, 1958

REPORT OF THE REVEREND J. S. GERICKE,

Vice Chancellor of Stellenbosch University

Introductory Remarks

My visit to the U.S.A. will remain one of the greatest experiences of my life. I accepted the invitation of the U.S.-S.A. Leader Exchange Program with some grave misgivings. I knew that the acceptance of this invitation would bring me to a country where my own people stood in the firing line of severe criticism and even suspicion. I knew that I would have to face more than one very difficult audience. I also knew that press and television have circulated a picture of my own country and its people which would follow me like a nightmare wherever I went. But then, I made one mistake: I also expected the people of this country to frown on me! This did not happen. The hospitality, friendliness, sincerity and understanding which I experienced from house to house and from city to city simply overwhelmed me. South Africa is well known for its hospitality, but now, I, as a South African, am quite willing to pass the first honours to the people of this country. I am leaving the U.S.A. with one very gratifying conviction: I have met many people here who shall remain my life-long friends. Even if I had nothing more to take back to South Africa, this one enriching experience would be quite enough.

I have the greatest admiration for this wonderful country and its people.

During the past ten weeks I had the privilege to meet at least three hundred men and women, of whom many are leaders in the field of education, religion and social welfare. I attended many meetings, religious services, luncheons, etc. I preached in churches, addressed groups of university students and faculty members and spoke to ministers fraternals. I stayed in a number of homes. I was the guest of some of the largest universities and colleges (white and colored). I talked with cab drivers and political leaders, school children and university presidents, integrationists and segregationists, foreign students and American students. But in spite of this wide and enriching experience I would be the last person to boast that I know the people and understand the problems of this country. To write a report on "Inside America" is the task of those people who have stayed here for two weeks. Unfortunately my stay lasted for two months!

I came to the U.S.A. with three major interests:

1. Church organizations, with special emphasis on (a) Missions; (b) The church's activities among students

   a. Missions

I fully realize that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to get a clear picture of what the Protestant Churches are doing in the missionary field. In such a large country with its 100 million Protestants, divided into many denominations, it is to be expected that the evidence would be confusing, even conflicting in many cases. It seems to be the consensus of opinion among church leaders

that the Protestant churches of America are not "doing their bit" in this field. An annual budget of 150 million dollars for foreign missions (total for Protestant churches) seems to corroborate this view.

When a church has reason to voice this complaint, there can be three different reasons for this state of affairs:

a. The absence of deep spiritual life.
b. Ignorance about the crying need of heathen countries.
c. Shortage of funds and volunteers.

In discussing this with church leaders, I got the impression that "c." was the main problem. Of course, every churchman knows that this shortage may be a result of a luke warm Christianity. However, there are many signs of a spiritual awakening in this country and everywhere I found a very keen and sincere interest in the welfare of the so-called underdeveloped countries of the world. Therefore, I am convinced that the men and the money will be found to match the political influence of this country with a real spiritual impact on the rest of the world. I can only say this on the assumption that America's interest in the underdeveloped countries is not merely inspired by political and humanistic motivations but that there is a real spiritual element in this interest.

Perhaps now is the time to realize that Christianity still has a solution to problems facing the world of our day and that these problems justify an unprecedented missionary effort on the part of the churches. It was a wonderful experience to visit Dr. Oswald Smith of the People's Church in Toronto and see how a church of 3,000 members can afford 375 foreign missionaries.

b. The Church's activities among college students

Obviously the churches in this country fully realize the importance of religious work on the college campus. On every campus I was surprised at the number of chaplains assigned to this work. Even where a denomination had only 50 students belonging to its fold, a full-time minister was appointed. Some churches have two chaplains where the student membership exceeds 500. The result is a very intimate and personal relationship between students and chaplain. In South Africa we have only one chaplain for Stellenbosch (4,000 students), one for Bloemfontein (2,000 students), three for Pretoria (more than 6,000 students and student nurses), etc.

On the other hand, the student Christian Association is much more active in South Africa than in this country, perhaps because of the fact that the churches have not done enough in this field. Universities such as Harvard, Princeton, Chapel Hill, Wake Forest College, Rollins College (Florida), Atlanta University, Duke University and Union College convinced me that this country has the institutions to train the leaders for the future.

2. University administration and academic freedom

In contrast to the South African Universities, where we have only one pattern, i.e. a state-aided but free institution, in this country there is no fixed pattern. There are universities and colleges which are totally independent of state support, but there are also a number of institutions where the government pays the piper but is also in the position to call the tune. A majority of government appointees on the Board of Trustees can be a real threat to the University's autonomy. It is common knowledge that the intention of the South African Government to exclude

Coloured students from the integrated Universities was met by strong opposition from some English and Afrikaans professors, and this could only happen because the tradition of University autonomy is very strong in South Africa.

The universities in this country are in a very fortunate position as far as endowments and public donations are concerned. Some universities have a budget which could be the envy of any country in the world. The result is libraries, laboratories, museums and other facilities which justifies every expression of pride. I have visited universities which have one professor for every ten students, and these institutions can afford this luxury without state support!

But in spite of all these facilities there seems to be a general complaint that the standard of university education is not what it should be. Professors and lecturers agree that the universities are severely hampered by an inefficient secondary school training. If this is true, the position can have a very serious impact on the future of the country. No university can make up for the shortcomings in the basic training of the primary and secondary school. I am inclined to wonder whether the principle of "the equality of all men" does not sometimes lead to the practice where the pace is set by the "average" of the class at the expense of the brilliant boy who is destined to become the leader of his people.

3. Trends in Race Relations

My interest in race relations swallowed up most of my time and energy, not because of a personal preference, but, being a South African, I was forced into a discussion of this problem, even when I had planned to settle down to a quiet talk on Churches and Universities! Furthermore, it was very difficult to play the part of a student who had come to this country to learn. I was forced into the role of an ambassador who had to explain the position in my own country. I came with the intention to take a place in the pew and listen; I ended up in the pulpit where I had to do the talking!

Nevertheless, I am grateful for the many opportunities I had to give a truer picture of my country and its people than the one which some sensational journalists and political opponents of the S.A. government have strewn across this country.

On the other hand, I am deeply impressed by the growing interest in the affairs of Africa. Up to World War II this interest was merely confined to fields of anthropology and Christian missions, but during the past ten years Africa has stepped into the limelight of the American audience. There are, of course, a few obvious reasons for this:

a. The political importance of Africa in the struggle between communism and Western Democracy.

b. A new emphasis on race relations here and in Southern Africa.

c. The national awakening of the coloured nations of the world and the sympathies with these aspirations and the strategic position of Africa in this rising tide.

This interest in Africa has materialised in different directions:

a. Universities and colleges everywhere have started study projects on Africa. Ten Universities have a full post-graduate course on African affairs and some 50 other institutions have started a program on African studies.

b. A number of organizations came into being, e.g. The African-American Institute, the African Studies Association, the American Committee on Africa, the Commonwealth Studies of Duke University, the Institute for International Education, the American Universities' Field Service, etc.

c. Exchange Programmes, of which incidentally only the U.S.-S.A. Leader Exchange Program has emphasized a two-way exchange.

d. The invaluable contributions of certain Foundations, e.g. Carnegie Corporation, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation.

One can only hope that this very sincere interest in Africa would ultimately lead to a better understanding between the two continents and especially between the U.S.A. and South Africa.

It is not my intention to discuss the Race Problem of South Africa in this report, but after I have seen a little of the problem in this country I am tempted to tell the Americans to thank their lucky stars that they are not faced with the South African problem. Therefore, I have pleaded with people in this country, not necessarily to agree with us, but to give us the minimum to which every human being is entitled, i.e. the acceptance of our bona fides.

Perhaps it is expected of me to give my impressions of the problem as I see it on the American front. On principle I prefer to refrain from giving any judgment on the American situation. Strangers and foreigners are in the position to make very grave miscalculations when they start discussing their host's household.

I can only say that the position in this country calls for a much better understanding between the North and the South. Macauley said: "Men are never so likely to settle a matter rightly as when they discuss it freely."

I get the impression that the "discussions" so far have taken place primarily on the level of law courts and newspapers. The result is a vehement and determined reaction against the so-called "interference of the North." Human relations can only be changed by persuasion -- never by force. The fact that the Civil War still has an influence on the emotions and the thinking of the South is an indication of how far the clock may be set back if the present issue is not handled with understanding and Christian love. I have met a number of "liberals" in the South who feel very unhappy about the turn things have taken -- men and women who are angered by "the fact that their democratic rights have been sabotaged."

I am not in a position to judge the correctness of this statement. I only know that America has not unlimited time to solve this problem. Her position in the world burdens her with a very serious responsibility. If America fails, the ultimate success of Moscow is guaranteed.

In conclusion, I want to thank one man who has done more for me during my visit than could be expected, a man who is rendering a service to two countries which might prove to be the answer to many of our problems, a man who has seen a vision and has acted accordingly, a man endowed with the spirit of understanding and unbiased thinking. That man is Dr. Frank Loescher. I greet him and his country with the warmest feelings of gratitude and admiration.

P.S. The reason why this report is not accompanied by a series of recommendations is because I find no fault with the way in which this first program was organized. If I <u>must</u> make a recommendation, it would be that future invitees be treated as I was treated!

INTERVIEWS

1. New York

Dr. Roswell Barnes, U.S. Secretary, World Council of Churches
Mr. Melvin Fox, Ford Foundation
Dr. Buell Gallagher, President, City College of New York
Dr. J. Oscar Lee, National Council of Churches, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
Dr. Alfred Kramer, National Council of Churches, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
Dr. Emory Ross, President, African-American Institute
Rev. Theodore Tucker, National Council of Churches, Africa Committee
Mr. York Allen, Rockefeller Foundation
Mr. Stephen Stackpole, Carnegie Corporation
Mr. Pfeiffel, American Institute of Men's and Boy's Wear
President Henry P. Van Dusen and faculty, Union Theological Seminary
Mr. Sydney Bailey, Carnegie Endowment

2. Boston and Cambridge

Mr. and Mrs. L. K. Marshall, Peabody Museum, Harvard
Dr. Nathan Pusey, President, Harvard University
The Dean of Faculty, Harvard University
Dr. William O. Brown, Boston University
Mr. J. Brews, Director, Peabody Museum, Harvard
Prof. Chamberlain, Economist, Harvard
Miss Katharine Taylor, Trustee, New World Foundation

3. Winston-Salem

Prof. MacLeod Bryan, Department of Religion, Wake Forest College
The President, Wake Forest College
Ten Professors, Wake Forest College
Dr. G. W. Blackwell, President, Women's College, University of North Carolina

4. Charlotte

Dr. Billy Graham and members of his team
Dr. Ham, a retired evangelist

5. Chapel Hill (University of North Carolina)

Miss Anne Queen, Secretary YWCA
Rev. Charles Jones, Community Church
The Dean of Students and Dean of Faculty
Prof. Albright, Archaeologist
Pastors and Chaplains
Meetings with Student Groups
Dr. Guy Johnson, Professor of Sociology

6. Princeton

President MacKay and Dean Homrighausen, Princeton Theological Seminary
President Goheen, Princeton University
Dr. Blizzart, Professor of Sociology

6. Princeton (continued)

Dr. Weaver, Assistant to the President
Dr. H. J. Dodds, Ex-President, Princeton University
Mr. Morris Milgram, President, Modern Community Builders
Dr. Hadley Cantril, Opinion Polling
Mr. Harold K. Hochschild, Chairman, Executive Committee, African-American Institute
Mr. Phelps, Executive, Esso Corporation
South African Students

7. Washington

Mrs. Elizabeth Munger and staff of the S.A. Embassy
Mr. W. C. du Plessis, Ambassador
Dr. Vernon MacKay, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies
Mr. Alfred Friendly, Managing Editor, Washington Post
Dr. Rayford Logan, Howard University
Messrs. John George, Raymond J. Smyke, John Livingston, African-American Institute
Dr. and Mrs. Burns Chalmers, Davis House
Students from Ghana, Tunisia and Japan

8. Philadelphia

Rev. H. B. Sissel, Dept. Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church
Also Messrs. Howard Maxwell, Darrel Randall, Clifford Earl, Gaylord Wilmore and Miss Margaret Kinen, United Presbyterian Church
Dr. William H. Gray, Jr., Bright Hope Baptist Church
Professor and Mrs. Douglas Steere, Haverford College
The American Friends Service Committee
Dr. Leon Sullivan, Zion Baptist Church

9. Atlanta

Dr. Rufus Clement, President, Atlanta University
Also Dr. R. G. Armstrong, Professor of Anthropology and Prof. Coulbron, Professor of English, Atlanta University
Prof. Floyd, Professor of Modern Missions, Emory University
Dr. J. M. Dabbs, Chairman, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
Dr. Fred Routh, Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council
Mr. V. Culpepper, Industrialist

10. Jacksonville, Florida

Mr. and Mrs. Selwyn Chalker
Dr. Crawford, Professor of English, Jacksonville University
Dr. Martin, Chaplain, Jacksonville University
Congressman Charles Bennett
Dr. Stuart, Dean of Religion, Stetson University

11. Winter Park, Florida

Prof. Granberry, Rollins College

12. Greenville, Mississippi

Mr. Hodding Carter
Mr. J. Sykes, President of Bank
Senator Stennis

13. Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Waldo Beach, Professor of Christian Ethics, Duke University
Dr. Edgar Thompson, Professor of Sociology, Duke University
Mr. John Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank

14. Chicago

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle, Executive Director and Trustees of the New World Foundation
Mr. Laird Bell
Mr. Adlai Stevenson

15. Toronto

Mr. Emmert, President, Ford Motor Company (Canada)
Mr. Gilles, Vice President, Ford Motor Company (Canada)
Mr. Pollack, President, Rothmans of Pall Mall, Ltd.

16. Schenectady

Dr. and Mrs. L. J. Milne, Professor of Zoology, University of New Hampshire
Dr. Davidson, President, Union College
The Staff Members, Character Research Project.

AFRICAN—AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

November 18, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am sending your bill for services to Ds. Gericke to the African-American Institute. I appreciate the personal attention you and Fred gave to Kosie. I am anxious to talk to you about your observations and recommendations for the future.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

cc: R. J. Smyke

P.S. How would you feel about my writing to the foundation you mentioned? (Was it Tacoma? A Stephen Currier? Address, etc.)

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

VIA AIR MAIL

November 24, 1958

Mr. Frank Loescher
Program Director
U. S.-South Africa Leader ~~Exchange~~
Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your note about our services to Gericke. I expect to be in New York next week, December 2 and 3 and possibly one additional day. Aside from a meeting Tuesday morning, the 2nd, I have not yet scheduled my appointments. What are chances of our getting together?

Why not give the Taconic Foundation a try? I don't really know anything about it, but maybe the Foundation Library could help. Also, if F. D. Patterson cooperates with you, he might help dope out the best approach; I think Taconic has helped the United Negro College Fund. I mention these things only because I gather that Taconic responds to needs vouched for by someone close to the officers. The address is: Mr. Stephen Currier, President, Taconic Foundation, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York 19, New York.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Do we have this? HCF

JCV
MMV

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

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345 EAST 46TH STREET
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South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

January 14, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I leave the end of this week. Expect to be back by March 15th.

Did you see Franklin Attell's article in latest Christian Century? He was active in race relations as director of religious activities in the 40's at University of Michigan. Able guy. Might be useful to SRC with some clergy and professors in view of his German experience.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

ACF –
Attached – Note
difference in
names –
Pls. return
MM

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
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PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

AIR MAIL

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

March 17, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed find the December, January and February attacks on our program. If you can get me any information on Wilson and Ball, I will appreciate it. Please return.

I would also value your advice on how I might best handle this matter in terms of my committee members.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb
Enc.

See Paul Rilling ltr on Ball of Va. dtd Apr 20, 59

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

Message from Johannesburg Leopoldville

Frank S. Loescher 2/28/59

Dear Harold,

Mieand and I are on our way home. It was a useful trip. Time is really running out and I wonder if S. Africa will make a creative response. I do believe there is a possibility.

Our program has been attacked by the extreme right (S. A. Observer) and extreme left (New Age). John W. Ball of Virginia - Highland Springs, and Michael J. Wilson have written articles in recent issues attacking Carter, McCandless, Roy Barnes

Loescher, Olivier. Can you get me some dope on Ball and Wilson that I might send out to S. Africa? One or two of our Committee are a bit uneasy.

We arrive in New York March 1 and will go straight to Carolina Inn to see Bill. We'll be there March 2 and 3 and then head for Philadelphia. Let me know when you expect to be in Phila. or New York.

Mildred joins me in best wishes to you and your family

Sincerely
Frank

cut and put in long pants." "Young artists," he said, "should be encouraged to defeminise Christ and return (sic!) his trousers and restore his masculinity."

If one did not realise that this subtle undermining of the Christian Faith is directly aimed at the destruction of White civilisation, which has also been a Christian civilisation for many centuries, one would be tempted to wonder what the clerical modernists would do with other historical figures.

Buddha, for instance, might not remain the plump, squatting, contemplative figure he is today, but would probably emerge as a young Communist Chinese in a trilby hat; Richard the Lion Heart would probably become an earnest member of the American Committee on Africa, bent on frequent missions to succour the poor coloured peoples in their justifiable fight for freedom against the British Imperialists of that time; and the Merry Monarch a slim young West Indian forced to flee from England because of racial prejudice and so on.

There are infinite possibilities and no doubt, in a few years, with Unesco at the helm, we shall arrive at the admirable situation portrayed in the book "1984", wherein all history and historical personages were newly written up every day and every hour of the day, in strict accordance with the political dictates prevailing at any given moment.

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAMME

From JOHN W. BALL (Highlands Springs, Va., U.S.A.).

IT has come to my attention through press reports that the African-American Institute is sponsoring a United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Programme to "further understanding between professional business and civic leaders of the U.S. and the Union of South Africa."

Now, to give this programme a surface scanning, a person would be inclined to say that it was a most commendable thing. But, a peek below the surface discloses something else.

At once I wish to state that as a citizen of the United States, and residing in a region of this country where the average man and woman is both sympathetic and understanding toward the good people of the Union in dealing with certain complex problems therein, I am opposed to a good part of the roster of the U.S. visitors selected to "further understanding" with South Africa. Most of them are cut from the same bolt of socio-political cloth, and in my view will be bent not on furthering mutual understanding between the two countries; but instead they will want South Africans to change everything to suit their political ideology.

Hodding Carter

I shall take only one case in this brief account to demonstrate my point: One of the so-called American leaders to visit South Africa in January 1959 is a fellow by the name of Hodding Carter, editor and publisher of the *Delta Democratic-Times* of Greenville, Mississippi.

Hodding Carter will be presented to you as one of those who will further understanding between the U.S.A. and S.A. Do not believe it for one minute, South Africans.

At first you may be prone to feel that since Hodding Carter is from the Southern States — and there is a great racial problem in this region — that Hodding Carter will be sympathetic toward the racial problem in South Africa. On the contrary, Hodding Carter has been on the race-mixing side of the fence for years and is not at all representative of the views and feelings of the bulk of the citizens of the Southern States.

There is only one political side to Carter — the race mixing side. Consistently he has fought against the people of the South in our battle to preserve our schools, our racial integrity, and our States' Rights. He is our sworn enemy, and the darling of the American left-wing.

Hodding Carter has been associated with nearly every race-mixing organization to come down the Southern Road.

In the American Southland there are numerous newspaper editors of large newspapers who would be most understanding of problems inside South Africa and would make many fast friends there. Two of these men I can name from my own area. There is James L. Kilpatrick of the *Richmond Virginia News Leader* and Virginius Dabney, editor of the *Richmond Times Dispatch*.

Both of these men are well informed, authors of note, and are the type of men who should be sent abroad to represent us. It is not done, however, because both men are conservative in their views.

These two editors would really further understanding between our two lands. But who is sent abroad instead? Hodding Carter, pro-race mixer, and editor of a minor newspaper of leftish slant that is despised by conservative Southerners.

OUR READERS SAY . . .

METHODIST Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam told a Methodist convocation on evangelism in Washington recently that "any politician who cooperates with the forces that seek to deny the Negro the vote is a subversive."

Bishop Oxnam, who is one of the heads of the World Council of Churches, may be considered somewhat of an authority on subversion. According to "Communism and the NAACP," published by the Georgia Commission on Education, Oxnam was identified in sworn testimony as having no less than 36 connections with Communist or Communist-front groups. — C.A.C. (New York 1.)

• • •

MY fear is that perhaps too many people in the United States are not willing to stand up for principles. — R.W. (Washington, D.C.)

• • •

THE road to appeasement and co-existence with Communism is not the road to peace. It is only surrender on the instalment plan. — J.P. (London, W.C. 2.)

• • •

KENYA'S position is simply appalling and the folly of our abandoning the Sudan is felt there perhaps more than anywhere else. It is sad to think that nearly all the troubles in Central Africa are directly due to ill-considered forcing on politically of Natives who were as a mass perfectly happy and contented before. But, even more than the Colonial Office, one must blame Michael Blundell and his associates who *knew* just what they were doing — without them the crazy Lyttelton plan could not have been imposed, which began it all. — B.C. (Durban).

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bats segregation and strives to extend the opportunities of education. But the goal of integration may be reached only after considerable convulsion.

It is at that point that the vista opens into the nature of the historical role that is in store for the American Negro. The world is in turmoil. Colored peoples, from Guatemala to Indonesia and from India to Ghana, having been freed from colonial and semi-colonial overlordship, they are mistrustful of the gifts of the white man, and threatened, as they are, by internal disorder and the loosening of social bonds, they may be tempted to run to the regimented society of the Soviets. In this moment, the American Negro becomes a symbol, very different from the one that he used to be in the past. If he can give convincing proof of the achievements of colored peoples under freedom, he can be an apostle of Western civilization among the peoples of Asia and Africa and an ambassador of good-will to the doubting and the misinformed where the white man can only stammer excuses. In this sense, the American Negro is being called to the ramparts of Western civilization. For this purpose, he must train himself. To this end, he must be sent as an exchange student to Europe in far greater numbers, proportionately, than any other type of American student.

* W. E. B. DU BOIS is the communist American Negro who organised five Pan-African congresses in the immediate post-war years and who, incidentally, helped to found the NAACP.

There was reportedly a desire for him as the "Father" of Pan-Africanism (i.e. the communist-inspired "Africa for the Africans" Movement) to be present as a symbol at the recent sixth Pan-African Congress held at Accra. But du Bois, now 90, apparently preferred to remain in Moscow to where he is reported to have retired.

Until recently du Bois could not get a passport visa to leave the U.S. because he had refused to sign a "non-communist" affidavit — he has 62 communist and communist-front citations in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities — but a recent, a virtually pro-communist, U.S. Supreme Court ruling made it possible for him (and Paul Robeson and others) to leave the U.S.

— Editor, S.A. Observer.

"I, TOO, HOPE THAT PROF. N. J. J. OLIVIER WILL MAKE A STATEMENT"

UNITED STATES — SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAMME

By JOHN W. BALL (Virginia, U.S.A.)

ON the American frontier in the years gone by, there was an old saying that if one left open the doors of one's house one could expect all manner of "varmints" to wander in and upset the place. The same applies in a socio-political sense in our present-day world. The same now applies in South Africa where conservative doors have been thrown open to this so-called "Leader Exchange" program between South Africa and the United States, sponsored by the African-American Institute.

Hodding Carter, for one, has entered through that door, and as South Africans learn more about him and his anti-White views, they will be happier when he goes home.

But Hodding Carter is not the only one. There are others to follow in his wake, to pass through the now open door.

DR. ROSWELL P. BARNES

There is, for instance, Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, Executive Secretary in the U.S. of the World Council of Churches. Dr. Barnes, as is to be expected, is also tied up with the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A., which Council at its recent World-Order Study Conference urged the immediate entry of Red China into the U.N.!

Almost needless to say, Dr. Barnes endorses race-mixing to the hilt. But equally important is the fact that he has been associated closely with nine different organisations either cited as Communist fronts or known to be in direct support of Communist aims and objectives in the United States. Dr. Barnes is listed in the American Council of Christian Laymen's pamphlet, "How Red is the National Council of Churches", as being a member of the Socialist Party which has, from the earliest, co-operated with the Communists in various specific activities. The Socialist party has been the training ground for any number of American Communist leaders.

From the same reference source comes this further information on Dr. Barnes: He is a member of the War Resisters League, which is the American affiliate of the revolutionary Socialist-Communist War Resisters International. In America the League co-sponsors numerous Communist-controlled movements and programs.

The People's Lobby is another of Dr. Barnes' pet organisations. This group has a program in accord with the Socialist-Communist system of Russia, and drives to destroy all free-enterprise, profit, rent, and individually owned property — full government ownership of everything in a slave state is the aim.

Despite his present high "church" office, Dr. Barnes has been associated with an organisation which has published blasphemous and atheistic material. This was the National Religion and Labor Foundation which was set up in 1932 by radicals, and directed largely by Communists and Socialists, for the purpose of promoting the "new social order", and to give active aid to industrial strikers, while seeking the overthrow of the capitalist system. Additional information on this organisation, and Dr. Barnes' relationship to it, may be secured from the American Council of Christian Laymen, 122 West Washington Avenue, Madison 1, Wisconsin, U.S.A.

Dr. Barnes is also a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a radical-pacifist group which uses Christian terms to snare unwary persons into supporting pet Red programs. This organization is international in scope and the groups' literature has consistently preached, "We must work for a radical reorganization of society" and insists that "the class war is a fact". A very important part of the organization's beliefs, gleaned from its literature, for instance is that it believes a new social order can and will be established . . . it believes these changes can be accomplished by revolutionary uprisings.

Another of Dr. Barnes' pet projects has been the American Youth Congress. This organisation, designed to subvert America's youth, was cited as being Communist and subversive by the U.S. Justice Department. The House Un-American Activities Committee cited it as being "One of the principal fronts of the Communist Party", while the California Committee on Un-American Activities backed this up with the statement that the AYC is "One of the most influential front organizations ever established by the American Communist Party."

The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, which was cited as Communist and subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee and the California Committee on Un-American Activities, had Dr. Barnes as one of its fully pledged members.

Enough of Dr. Barnes. Let us pass on to two more American "leaders" scheduled to visit South Africa. There

is, for one, David A. McCandless, Director of the Southern Police Institute of the University of Louisville, Kentucky.

DAVID A. McCANDLESS

The University of Louisville has from the very beginning been one of the foremost leaders in the field to promote race-mixing in the public schools of that city, and McCandless has repeatedly allowed the Police Institute to be used by officials of the N.A.A.C.P. as a propaganda springboard from which to launch attacks against racial segregation. McCandless has, however, never allowed a proponent of segregation to dispute the race-mixers that have gathered at the Institute.

All of this information may be found in the "little bible" of the race-mixers called the "Louisville Story" by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James, published by Simon and Schuster.

DR. GUY JOHNSON

Yet another American "leader" scheduled to visit South Africa to "further understanding" between our countries is Dr. Guy Johnson, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of North Carolina.

Dr. Johnson assures everyone that Negroes are just sun-burned White men and that there is no difference between races — race being merely a myth.

One small note on the University of North Carolina from whence Dr. Johnson hails: For years this University has been a hot-bed of radical movements, and has pumped race-mixing propaganda at we White people of the South until we no longer pay attention to it. On each occasion when hearings have been held in the Southern States by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the uncovered threads of Communist activity have lead into and about the campus of the University of North Carolina. Any number of notorious Communist agitators, such as Junius Scales who is currently before the courts for his Red activities, have sprung from the halls of learning at the University of North Carolina, where Dr. Johnson among others of like mind, harangue their students to leap over the racial fences and found a new, revolutionary social order.

DR. FRANK S. LOESCHER

Then there is Dr. Frank S. Loescher, who is the general manager of the whole Exchange Program and who is, I understand, visiting South Africa at the moment. Dr. Loescher has been a consultant to the Ford Foundation which instrumentally has contributed millions of dollars to race-mixing activities in the U.S. and which Foundation was recently cited in a report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Dr. Loescher also recently headed the Human Relations Council of Philadelphia which Council is endowed with legal powers to force White people to mix with Negroes.

My sympathy goes out to the people of South Africa for having to play host to the African-American Institute and the American "leaders" chosen to further understanding between our two countries — and I too, am nonplussed at the fact that prominent members of Sabra in your country are linked up with the S.A. Institute of Race Relations and the African-American Institute in this Exchange Program.

I, too, hope that Professor N. J. J. Olivier as a vice-chairman of Sabra, and as secretary in South Africa of this Leader Exchange program, will make a public statement as to how it all came about, because I cannot help feeling that someone somewhere — as Mr. Michael J. Wilson said in his article last month — is leading someone up the garden path. And I cannot help feeling that it is South Africa being led up this path.

CITIZENSHIP FOR ABORIGINES SEEN AS "DEATH SENTENCE"

From *Sydney Morning Herald*, Australia, 9/1/59.

GRANTING white citizenship to aborigines without proper preparation would mean writing their death sentences, a group of leading Alice Springs citizens said in a statement issued today.

They are: The Rev. A. W. Grant, Presbyterian; the Rev. T. J. Fleming, Baptist; the Rev. F. W. Albrecht, Lutheran; the Rev. A. A. Quick, Methodist; Mr. Rex Battarbee, artist; Mr. L. H. Purkiss, Mr. W. Petrick, Mr. N. C. Hargrave, members of the Northern Territory Legislative Council; Mr. F. W. Johnson, contractor; Mr. E. J. Connellan, pastoralist and businessman; Mr. N. C. Bell, mining warden; Mr. W. J. Pearson, engineer; Mr. S. Rieff, miner.

The statement said: "It is our sad experience in the Northern Territory where citizenship has been granted to people of full or mixed blood, that through addiction to liquor and gambling, and because the proper preparation was not made, we have on our hands a tragic and growing social problem with neglected children, deserted wives, malnutrition and social vice."

"DO IRREPARABLE DAMAGE"

Well-meaning people campaigning for the granting of citizenship to aborigines immediately would do "irreparable damage to those they seek to serve" if they succeeded.

"Citizenship cannot, with any hope of success, be given by enactment," said the statement.

"It must be granted only after a period of proper preparation, with education in academic, vocational, social and religious fields, and when the candidate has a sense of the responsibilities as well as the privileges which he will assume when citizenship is granted.

"This will be a long process and require much patience to achieve, but it will provide this nation with a body of men and women fitted to take their place in the community with responsibility and able to contribute to the economy and culture of society."

The statement said that if citizenship was granted automatically, aborigines would "speedily be exploited by unscrupulous persons associated with the liquor trade."

"They must be protected from themselves and during this period of protection must be trained towards citizenship," the statement said.

The present educational policy should be examined to give a preparation for entry into society economically, socially and morally.

Present Government policy in the Northern Territory did not give enough opportunity for employment or training for employment.

Government settlements were needed as a first step in keeping the natives away from "disastrous contact with white men's towns with their associated vices."

The statement added: "But, if nothing more is done than to provide food, clothing and medical facilities, they turn a race of people formerly proud and industrious in their tribal life, with strong moral sanctions, into a parasitic race hanging on to the fringes of white society without proper moral sanctions to guide them."

> It is a general rule of modern politics that the vociferousness of "Liberals" is directly proportional to their ignorance of the subject under discussion.
> — Revila Oliver (U.S.A.).

PROFESSOR N. J. J. OLIVIER ASKED TO EXPLAIN

(3)

UNITED STATES—SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAMME

By MICHAEL J. WILSON (U.S.A.)

THE first intimation I had of the U.S.-South African Leader Exchange Programme was an Associated Press report that Dr. H. J. van Eck was to be the South African chairman. This stimulated my interest in the Programme because as you know, I resided in the Union for some time, and came to know of Dr. Van Eck as being not only a leading South African industrialist but a true South African conservative. I inferred that here at last was an exchange programme that would truly further understanding not only between our two nations but between the beleagured Whites in South Africa and in the Southern States who have become the main targets of so-called world opinion and the world's integrationist press.

Hodding Carter

My interest, however, soon turned to consternation. I learned that the African-American Institute was the sponsor of this exchange programme. But this was not all. I learned from an article in *Africa — Special Report*, the journal of the African-American Institute, that the South African secretary of the Programme is Professor N. J. J. Olivier who is vice-chairman of Sabra, and that the Rev. W. A. Landman, a recent chairman of Sabra, is one of the management committee in South Africa. The mystery was heightened still further when I read that another member of the management committee in South Africa is none other than the secretary of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations.

Inevitably, I found myself asking: How is it possible for such a trio to be in on such a leader exchange programme to further understanding between our countries — a trio which consists of the *African-American Institute* which is filled to the brim with dedicated multiracialists and leftist-liberals, the *S.A. Institute of Race Relations* which is likewise filled to the brim with the same sort of people, and *Sabra* which I have always understood to be a strictly conservative organisation dedicated to racial integrity and segregation.

Surely there is something very wrong somewhere. Surely someone is leading someone up the garden path!

And this brings me to the first American selected "to further understanding" between our countries, Hodding Carter, who is scheduled to arrive in South Africa during January on a four-months' visit.

Needless to say, I share the views expressed on him by Mr. John W. Ball of Highland Springs, Virginia, in your December 1968 issue. But I would like to tell you a little more about him.

Hodding Carter is a dedicated integrationist. He expressed his convictions several times in Portland (Oregon, USA) appearances by saying that "racial integration in the public schools is morally, ethically and legally right!" He likes to pose as a middle-of-the-roader, but let us look at some of his political affiliations to see whether he can justify this claim. For instance:

DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

In a special bulletin in 1956, describing its activities in the field of race relations (meaning race-mixing), the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic (which incidentally has provided millions of dollars for race-mixing in the USA plus $150,000 to the S.A. Institute of Race Relations) described in some detail the operations of the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, a recipient of grants totalling $445,000.

The report contains the following statement:

"The Southern Regional Council's board of directors has from time to time included such well-known Southerners as Hodding Carter, publisher of the Greenville (Miss.) *Delta Democrat Times* . . . the Rev. E. A. Penick, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina, Ralph McGill, editor

of the Atlanta Constitution, was one of its incorporators."

Bishop Penick and Ralph McGill are listed in a Congressional committee report as sponsors of a call for the second Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare* was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, as "a Communist front organization which seeks to attract Southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

Surely strange company for the middle-of-the-roader Hodding Carter!

Incidentally, one of his co-directors on the Southern Regional Council is Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, who is one of the American Sponsors of *Africa South*, the Cape Town journal devoted to the building of a fully-integrated, multi-racial democracy in South Africa.

MEMBER OF ADA

And then we come to Hodding Carter and the ADA (Americans for Democratic Action). An article in *Human Events*, Washington, D.C., of October 13, 1955, entitled "ADA on the Brink of Power" names Hodding Carter as one of its prominent members and accurately describes the ADA as "extreme left-wing", as the "clearing house for Fabian socialism in America" and as being "totally dedicated to collectivism; although rejecting the label 'socialist' it does not conceal its wish to put our economy and our lives under complete government control."

The extent to which the ADA is Left may be judged from the fact that when Adlai Stevenson was a Democratic presidential nominee in 1952, he tried to unglue himself from the ADA and to deny his membership.

But the *ADA World*, the official publication of the ADA, in 1948 named Adlai Stevenson as "one of its original founders." The *ADA World* of February 1952 referred to Stevenson as "Stevenson, a charter member of the ADA." A picture in this ADA publication, April 30, 1949, entitled "Five Leading ADA Statesmen", shows the man in the middle to be Adlai Stevenson. The Communist *Daily Worker* of June 21, 1949, called Adlai the "spokeman for the ADA."

Incidentally, one of the leading "intellectuals" of the ADA is Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, who the *S.A. Observer* reported as being an American sponsor of *Africa South*. He is also the man to whom Archbishop Joost de Blank referred in his enthronement speech in Cape Town as that "honoured Christian teacher" and who, by the way, has 24 listings in the index of Appendix 9 of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, besides being a high-ranking member of the World Council of Churches.

Surely strange political company for a self-styled middle-of-the-roader like Hodding Carter.

OLIVIER ASKED TO EXPLAIN

Obviously Hodding Carter will be thoroughly at home with the multi-racialists and liberal-leftists in South Africa and I shall be interested to see just how he is going to further understanding between South Africa and the United States. The same applies to the other dedicated leftist-liberal Americans who, under this exchange programme, have been selected to follow in Hodding Carter's wake to South Africa.

Perhaps Professor N. J. J. Olivier, as secretary in South Africa, might feel constrained to make a public statement as to how this Leader Exchange Programme came into being and just how, with its present set-up, it can hope to further understanding between South Africa and the United States. Failing which, I would like to suggest that the "S.A. Observer" pursues the matter.

* The May 1957 issue of Firing Line, official organ of the American Legion, said that: "Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of inter-relationship between the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare."

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Sent to Philly
Add reply

March 30, 1959

Mr. Frank Loescher
U.S.-South Africa Leader Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your note just received. Your Northern Rhodesian man sounds interesting, and we will be glad to do what we can for him. It happens that the next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference is scheduled for April 28 and 29. Maybe this is not altogether a bad thing. It would cut down the amount of time we would have on those days to spend with him. On the other hand, he would be welcome to sit in and might gain a useful exposure to what is going on in this field. Let me have your reaction and such further suggestions as you want to make.

I would be most grateful for your help in trying to interest Harold Hochschild in our work with foreign visitors. I have heard a good deal about him, but have never met him. Perhaps we could get together on this on one of my New York trips.

Congratulations on getting the South African version of tax exemption. I am still trying to

get a line on the two American contributors to the South African Observer. Right now, I am waiting for word from our Virginia people on the Highland Springs man. I am sorry to take so long.

I really feel for Adam and very much hope he can get re-established in the field.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. I just got a very nice note from Harold Evans, acknowledging our Annual Report. He had heard of our recent wind-fall (the Currier grant) and congratulated us on it. The inference I would draw is that he feels we are now well enough off not to have to turn to the Chace Fund again for a further grant. Would this be your impression?

HCF

Excuse the long hand. This probably should not be in any files.

March 24, 1955

Dear Harold,

A chap from Northern Rhodesia (Roan Antelope Mines in which Harold Hochschild is interested), Robert Menzies, is here on a Carnegie grant. His specialty is personnel management and industrial relations. I plan to send him to see you. He expects to get to Atlanta about April 28 and to have about two weeks in the South. I hope you can give him some special treatment.

It may be that you and I might be able to interest Harold Hochschild in the SRC and especially its work with foreign visitors. I am willing to try anything.

I hope all goes well. Adam phoned me today and he sounded a bit depressed and anxious.

All the best

Sincerely

Frank

P.S. Good news! Our Program is exempt from the "donations tax" in the Union. We just got a ruling from the Commissioner of Inland Revenue.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM March 31, 1959

To: All Participating Agencies

From: Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

Re: APRIL MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE.

:

At the last meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference, the group selected April 28 - 29 as the dates for the next meeting. This is a reminder of that action.

The meeting will be held in the Conference Room of the Administration Building of Atlanta University, 50 Chestnut Street, S. W.; commencing at 2:00 p.m. on April 28 and ending at noon on the 29. Accommodations are available at the Atlanta University Dormitory. Dinner on the evening of the 28th will be planned at the Atlanta University Dining Hall.

As you will see from the minutes, there are a number of agenda items growing out of the last meeting. Additional copies of the minutes, which were mailed to you recently, are available from SRC if you need them.

At your convenience will you advise us whether or not you plan to attend and if reservations for overnight accommodations at Atlanta University are desired. Please indicate also whether or not you will attend the dinner on the 28th.

The meeting promises to be an important one. We hope you will make every effort to attend.

Professor Gutzke Cal. Sem.

w

North Ave Presby. Church

Vernon Bayless minister =

Separate Mailing
"Race in the News"
New South - Sept./1951
" " - Mar./1950

VIA AIR MAIL April 15, 1959

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Stret
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your last two letters. Let me say first of all that I will be in New York next week - Tuesday and Wednesday. The time is too short to arrange anything, but if you are going to be there perhaps we could have a little time togehter. As far as I know I will be staying at the Commodore as usual, arriving about 9:00 or 9:30, Monday night.

I am sure that your evaluation of the Chace Fund situation is the right one. Please don't feel that you should push this for us. If later on you see an opportunity which we might follow through on, I will, of course, appreciate a word from you.

I fear we have nothing that would be very useful to Olivier for use with the press in South Africa. In 1949, SRC did a pamphlet called "Race in the News," which itemized some of the common sins of the Southern papers in handling racial news and recommended proper standards. We have felt that it's still more timely than one would suppose and are considering printing a revised edition. Right now, it's completely out of print, but I am sending you separately, a somewhat battered and stained copy. More recently we reprinted in New South an article by a West Virginian newspaperman on the responsibility of the press in the desegregation process. Pretty advanced for

South Africa, but I am also sending along a copy.

I have had some word, though not enough, on our friend John Ball of Hyland Springs, Virginia. He is not too well known to our kind of people and only as an inveterate writer of letters to the newspapers expressing the standard views of the paranoid right-wing on such questions as the United Nations, race, Communism, and so on. Todate, no word on his occupation, past or present, but I am still hoping.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Rcd 4/15/59

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

April 13, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Just before I left the Union Nic Olivier had been seeing many newspaper editors about the "problem" and one asked him what the press could do. Nic asked me if I had any advice. I told him I would think about it.

I know SRC has worked on this. Have you a Memorandum in your files on the subject? I don't want you to take any time from your present tasks, but I would appreciate whatever you can share.

I would like to be with you on April 28-29. I have marked my calendar. Maybe I'll make it if I won't interfere.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher
Program Director and
General Secretary

P.S. Don't give up completely on Carnegie. Katherine Ford who arranges Carnegie fellows itineraries is a Scottish!

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FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

April 2, 1959

Dear Harold,

Many thanks for your letter of March 30. It is good of you to be willing to help Mr. and Mrs. Menzies. I think the Southern Interagency Conference would be fine for them. I feel sure you'll like them both.

Next time you are going to be in New York I will see if we can have lunch with Harold Hochschild. He will understand the significance of what you are doing for foreign visitors.

Harold, I think there is not much likelihood of a contribution from the Chase Fund. Certainly I would be uncomfortable in pushing S.R.C. This time of

year funds are low. I suggest that along about Labor Day you write Harold and ask him if the Chase Fund would help on some specific project. We meet early in October. The school situation will provide the right environment for a renewal. If I should learn that there any possibility of a grant at the May meeting, I'll let you know.

The very best

Sincerely

Frank

AFRICAN—AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

RECEIVED APR 23 1959

April 21, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter of April 15th. Thanks, too, for the pamphlets. I will send these to Nic. I am looking forward to seeing you in New York.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

P.S. At least we had a good telephone talk!

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

Encl. Ltr. from Paul Rilling re: background info. on John W. Ball of Highland Springs, Va.

April 24, 1959

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Here is a brief note about Mr. Ball of Virginia - not much substance to it I'm afraid.

I'm sorry you won't be able to make the Interagency meeting and thus all the more glad that we could at least have a lengthy telephone conversation the other day.

I have just heard from the Menzies that they will not arrive in Atlanta until May 3, leaving May 5. This is no inconvenience to us, and we will do all we can for them.

Good luck with the Richardson Foundation.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

RECEIVED APR 24 1959

AFRICAN—AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
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N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

AIR MAIL

April 23, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Since I can't get an appointment with Burlington Mills, I won't be coming down next week. I am pressing hard on fundraising and really should not dash down for two days. I have an appointment on Thursday morning with Richardson Foundation ($).

Sorry. I'll keep trying.

The very best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); K. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

RECEIVED APR 28 1959

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

AIR MAIL

April 27, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have given your name to Dr. Hugh Ashton, Director of African Affairs, Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia. He is a very good man and worth meeting. He is here on a U.S. Government Leader Grant. I think he will be in Atlanta in about a week.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

cc: Dr. Hugh Ashton

P.S. Ashton is also highly regarded by Harold Hochschild; in fact, Ashton has spent quite a bit of time around the Institute's offices. Frank

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); K. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

May 19,1959

Mr. Frank Loescher
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your recent note about Paffrath. I will write him a word of congratulations and am grateful to you for the suggestion.

It would be fine if you would sound out Fox on the foreign visitor program. Everything I've heard makes me pessimistic about the prospect of any aid from the Ford Foundation. But you never know till you try, and besides I feel it is useful at least to keep them reminded that they ought to be helping.

We greatly enjoyed the Menzies' brief visit. They are a most engaging couple and, I believe, derived a good deal of benefit from the short exposure to the South. I had a nice note from them saying they play to sing our praises to their sponsors and others who should know of our services in this field. Perhaps this will help pave the way for some approach to Mr. Hochschild.

The best, as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

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South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

May 7, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Did you know that Leslie Paffrath since January has been President of the Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin? I do not know the program emphasis. I think it is being developed.

You may wish to write him a letter of congratulations saying you had learned of this through me.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

P.S. Would you like me to sound out Mel Fox on a Ford grant for your Foreign Visitor Program?

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); K. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE, NEW YORK OFFICE

Call FSL

PA - to discuss with Ed Dunwell HCF

RECEIVED JUN 11 1959

June 9, 1959

Mr. Hodding Carter
% Dr. Jan Moolman
467 Nicolson Street
Brooklyn, Pretoria
Union of South Africa

Dear Hodding:

Thank you for your letter of May 28th. I am glad you can stop over in Salisbury and see David Burns and George Loft.

Thanks for suggesting I write to Louis Lyons for suggestions. I appreciate your offer to give me further advice.

I liked your piece in the Saturday Review. I agree with your analysis of the situation in the Deep South.

I hope you and Mrs. Carter and your sons feel that the long trip was worthwhile. I assume that your son's leg is on the mend.

When do you return to the U.S.A.?

Alles van die beste.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

COPY

P.S. We are bringing over this fall Professor and Mrs. Groenewald of Pretoria University. (Biographical data enclosed.) En route they visit Accra, attend the World Alliance of the Presbyterian Churches in Brazil and study race relations in Jamaica.

I have a problem. They plan to arrive in the U.S. during the last week of August when all of the Seminaries are closed. Please do not feel under the slightest obligation when I ask your advice on what I might do with them up to Labor Day. Ideally, I should like to put them in a congenial setting in New England, but I have yet to find a host. Suppose they landed in Miami in August and then spent a few days in Atlanta. Will you be in Greenville during this period? Would you be interested in having them? I repeat, do feel free to say "Yes, I'll be home, but I have had my fill of South Africans for a while"!

FSL:mb
Enc.

bcc: Harold C. Fleming ✓

COPY

AFRICAN—AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

June 17, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUN 19 1959

Dear Harold:

Here is some biographical information on Professor and Mrs. Groenewald, who expect to arrive in the United States during the last week of August. En route they visit Accra, attend the World Alliance of Presbyterian Churches in Brazil and study race relations in Jamaica. Maybe the South will seem tame!

Also enclosed is a list of our exchangees. And what are your future plans?

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb
Enc.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE, NEW YORK OFFICE

RECEIVED JUN 22 1959

June 18, 1959

Mr. Paul E. X. Brown
2356 Beach Way, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Brown:

Mr. Loyd V. Steere has shared with me your letter of June 9, 1959, requesting information about the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program.

Enclosed is a copy of Africa Special Report in which on page 11 you will find a description of the leader exchange program.

Applications are always welcome, but I must tell you that our selections for 1959 have been made and are practically completed for 1960. We hope to send five or six Americans to South Africa next year.

Thank you for your interest in our work.

I might add that Harold C. Fleming of the Southern Regional Council is a good friend of mine. Mr. Fleming is familiar with our leader program.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Loescher
Program Director and
General Secretary

FSL:mb
Enc.

bcc: Loyd V. Steere
Harold C. Fleming ✓

COPY

July 6, 1959

Mr. Frank Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your card from San Francisco. I hope the trip was as pleasant as it would seem from my vantage point.

I greatly appreciate your putting in a plug for us, and am enclosing a few things from which you may want to make a selection. The Annual Report and Congressional Record reprint are the main things, I suppose. If you feel they would be interested in more "exhibits" -- the voting study, etc. -- let me know and I'll send them up right away.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Did you by any chance see John May in S. C.?

HCF

1699—LOMBARD STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

The section of Lombard Street between Hyde and Leavenworth Streets, is often called "The World's Crookedest Street." On account of its steep grade the street serpentines from curb to curb as it drops down the hill. At each side there are beds of flowering plants and shrubs which are in bloom for most of the year. This section of Lombard Street is a one-way street eastbound.

MOULIN PHOTO

Selitho
TRUE COLOR
(FROM EKTACHRO

SAN FRANCISCO 1, CALIF.
JUN 23 1954
7-PM

POST CARD

PUBLISHED BY E. F. CLEMENTS, 1120 MISSION ST., SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIF.
MADE BY SECURITY LITHOGRAPH CO., SAN FRANCISCO 11, CALIF.

6/28/54

Dear Harold,

Send me material to (my office) I can pass on to a foundation that doesn't want me to divulge its name. Don't get your hopes up.

This is a beautiful city

Regards Frank L

Mr. Harold C Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave NE
Atlanta 3
Georgia

"The World's
Crookedest Street"

July 9, 1959

Mr. Leslie Paffrath
President
The Johnson Foundation
1525 Howe Street
Racine, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Paffrath:

After some delay, I have finally received the enclosed brief characterization of the Rev. Harry Bass from the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. While it is general and undocumented, it should give you a better understanding of Mr. Bass's motives.

I hope you are finding your new position interesting and satisfying.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Frank Loescher

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

July 3,1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Harold Fleming :

From notes on John's desk it seems he went to the Fisk Institute without getting a letter to you regarding the Rev. Harry Bass. My idea was that John should get direct quotations from a variety of persons who had dealt with him in Little Rock. My report is based on hearsay,memory,and impressions from some persons on the Urban League Board,in the NAACP,and in places of influence in the Negro community.

One of the admitted activities of the Reverend Bass while secretary of the local Urban League was promoting a numbers game " for good causes." He was engaged to manage Reverend Sherman's campaign to be elected Bishop in the A.M.E. Church,although he himself was a minister in the C.M.E. Church. (He Succeeded) Accepted rumor among Negroes is that he amassed large rolls of greenback during every political campaign. A member of the Little Rock Board of the NAACP said that since his departure he has returned during a political campaign exhibiting " a large roll of bills," but left on the advice of indignant Negroes. My understanding is that he was moved to Wisconsin by Bishop Smith of the C.M.E. Church (headquarters in Chicago) because of these kind of involvements.

In brief,he seems to be a personable,gifted individual,interested primarily in advancing the status of Reverend Harry Bass. We are glad he is gone. He certainly was a major factor in keeping Little Rock Negroes divided on issues of real concern to them.

Sincerely

Nat Griswold

NAT GRISWOLD

NG:jt

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STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

Griswold written 6/12/59

AFRICAN—AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

RECEIVED JUN 11 1959

June 10, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Leslie Paffrath asked me to find out if you knew anything about a Reverend Bass who comes from Little Rock and now is pastor of a Methodist Church in Racine, Wisconsin. He has only been in Racine for a few months, but he is inclined to set up facilities for Negroes rather than work with organizations in Racine which are trying to integrate existing institutions.

If you have any knowledge of Bass' attitudes and activities in Little Rock, that would help Leslie, I know he would appreciate hearing from you.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:tnh

cc: Leslie Paffrath

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

July 17, 1959

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

At long last -- maybe too long? -- I can report something about a possible Atlanta arrangement for Professor and Mrs. Groenewald.

Ed Driscoll of the Georgia Council of Churches has helped us on this, as has Dr. J. McDowell Richards, president of Columbia (Presbyterian U.S.) Seminary in Decatur. The problem, as you might guess, is that so many of the logical host ministers are away in August. And the Seminary itself is closed. Driscoll and Richards have, regretfully, concluded that it won't be possible to place the Groenewalds in a suitable private home. However, Richards suggests that they put up for two or three days at the Candler Hotel in Decatur, which is convenient to Columbia Seminary and Agnes Scott College (Presbyterian, for women) and not too far from Emory University. Richards would undertake to arrange suitable interviews, luncheons, and other hospitable occasions.

This is far from ideal, but it would give your visitors a fair exposure to a group of religious leaders and church-related institutions that they might enjoy. We left it with Driscoll and Richards that we would let them know when and if you decided to schedule an Atlanta stop-over for the Groenewalds.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

July 31, 1959

Mr. Frank Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

No trouble at all about the Groenewalds -- in fact, a visit in late October should work out better. We have alerted Ed Driscoll and McDowell Richards to the likelihood that they will be here then. We can also easily arrange for them to visit Atlanta University. Drop me a note when the dates are definite.

I'm glad to hear that you may break through with Prynce Hopkins. Did I tell you he turned us down this year, after helping us in 1958? Let's hope this suggests a kind of rotation system that will now bring you to the top!

I have had no word from Mel Fox.

Hope you are having a good summer.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

RECEIVED JUL 27 1959

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

July 23, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 17th. I am sorry you went to so much trouble for the Groenewalds.

I have been able to find some worthwhile things for them to do up here from August 20 till after Labor Day, but your contacts can be very useful when they come South during the last few days of October. Waldo Beach wants them from October 22-25, so soon thereafter they could go to Atlanta. Would you like to tell Driscoll and/or Richards that there is a good possibility of their being in Atlanta from about October 26 or 27 for, say, a week? The "itinerary" (Columbia Seminary, Emory, Agnes Scott, et al) sounds very good. I hope they'll be interested in visiting A.U. at least.

Enclosed are three copies of their biographies.

I never replied to an earlier letter of yours, and with my secretary away, I can't find it. However, I did see John May and while there are no possibilities now, it was a useful visit and some day there may be big money, as you know. I also saw Prynce Hopkins and we may get something after being turned down twice!

I had lunch with Tartt Bell at Quaker House yesterday. He is looking forward to a different kind of year.

Did you ever hear from Mel Fox?

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL/tnh Enc.: Groenewald Biographic Data

P.S. I received the SRC materials for mailing to West Coast.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

RECEIVED SEP 15 1959

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
OF THE
AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

PROGRESS REPORT - JULY, 1959

American Exchangees, 1959

David A. McCandless, Director of the Southern Police Institute of the University of Louisville, arrived in the Union on May 30 and attended the June 2 meeting of the South African members of the Management Committee. Mr. McCandless is serving as a consultant to the South African Police College. He will visit Kenya for a few days on his way back to the United States.

Lorus J. Milne (Ph.D., Harvard, Professor of Zoology at the University of New Hampshire) and Margery Milne (Ph.D., Radcliffe) have been invited to lecture at all of the South African universities this summer. Outstanding naturalists, they have presented their subject not only to college students in classrooms, laboratory and field, but also to readers of American Scholar, Atlantic Monthly, and Scientific American. En route Dr. and Mrs. Milne will do research at the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa and arrive in Johannesburg about July 10.

Clinton L. Rossiter, John L. Senior Professor of American Institutions and Chairman of the Department of Government at Cornell University, accompanied by Mrs. Rossiter, will lecture at several South African universities this summer. Dr. Rossiter is author of Seedtime of the Republic, The American Presidency and other prize winning books and director of the Fund for the Republic's definitive study of Communism in America. In 1960-61 he will hold the Pitt Professorship in American History at Cambridge University. Professor Rossiter will lecture on federalism, the Presidency, constitutional problems and the present political situation in the United States. Dr. and Mrs. Rossiter will visit Accra on their way to the Union and Salisbury on their return.

G. McLeod Bryan, Professor of Christian Ethics at Wake Forest College, will study the teaching of religion in all African universities and will visit a dozen countries. Dr. and Mrs. Bryan will be in the Union from July 15 to October 15.

Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of North Carolina, and an authority on desegregation in Southern universities, will teach at the University of Hawaii this summer and at Rhodes University from September, 1959 to June, 1960. Dr. and Mrs. Johnson will also travel through Central, East and West Africa in the summer of 1960. Mrs. Johnson, who holds a doctorate in sociology, is an author, volunteer civic worker and homemaker. She is collaborating with her husband on a study of racial desegregation in Southern higher education.

Hodding Carter and his family left the Union at the end of June after a four month visit. They will spend some time in the Federation before returning to America at the end of July.

John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham, North Carolina, and Roswell G. Barnes, Executive Secretary in the United States for the World Council of Churches, have been selected by the Management Committee to go to the Union this year, but the time of their visits has not been set.

Francis Bosworth, Executive Director of the Friends Neighborhood Guild and winner of the Philadelphia (Bok) Award, John J. McCloy, Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank, New York, and Roy J. McCorkel, of the American Friends Service Committee and former Director of CARE in India and Central Europe, have been selected to go to South Africa in 1960.

South African Exchangees, 1959

E. P. Groenewald, Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Theology and Dean of the Faculty at the University of Pretoria, and Mrs. Groenewald will arrive in New York on August 20th. Mrs. Groenewald has edited several denominational periodicals. Dr. Groenewald will represent his Church at the 175th anniversary of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary. En route to the United States Dr. and Mrs. Groenewald will attend the meetings of the World Alliance of Presbyterian Churches in Brazil and stop over in Venezuela and Jamaica to study race relations.

Douglas Hey, Director of Nature Conservation in the Cape Province, and Mrs. Hey, who is also a student of zoology, expect to arrive in New York on September 13th. Dr. and Mrs. Hey's itinerary has been planned by the U.S Fish and Wildlife Service. They will study wildlife conservation.

F. J. de Villiers, Director of Industrial Development in the Department of Native Affairs, arrives in New York on September 16th with Mrs. de Villiers. They will be in Puerto Rico for two weeks as guests of the Government. In the continental United States Dr. de Villiers will visit the TVA and will confer with economists in Boston, New York, Chicago, the South and California.

S. V. Petersen, Principal, Athlone High School for Coloureds, Cape Town. Mr. Petersen has received the Poetry Award of the Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns. Two of his works are Die Enkeling (The Individual) and Die Stil Kind (The Quiet Child). Mr. Petersen will be accompanied by Mrs. Petersen and their child.

G. D. Scholtz, Assistant Editor of the Transvaler, a Johannesburg Afrikaans daily, and Mrs. Scholtz, who is a teacher, were expected in New York at the end of April, but an operation has delayed Dr. Scholtz' departure. Dr. Scholtz has an invitation from Professor Walter Johnson, Chairman of the History Department at the University of Chicago, to serve as a Visiting Research Fellow.

Seth M. Mokitimi, Superintendent, Osborn Mission, the Methodist Church of South Africa, Cape Province, and Mrs. Mokitimi, were to have arrived in May, 1959. Because Mr. Mokitimi was unable on short notice to arrange for a substitute to carry on his work, he has asked for a postponement until 1960. Mr. Mokitimi is a member of the Continuation Committee of the South African Churches and contributed the chapter on "African Religion" to the Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa.

In his stead, the Management Committee has selected Sam Motsuenyane to come over this year. He is former Organizing Secretary of the African National Soil Conservation Association (ANSCA) and presently with the Alexander Anti-TB Association. Mr. Motsuenyane remains on as Technical Advisor to ANSCA.

South African Exchangees, 1960

P. F. D. Weiss, Professor of Semitic Languages, Stellenbosch University, and Mrs. Weiss will be in the United States for three months beginning in February 1960. Mrs. Weiss is the author of several novels and short stories and has translated a number of Scandinavian novels into Afrikaans. Professor Weiss will spend six weeks at the University of Pennsylvania working with Dr. E. A. Speiser, Ellis Professor in the Department of Semitics.

S. Biesheuvel, Director of the National Institute for Personnel Research, expects to be in the United States from September, 1960 to January, 1961. Mrs. Biesheuvel will accompany her husband. Dr. Biesheuvel, an authority on research into the psychology of African peoples, will lecture at Harvard and then visit African studies programs in U.S. universities.

The Management Committee has also selected the following for 1960:

I. D. du Plessis, Secretary, Coloured Affairs Department. Dr. du Plessis expects to come during the summer of 1960.

G. A. Manuel, who like Mr. Petersen is an outstanding Coloured person, is a reporter on the Cape Times.

Three journalists are under active consideration for 1960:

Aubrey Sussens (Daily Mail), F. Potgieter (Die Transvaler) and D. C. de Villiers (Die Oosterlig).

Fund-raising

Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman of the Management Committee, has been informed by the South African Commissioner of Inland Revenue that contributions to or by the Program are exempt from the Donations Tax.

A brochure for fund-raising in the Union has been printed in English and Afrikaans. The South African members of the Management Committee have appointed a Finance Committee composed of Dr. van Eck and Mr. Goldberg with power to co-opt other persons.

Since the first of this year contributions have been received in the Union from the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, Engelhard Industries and the Rembrandt Tobacco Company; in the United States from New World Foundation, Engelhard Industries, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Norman Fund, Benjamin Rosenthal Fund, Bristol-Myers Company and Wyomissing Foundation.

The Rockefeller Foundation has made grants to Hodding Carter and David McCandless, the Danforth Foundation to G. McLeod Bryan, the University of

North Carolina has given Guy Johnson a "Keenan leave" while he teaches at Rhodes University, and the Carnegie Corporation has made a grant to Dr. Biesheuvel to come to the United States in 1960 under the auspices of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program. The African-American Institute has increased its contribution to the program (office space and a secretary for the program director) to $5,500.

New American Member of Management Committee

Mrs. Elizabeth R. Purcell, of Pasadena, California, has accepted membership on the Management Committee. Mrs. Purcell is a Trustee of Vassar College and Fairfield Oaks Friends School in Pasadena.

Activities of New York Office

In June, Frank Loescher spent two weeks in Los Angeles and San Francisco interpreting the program to foundations and corporations. He also discussed the program with faculty members of the University of California at Los Angeles and Berkeley, the University of Southern California and Stanford University.

Among the persons going to the Union who have been counseled on their itinerary and for whom letters of introduction have been written are: D. Crema de Iongh, formerly with the International Bank, Victor Riesel, labor columnist, and Aaron Levenstein of the Research Institute of America, Miss Gertrude Ely of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania who is a board member of UNICEF and IRO and former president of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters, Horace Gilbert, Professor of Business Administration of the California Institute of Technology.

The program director has also advised several Rhodesians on their study of American race relations, including Dr. Hugh Ashton, Director of the African Affairs Board, City of Bulawayo; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Menzies, Underground African Personnel Manager, Roan-Antelope Copper Mines, Northern Rhodesia, and J. L. Pretorius, Specially Appointed European Representative of African Interests for Nyasaland in the Federal Assembly, Salisbury, and Chairman of the African Affairs Board.

Others who have received help from the office include Laurent Tello Nkhereany of Basutoland who will study for his doctorate at Stanford University, Ruth Waldo, Vice-president of J. Walter Thompson, who is planning a trip to Africa, and Dr. J. K. Wells, Tri-Continental Films Corporation.

LOUISVILLE COURIER JOURNAL, March 11, 1959

ANOTHER DISTINCTION AND OPPORTUNITY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS, director of the University of Louisville Southern Police Institute, is going to have a chance to enlarge his already very considerable knowledge of how people in other parts of the world think and behave. Financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, he is to visit Africa for two months under the United States-South Africa Exchange Program.

It is fitting that Mr. McCandless should have this opportunity to travel extensively, observe intently and teach at the South African Police College at Pretoria. The work of this quiet, purposeful, imaginative man has been widely recognized. He has had no difficulty in attracting well-known authorities from all over the United States to conduct his seminars, and the members of his classes have represented not only most of the Southern states but lands as far away as Turkey and Formosa.

The university -- and Louisville too -- gain in reputation from each new recognition of Mr. McCandless's work and worth.

* * * *

THE STAR, JOHANNESBURG, Monday, March 2, 1959

SOUTH AFRICA AND AMERICA

It seems paradoxical that well-travelled people are not necessarily free of chauvinism, that barren and sometimes poisonous brand of national pride which is the bane of international relations.

This does not mean that a proper understanding of another country's way of life is the task of a lifetime, for even a lifetime would not be long enough if the will to understand were lacking -- as it generally is in tourists.

If the will is there, however, and also a realization of the complexity of the task a stay of only a few months in a foreign country may be enough to kindle the benevolence which is the most valued product of understanding.

It is considerations such as these which enable the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Programme to be assessed at its true value. It goes nearer to the root of things than many of the other travel-and-study fellowships sponsored by governments and foundations in the past.

The over-riding aim of the programme is to give American and South African professional, business, and civic leaders -- and in some cases their families -- an opportunity of understanding the "other" way of life. This cultural two-way traffic will be fairly brisk, since in 1959 alone six American leaders will come to the Union and six South Africans will visit the United States.

It is right that a programme of this kind should be concerned with human relations between the United States and South Africa. The Union has already close ties with Britain, and ethnic and historical imperatives have helped to remove most barriers between their respective ways of life -- much more than certain elements in the Union believe and would have us believe.

In contrast Americans and South Africans are psychologically much further from each other than they think, and beneath a veneer of similarity the two ways of life are poles apart. The Leader Exchange Programme will provide a bridge between them.

A NEW BRIDGE OF UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION

A NEW BRIDGE OF UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION

Few Americans realize that the social, political and economic forces at work in Africa have the deepest significance to the United States in its role as a leader in the Western World. In particular, the expanding economy of the Union of South Africa and the social problems it is facing resemble certain challenges Americans face in their own country. It is time the two nations began to learn about—and from—each other's experience.

South Africans, on the other hand, are increasingly conscious of the United States, but relatively few of them have a clear picture of life in America or the meaning of American policies and institutions.

This lack of mutual understanding is a matter of immediate concern. A new bridge of understanding and co-operation must be built through personal relationships between leading citizens of the two countries.

The United States—South Africa Leader Exchange Program is an effort to develop through private, non-government means a mutual basis of co-operation between professional, business and civic leaders of the United States and the Union of South Africa. The program is sponsored by the African-American Institute, a private, non-political American organization founded in 1953 to foster closer relations between the peoples of the United States and Africa. With the

financial assistance of business and philanthropic organizations in both countries the exchange program will encourage, counsel and assist extended visits of South African and American leaders to each other's country.

The program will enable Americans to see South African life at first hand and gain better understanding of the efforts South Africans are making to solve their problems. It will also enable South Africans to study America's way of life, see how Americans are trying to solve their problems and become acquainted with American conceptions of the crucial role that Africa is playing in relations between East and West.

An International Management Committee supervises the program and selects the leaders for exchange. Three types of exchange fellowships have been planned:

★ *One-year exchanges of families:* The leader will actually work on the staff of an organization in the U. S. or the Union in his specific field. Responsibility for hospitality, job placement, finding a home, schooling for children and travel arrangements will be borne by the employing organization. The Management Committee can provide matching funds to the employing organization, as may be necessary. Examples might include librarians, journalists, industrial relations experts, clergymen, professors, school teachers, civil servants.

★ *Individual short-term projects:* This will enable the individual leader to undertake a specific piece of work in his particular field and participate in conferences.

★ *Team programs:* Teams of four to six leaders may be selected to study intensively in the U. S. some particular problem, e.g. soil conservation, rural electrification, etc., facing the Union in which the U. S. has knowledge and experience, and *vice versa.*

A recent survey showed that leader exchange between the United States and South Africa, while extremely limited, has been effective and recommended that American and South African organizations should be stimulated to expand these types of exchange. South Africans can gain increased understanding through firsthand experience with America's pluralistic society. A similar knowledge of South Africa's multi-racial society will help Americans both domestically and internationally.

In the interests of the peoples of South Africa, of America's stake in Africa and of world peace itself, there is an urgent need to promote a greatly expanded program of exchanges between the Union of South Africa and the United States. This is the objective of the United States—South Africa Leader Exchange Program.

MANAGEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES—SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

The program is supervised by a Management Committee of 30 members—15 American and 15 South African. The following members thus far have been appointed to the Management Committee:

American Members

Dr. George H. Bennett, Director, Asia—Africa, Institute of International Education.

Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University.

Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, International Missionary Council.

Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc.

Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor, Earlham College.

Dr. Frank S. Loescher, Program Director, U. S.—S. A. Leader Exchange Program.

Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University.

Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff.

Leslie Paffrath, President, The Johnson Foundation.

Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Mrs. Elizabeth R. Purcell, School and College Trustee.

Gordon V. Richdale, President, Engelhard Industries, Inc.

Loyd V. Steere, Executive Vice-President, African—American Institute.

Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches.

South African Members

Rev. C. B. Brink, Moderator, Southern Transvaal Synod, Dutch Reformed Church ("N. G. Kerk").

H. Goldberg, Chairman, Ellis and Company.

Rev. W. A. Landman, Director of Information, Cape Dutch Reformed Church ("N. G. Kerk").

Dr. M. S. Louw, Chairman, Bonus Investment Corporation of S. A.

Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Chairman, South African Tourist Corporation.

Prof. N. J. J. Olivier, Professor, Stellenbosch University.

A. E. Rupert, Chairman and Managing Director, Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation of S. A., Ltd.

K. P. G. Schoeman, Prominent Farmer in the Transvaal; Director, Industrial Development Corporation of S. A. Ltd.; Director Designate, Bantu Investment Corporation.

T. P. Stratten, Managing Director, Union Corporation, Ltd.

Prof. W. G. Sutton, Principal, University of the Witwatersrand.

Prof. H. B. Thom, Principal, University of Stellenbosch.

Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director, Industrial Development Corporation of S. A.

Dr. H. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations.

Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of S. A.

OFFICERS

Dr. van Eck is Chairman of the Management Committee;

Rev. Brink and *Dr. Hoskins* are Vice-Chairmen;

Dr. Loescher is Program Director and General Secretary;

Prof. Olivier is Secretary in South Africa.

The United States—South Africa Leader Exchange Program will exchange 12 South African and American leaders in 1959 and is seeking financial support for the exchange of a substantial number of leaders every year. Contributions to the Program are tax-exempt in the United States and South Africa.

Contributions may be made to and further information obtained from:

THE PROGRAM DIRECTOR AND GENERAL SECRETARY
UNITED STATES—SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE
PROGRAM OF THE AFRICAN—AMERICAN INSTITUTE
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N. Y., U. S. A.

or

THE FUND FOR THE UNITED STATES—SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
P. O. Box 225, Stellenbosch
Union of South Africa

File

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
OF THE
AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

FRANK S. LOESCHER, PROGRAM
DIRECTOR
PHONE: YUkon 6-5320

RECEI AUG 10 1959

ADVANCE RELEASE for Sunday Newspapers
Sunday, August 9, 1959

ROSSITER TO LECTURE AT SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES THIS SUMMER UNDER PRIVATE EXCHANGE PROGRAM

NEW YORK -- Clinton Rossiter, Chairman of the Department of Government at Cornell University, will lecture at six South African universities this summer under the auspices of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, it was announced today by Frank S. Loescher, director of the program.

Dr. Rossiter, who is John L. Senior Professor of American Institutions at Cornell, will discuss federalism, the Presidency, constitutional problems and the present political situation in the United States. Mrs. Rossiter will accompany him. They arrived in Johannesburg yesterday (August 8).

(MORE)

Professor Rossiter is author of "Seedtime of the Republic," "Conservatism in America" and "The American Presidency" and recipient of the Bancroft, Woodrow Wilson Foundation and Institute of Early American History prizes. He is consultant to the Fund for the Republic and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Born in Philadelphia, Dr. Rossiter holds a Doctor of Philosophy degree from Princeton University. He joined the Cornell government department in 1946 and became chairman in 1956. He served as lt. USNR, 1942-46, and was a Guggenheim Fellow, 1953-54. Among his other writings are "Constitutional Dictatorship","The Supreme Court and the Commander in Chief" and "The First American Revolution."

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, established in 1958 to strengthen the lines of intellectual communication between South African and American professional, business and civic leaders, expects to exchange twenty-four couples in 1959 and 1960, Dr. Loescher said. The program, which is supported by the contributions of American and South African foundations, corporations and individuals, is sponsored in the United States by the African-American Institute, a private non-political organization founded to foster closer relations between the peoples of the United States and Africa.

Among the other distinguished Americans selected to visit the Union this year are Hodding Carter, Pulitzer Prize-winning Editor and Publisher of the "Delta Democrat-Times" of Greenville, Mississippi,

(MORE)

and David A. McCandless, Director of the Southern Police Institute of the University of Louisville, who have just returned to the United States; Dr. Lorus J. Milne, Professor of Zoology, University of New Hampshire, and Dr. G. McLeod Bryan, Professor of Christian Ethics, Wake Forest College, now in the Union; Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, University of North Carolina, and Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, Executive Secretary in the United States for the World Council of Churches.

The following South Africans will visit the United States in 1959: Professor E. P. Groenewald, Dean of the Faculty, Pretoria University; Dr. F. J. de Villiers, Director of Industrial Development in the Department of Native Affairs; S. V. Petersen, principal of the Athlone High School for Coloureds, Cape Town, and prize-winning poet; Dr. D. Hey, Director of Nature Conservation, Cape Province; S. Motsuenyane of the African National Soil Conservation Association and the Alexandra Anti-TB Association.

Dr. S. Biesheuvel, Director of the National Institute for Personnel Research; Dr. P. F. D. Weiss, Professor of Semitic Languages, Stellenbosch University, and Rev. Seth M. Mokitimi, Superintendent, Osborn Mission, The Methodist Church of South Africa, will come to the United States in 1960.

An International Management Committee supervises the program and selects leading citizens of both countries for extended visits. The Chairman of the Management Committee is Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director of the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Ltd.; the Vice-Chairmen are the Rev.

(MORE)

C. B. Brink, Moderator of the Southern Transvaal Synod, Dutch Reformed Church, and Professor Lewis M. Hoskins, Chairman of the Department of History, Earlham College; Professor N. J. J. Olivier of Stellenbosch University is Secretary in South Africa; Dr. Loescher is Program Director and General Secretary.

The other American members of the Management Committee are:

Dr. George H. Bennett, Director, Asia-Africa, Institute of International Education

Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University

Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, International Missionary Council

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(MORE)

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CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME O R SUBJECT:

Loescher, Frank
U. S.-South Africa Leader Exchange Program

REGARDING:

Correspondence with Jane Lee Eddy

DATE

November 18, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:
Foundations:
Taconic Foundation

RECEIVED AUG 28 1959

AIR MAIL

August 26, 1959

Prof. N. J. J. Olivier
P. O. Box 225
Stellenbosch, South Africa

Dear Nic:

By return mail, please, yes or no on Harold Fleming in 1960. May I say that I believe he is the wisest, most judicious and most helpful American we could send. I think he would be invaluable to SABRA and other groups concerned about role of press, etc, etc. He could come for three months about February 15, 1960.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

bcc: Harold C. Fleming

PA - Note + return
HCF

Loescher

AIR MAIL

August 26, 1959

Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb
The Methodist Church of South Africa
Methodist Central Hall
66 Kruis Street
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dear Dr. Webb:

Thank you for your letter of August 17th. I am delighted to know you are coming over for the meetings of the Executive of the World Methodist Council in Georgia.

Is there a possibility of your leaving Atlanta on Monday, September 14, instead of Tuesday, September 15, and flying to New York (only 2 to 3 hours) in order to attend the meeting of the American members of the Management Committee on Tuesday, September 15? We meet from 11 to 4 with an administrative committee meeting from 10 to 11. Lunch is at 12:30. We hope you can attend from 10 to 4. Your presence and participation would be most welcome.

You could also fly on an early morning plane on the 15th from Atlanta to New York. Baltimore, your next stop, is only a short trip - four hours by train or two hours by plane.

I realize you will only be in this country from September 8 to October 1, but I hope you can meet with your fellow Committee members. I note with pleasure that you will be here in 1960 on a State Department grant with Mrs. Webb. Let me know if I can help you.

As to Rev. and Mrs. Seth Mokitimi, yes, we do want them to come to the States in 1960. I hope Mr. Mokitimi will "make his dispositions at the Conference of the Methodist Church, due to meet in October".

I am pleased to learn that you enjoyed meeting David McCandless and the Bryans.

You ask whether there is anything you can do at Idlewild from 5:55 a.m. to 10:45 a.m. on the day of your arrival, Tuesday, September 8, en route to Brunswick. I am afraid you will have to content yourself with a few cups of American coffee and some of our ham and eggs. Idlewild is about 20 miles from Manhattan, the center of New York City. Furthermore, some time will be taken up going through customs and going to the National Airlines. I wish I could be more helpful. I should like to come out and meet you, but I am attending a conference in Boston that day.

Please let me know when you reach Georgia if you find you can attend our meeting here in this building on September 15.

I hope you may be able to see Mrs. Loescher and me when you are in Philadelphia, September 25 to 28. We live there: 414 South 46th Street, phone: Sherwodd 7-0277.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

cc: Dr. L. M. Hoskins
Prof. N. J. J. Olivier
Rev. S. M. Mokitimi
Mr. H. C. Fleming

P.S. I hope you may be able to visit Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia, even if you only have time to say hello. He can help with valuable suggestions for your visit in 1960. You may wish to correspond with him.

COPY

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
OF THE
AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

PROGRESS REPORT - JULY, 1959

American Exchangees, 1959

David A. McCandless, Director of the Southern Police Institute of the University of Louisville, arrived in the Union on May 30 and attended the June 2 meeting of the South African members of the Management Committee. Mr. McCandless is serving as a consultant to the South African Police College. He will visit Kenya for a few days on his way back to the United States.

Lorus J. Milne (Ph.D., Harvard, Professor of Zoology at the University of New Hampshire) and Margery Milne (Ph.D., Radcliffe) have been invited to lecture at all of the South African universities this summer. Outstanding naturalists, they have presented their subject not only to college students in classrooms, laboratory and field, but also to readers of American Scholar, Atlantic Monthly, and Scientific American. En route Dr. and Mrs. Milne will do research at the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa and arrive in Johannesburg about July 10.

Clinton L. Rossiter, John L. Senior Professor of American Institutions and Chairman of the Department of Government at Cornell University, accompanied by Mrs. Rossiter, will lecture at several South African universities this summer. Dr. Rossiter is author of Seedtime of the Republic, The American Presidency and other prize winning books and director of the Fund for the Republic's definitive study of Communism in America. In 1960-61 he will hold the Pitt Professorship in American History at Cambridge University. Professor Rossiter will lecture on federalism, the Presidency, constitutional problems and the present political situation in the United States. Dr. and Mrs. Rossiter will visit Accra on their way to the Union and Salisbury on their return.

G. McLeod Bryan, Professor of Christian Ethics at Wake Forest College, will study the teaching of religion in all African universities and will visit a dozen countries. Dr. and Mrs. Bryan will be in the Union from July 15 to October 15.

Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of North Carolina, and an authority on desegregation in Southern universities, will teach at the University of Hawaii this summer and at Rhodes University from September, 1959 to June, 1960. Dr. and Mrs. Johnson will also travel through Central, East and West Africa in the summer of 1960. Mrs. Johnson, who holds a doctorate in sociology, is an author, volunteer civic worker and homemaker. She is collaborating with her husband on a study of racial desegregation in Southern higher education.

Hodding Carter and his family left the Union at the end of June after a four month visit. They will spend some time in the Federation before returning to America at the end of July.

John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham, North Carolina, and Roswell G. Barnes, Executive Secretary in the United States for the World Council of Churches, have been selected by the Management Committee to go to the Union this year, but the time of their visits has not been set.

Francis Bosworth, Executive Director of the Friends Neighborhood Guild and winner of the Philadelphia (Bok) Award, John J. McCloy, Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank, New York, and Roy J. McCorkel, of the American Friends Service Committee and former Director of CARE in India and Central Europe, have been selected to go to South Africa in 1960.

South African Exchangees, 1959

E. P. Groenewald, Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Theology and Dean of the Faculty at the University of Pretoria, and Mrs. Groenewald will arrive in New York on August 20th. Mrs. Groenewald has edited several denominational periodicals. Dr. Groenewald will represent his Church at the 175th anniversary of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary. En route to the United States Dr. and Mrs. Groenewald will attend the meetings of the World Alliance of Presbyterian Churches in Brazil and stop over in Venezuela and Jamaica to study race relations.

Douglas Hey, Director of Nature Conservation in the Cape Province, and Mrs. Hey, who is also a student of zoology, expect to arrive in New York on September 13th. Dr. and Mrs. Hey's itinerary has been planned by the U.S Fish and Wildlife Service. They will study wildlife conservation.

F. J. de Villiers, Director of Industrial Development in the Department of Native Affairs, arrives in New York on September 16th with Mrs. de Villiers. They will be in Puerto Rico for two weeks as guests of the Government. In the continental United States Dr. de Villiers will visit the TVA and will confer with economists in Boston, New York, Chicago, the South and California.

S. V. Petersen, Principal, Athlone High School for Coloureds, Cape Town. Mr. Petersen has received the Poetry Award of the Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns. Two of his works are Die Enkeling (The Individual) and Die Stil Kind (The Quiet Child). Mr. Petersen will be accompanied by Mrs. Petersen and their child.

G. D. Scholtz, Assistant Editor of the Transvaler, a Johannesburg Afrikaans daily, and Mrs. Scholtz, who is a teacher, were expected in New York at the end of April, but an operation has delayed Dr. Scholtz' departure. Dr. Scholtz has an invitation from Professor Walter Johnson, Chairman of the History Department at the University of Chicago, to serve as a Visiting Research Fellow.

Seth M. Mokitimi, Superintendent, Osborn Mission, the Methodist Church of South Africa, Cape Province, and Mrs. Mokitimi, were to have arrived in May, 1959. Because Mr. Mokitimi was unable on short notice to arrange for a substitute to carry on his work, he has asked for a postponement until 1960. Mr. Mokitimi is a member of the Continuation Committee of the South African Churches and contributed the chapter on "African Religion" to the Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa.

In his stead, the Management Committee has selected Sam Motsuenyane to come over this year. He is former Organizing Secretary of the African National Soil Conservation Association (ANSCA) and presently with the Alexander Anti-TB Association. Mr. Motsuenyane remains on as Technical Advisor to ANSCA.

South African Exchangees, 1960

P. F. D. Weiss, Professor of Semitic Languages, Stellenbosch University, and Mrs. Weiss will be in the United States for three months beginning in February 1960. Mrs. Weiss is the author of several novels and short stories and has translated a number of Scandinavian novels into Afrikaans. Professor Weiss will spend six weeks at the University of Pennsylvania working with Dr. E. A. Speiser, Ellis Professor in the Department of Semitics.

S. Biesheuvel, Director of the National Institute for Personnel Research, expects to be in the United States from September, 1960 to January, 1961. Mrs. Biesheuvel will accompany her husband. Dr. Biesheuvel, an authority on research into the psychology of African peoples, will lecture at Harvard and then visit African studies programs in U.S. universities.

The Management Committee has also selected the following for 1960:

I. D. du Plessis, Secretary, Coloured Affairs Department. Dr. du Plessis expects to come during the summer of 1960.

G. A. Manuel, who like Mr. Petersen is an outstanding Coloured person, is a reporter on the Cape Times.

Three journalists are under active consideration for 1960:

Aubrey Sussens (Daily Mail), F. Potgieter (Die Transvaler) and D. C. de Villiers (Die Oosterlig).

Fund-raising

Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman of the Management Committee, has been informed by the South African Commissioner of Inland Revenue that contributions to or by the Program are exempt from the Donations Tax.

A brochure for fund-raising in the Union has been printed in English and Afrikaans. The South African members of the Management Committee have appointed a Finance Committee composed of Dr. van Eck and Mr. Goldberg with power to co-opt other persons.

Since the first of this year contributions have been received in the Union from the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, Engelhard Industries and the Rembrandt Tobacco Company; in the United States from New World Foundation, Engelhard Industries, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Norman Fund, Benjamin Rosenthal Fund, Bristol-Myers Company and Wyomissing Foundation.

The Rockefeller Foundation has made grants to Hodding Carter and David McCandless, the Danforth Foundation to G. McLeod Bryan, the University of

North Carolina has given Guy Johnson a "Keenan leave" while he teaches at Rhodes University, and the Carnegie Corporation has made a grant to Dr. Biesheuvel to come to the United States in 1960 under the auspices of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program. The African-American Institute has increased its contribution to the program (office space and a secretary for the program director) to $5,500.

New American Member of Management Committee

Mrs. Elizabeth R. Purcell, of Pasadena, California, has accepted membership on the Management Committee. Mrs. Purcell is a Trustee of Vassar College and Fairfield Oaks Friends School in Pasadena.

Activities of New York Office

In June, Frank Loescher spent two weeks in Los Angeles and San Francisco interpreting the program to foundations and corporations. He also discussed the program with faculty members of the University of California at Los Angeles and Berkeley, the University of Southern California and Stanford University.

Among the persons going to the Union who have been counseled on their itinerary and for whom letters of introduction have been written are: D. Crema de Iongh, formerly with the International Bank, Victor Riesel, labor columnist, and Aaron Levenstein of the Research Institute of America, Miss Gertrude Ely of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania who is a board member of UNICEF and IRO and former president of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters, Horace Gilbert, Professor of Business Administration of the California Institute of Technology.

The program director has also advised several Rhodesians on their study of American race relations, including Dr. Hugh Ashton, Director of the African Affairs Board, City of Bulawayo; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Menzies, Underground African Personnel Manager, Roan-Antelope Copper Mines, Northern Rhodesia, and J. L. Pretorius, Specially Appointed European Representative of African Interests for Nyasaland in the Federal Assembly, Salisbury, and Chairman of the African Affairs Board.

Others who have received help from the office include Laurent Tello Nkhereany of Basutoland who will study for his doctorate at Stanford University, Ruth Waldo, Vice-president of J. Walter Thompson, who is planning a trip to Africa, and Dr. J. K. Wells, Tri-Continental Films Corporation.

LOUISVILLE COURIER JOURNAL, March 11, 1959

ANOTHER DISTINCTION AND OPPORTUNITY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS, director of the University of Louisville Southern Police Institute, is going to have a chance to enlarge his already very considerable knowledge of how people in other parts of the world think and behave. Financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, he is to visit Africa for two months under the United States-South Africa Exchange Program.

It is fitting that Mr. McCandless should have this opportunity to travel extensively, observe intently and teach at the South African Police College at Pretoria. The work of this quiet, purposeful, imaginative man has been widely recognized. He has had no difficulty in attracting well-known authorities from all over the United States to conduct his seminars, and the members of his classes have represented not only most of the Southern states but lands as far away as Turkey and Formosa.

The university -- and Louisville too -- gain in reputation from each new recognition of Mr. McCandless's work and worth.

* * * *

THE STAR, JOHANNESBURG, Monday, March 2, 1959

SOUTH AFRICA AND AMERICA

It seems paradoxical that well-travelled people are not necessarily free of chauvinism, that barren and sometimes poisonous brand of national pride which is the bane of international relations.

This does not mean that a proper understanding of another country's way of life is the task of a lifetime, for even a lifetime would not be long enough if the will to understand were lacking -- as it generally is in tourists.

If the will is there, however, and also a realization of the complexity of the task a stay of only a few months in a foreign country may be enough to kindle the benevolence which is the most valued product of understanding.

It is considerations such as these which enable the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Programme to be assessed at its true value. It goes nearer to the root of things than many of the other travel-and-study fellowships sponsored by governments and foundations in the past.

The over-riding aim of the programme is to give American and South African professional, business, and civic leaders -- and in some cases their families -- an opportunity of understanding the "other" way of life. This cultural two-way traffic will be fairly brisk, since in 1959 alone six American leaders will come to the Union and six South Africans will visit the United States.

It is right that a programme of this kind should be concerned with human relations between the United States and South Africa. The Union has already close ties with Britain, and ethnic and historical imperatives have helped to remove most barriers between their respective ways of life -- much more than certain elements in the Union believe and would have us believe.

In contrast Americans and South Africans are psychologically much further from each other than they think, and beneath a veneer of similarity the two ways of life are poles apart. The Leader Exchange Programme will provide a bridge between them.

via air mail

August 31, 1959

Mr. Frank Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your letters received Friday, and especially for the copy of your note to Olivier. Such words of praise are liable to turn my head!

I'll write you further about your soon-to-come-South visitors next week. Meanwhile, this is to answer your letter of August 24 concerning prospective exchangees. Except in a few cases, I know the prospects only by reputation, so you can evaluate my comments accordingly.

As to newspapermen, I am, of course, enthusiastic about Ralph McGill. I realize that he is yet another in the same general category as Hodding Carter, and perhaps is not the most logical selection for you. But I feel pretty strongly that there are special factors in his case that you ought at least to consider: (1) His column is now getting fairly widely syndicated; thus his interpretations would reach many Southerners, as well as non-Southerners. (2) McGill is one of the few positive spokesmen of real stature who command an important Southern following; he is saying the things that need to be said, but in a non-doctrinaire way that reaches many otherwise unreachable people. (3) He should be saleable

to one of the foundations. (4) I believe he would be popular and influential in South Africa. There might be a problem about how long he could spend in the Union (because of the need for variety in his column), but that would have to be determined in direct negotiations.

Of the three women proposed, it occurs to me that Millicent McIntosh of Barnard might be the best choice. While I don't know her, I have heard that she is active and influential in a number of extra-college activities.

Hodding Carter's enthusiasm for Sayre is impressive. You know as much about Keller, or more, than I do; what I do know is good. I seem to recall, too, that his wife is also an active and useful person, which would double the return of a husband-and-wife trip.

Of course, I am partial to Dave Freeman and Vernon Eagle. I don't know how this program would relate to Dave's present responsibilities at RBF, but certainly Vernon's foundation is specifically and deeply concerned with international relations.

I know Dave McEntire through his work for the Commission on Race and Housing. Although it took a long time, I gather the research phase was well handled, and we think Where Shall We Live? is a fine and useful report. You can judge better than I how much of Dave's knowledge of the housing problem in the United States can be meaningfully translated to the South African situation.

Of the others, the ones that strike me are Mrs. Charles Johnson, Eli Ginzberg, and Paul Buck. Though I know little about Blumer, C. H. Parrish is a warm admirer of him. C. H. feels that Blumer is an outstanding analyst and theorist in the field of social change.

I hope these random comments are of some use.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AFRICAN—AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

RECEIVED AUG 25 1959

August 24, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

1. When do you think you might be able to go to the Union for us?

2. Enclosed is a tentative priority list of Americans for exchange that I will be editing and submitting to my Committee in September? Would you have time to mark it up and return it? Would you put Bill Peters in the journalist group? How high a ranking? Incidentally, we prefer a northerner this next time.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb
Enc.

P.S. Your study on the costs of closing the schools is excellent!

P.P.S. I am seeing Peters for lunch on Wednesday, Aug. 26. Can you call me collect before then?

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

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101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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WILTON S. DILLON, Executive Secretary and Director of Research

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Housing: MILDRED HOOKER DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8660
CABLES: "Rohsofund"—New York.

257 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

August 12, 1959

Frank S. Loescher, Esq.
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Frank:

Your letter of July 14 asking for suggestions with regard to one or two women who might later be considered in connection with the South African visits is appreciated.

Below are five tentative suggestions:

Dr. (Miss) Margaret Applegarth
117 East 77th Street, New York, N.Y.

Dr. (Mrs.) Harper Sibley
400 East Avenue, Rochester, N. Y.

Dr. (Mrs.) Theo. O. Wedel (Cynthia)
3508 Woodley Road, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Dr. (Mrs.) James D. Wyker, Berea, Kentucky

Dr. Georgia Harkness
Pacific School of Religion
511 Santa Barbara Road
Berkeley, California.

You probably know all of these. If special information is wanted about any of them, please let me know and I will try to provide it.

With warm good wishes,

Ever sincerely yours,

Emory Ross

ER:B
PSF

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

August 7, 1959

AMERICANS FOR EXCHANGE

Tentative Priority List

1960

1. Persons already selected:

   a. Francis Bosworth (see Community Leaders)

   b. John J. McCloy (see Business Leaders)

   c. Roy McCorkel (see Community Leaders)

2. Persons who might work in Union for a year or six months:

   a. William Wittausch (see Business Leaders)

   School teachers, college professors, YM and YWCA people, clergymen

3. Newspapermen

   Erwin Kieckhefer, Louisville Courier-Journal agricultural editor, just completing a special farm study on a grant from Fund for Adult Education. A northerner, used to be on the Minneapolis Star, about 45. (highly recommended by H.Carter, Louis Lyons)

   McCandless has heard good reports

   Fred Pillsbury, editorial writer, Boston Herald, Harvard graduate and Nieman Fellow, has been eager to free lance and has done some magazine work. A very fine personality, mature, responsible, thoughtful fellow, about 37. (Louis Lyons)

   Ralph Magill, Atlanta Constitution (rec by H.Carter & McCandless)

   Robert McCarry, San Francisco Chronicle, does a creative job on copy desk; telegraph editor, 35, University of California graduate.

   Walter Lippman (rec. by H.Carter & McCandless)

   Harrison Salisbury, New York Times (rec by McCandless)

   Art Steele, New York Herald-Tribune

See E.Ross' suggestions et al attached.)

4. Women

(Physicians; U.S. Government e.g. Children's Bureau; Judges; Leader of Women Voters)

Mrs. Douglas Horton (Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton): former head of ~~NX~~ WAVES, former President of Wellesley College.

Anne Lindbergh (with Charles Lindbergh) endorsed by McCandless

* Millicent McIntosh, President, Barnard College. (Husband is a distinguished pediatrician and Chairman of Babies Hospital, New York) endorsed by McCandless

Sarah Blanding, pres., Vassar?

5. Business Leaders

John J. McCloy, Chairman, Chase-Manhattan Bank

Charles Keller, New Orleans builder, member Fund for Republic Commission on Race and Housing

Philip Reed, former Chairman, General Electric

C. R. Sayre, Agronomist; Director, Long Staple Cotton Corp. (head of largest cotton plantation) rec. by H.Carter

Leland Hazard, former General Counsel, Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co.

C. Tyler Wood, former investment banker, #3 in I.C.A.

6. Foundation Executives

Leslie Paffrath, The Johnson Foundation

Paul Braisted, Hazen Foundation

Dana Creel and * David Freeman, Rockefeller Brothers Fund

* Vernon A. Eagle, New World Foundation

August Heckscher, Twentieth Century Foundation

Kenneth Brown, Danforth Foundation

Harvey Matthews, Assistant to the President, Ford Foundation

7. Community Leaders

a. Francis Bosworth, Executive Director, Friends Neighborhood Guild; winner of the Philadelphia (Bok) Award.

b. Roy McCorkel, presently with American Friends Service Committee; former Director of CARE in India and Central Europe; former Director of Commission on Religious Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

1961

1. Persons who might work in Union for a year or six months:

Dr. Barrett Hollister, Professor of Political Science, Antioch College

Dr. Philip Jessup, Professor of International Law, Columbia University

* Dr. Davis McEntire, Professor of Social Welfare, University of California; Research Director, Commission on Race and Housing

2. Others:

Dr. Russell A. Dixon, Dean, Dental School, Howard University.

* Mrs. Charles S. Johnson, Tennessee Council of Churches.

or 1960! * Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council.
(rec. by H. Carter, Fred van Wyk & McCandless)

Dr. Gilbert White, Professor of Geography, University of Chicago; former President, Haverford College

Dr. Waldo Beach, Professor of Christian Ethics, Duke University Divinity School

Dr. Herman Wells, President, Indiana University

Dr. Carl Pritchett, Presbyterian Church, Bethesda, Maryland

* Dr. Eli Ginsburg, Economist, Columbia University; Director of Manpower Studies

Dr. Dana Farnsworth, President, Group for Advancement of Psychiatry; Director, Student Health Service, Howard University

Others (continued)

Dr. Walter Langsam, President, University of Cincinnati

— Dr. Calvin B. Hoover, Professor of Economics, Duke University; former President of American Economics Association; student of Russian and German economic systems.

* Dr. Paul Buck, Librarian, Harvard College, ex-Provost of University (rec. by H. Carter)

Dr. Arthur Schlessinger, Sr., retired Professor of History, Harvard; on Nieman Foundation Committee. rec. by G. Allport, endorsed by McCandless.

* Dr. Herbert Blumer, Dept of Social Institutions
U of Cal., Berkeley

Still others

William Peters, author of The Southern Temper, and race relations articles in magazines that have won Ben. Franklin awards. (rec. by Adam Yarmolinsky)

Mrs. Katherine B. Oettinger, Chief, U.S. Children's Bureau

Philip Willkie, Indiana lawyer, banker, former state legislator, and national chairman of the advisory board of the Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges.

George F, Kennan

W. Rex Crawford

Alfred E. Driscoll, President, Warner-Lambert Pharmaceutical Co. and former governor of New Jersey.

Admiral Radford (rec. by S.A. Ambassador du Plessis)

Dr. ------ Edgar, Neurosurgeon (rec. by S.A. Amb. du Plessis)

Tentative Priority List - 1961 8/21/59

Women (continued)

Recommended by Anna Lord Strauss:

Dr. Dorothy C. Stratton, National Executive Director of the Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.

Miss Virginia H. Blunt, Assistant National Executive Director, Girl Scouts USA

Recommended by Mrs. Oscar Ruebhausen, of the Women's Africa Committee of A-AI

Dr. Althea K. Hottel, former Dean of Women, University of Pennsylvania

Miss Margaret Hickey, Ladies Home Journal (going to Africa in January or February)

Mrs. Raymond Sayre, Iowa, was head of Associated Country Women of the World.

Mrs. John Lee, Farmington, Conn., Past President of League of Women Voters, (very able)

Judge Sarah Hughes, Dallas, Texas (will soon retire)

HODDING CARTER
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

JOHN T. GIBSON
GENERAL MANAGER

The Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

August 11, 1959

Dr. Frank S. Loescher
African-American Institute
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

It's a difficult matter to make corrections from that priority list because they are all top level men. Among the newspapermen I would pick Ralph McGill, Walter Lippman and Irwin Kieckhefer. Among the women obviously Anne Lindbergh would carry the most prestige and possibly would have a deeper interest.

I must confess to a certain prejudice in favor of C. R. Sayre among the business leaders. He is an old friend and near neighbor of ours, having left the largest cotton plantation to become active head of the long staple cotton corporation. He is an excellent man, but then who isn't from that list.

Among the Foundation executives, the only person I know except by reputation is August Heckscher, whom I can personally bespeak. I can't give you any thoughts on the community leaders, but under the 1961 listing, I can strongly recommend Harold Fleming and Paul Buck.

As for the South Africans, I'm glad to see Manual recommended. He is a very good man but I do not think the Nieman Foundation could offer him a Fellowship as I am certain that South Africa is not one of the handful of countries which they offer foreign fellowships. Dr. DuPlessis was very helpful and kind to me but I think it would be better to bring someone like Petersen if you are limited to one or two in this group.

With the first primary over here, I am coming up for air and will get the report in to you very shortly. I also anticipate being with you on September 15.

With all the best wishes.

Sincerely,

RADIO GREENVILLE · WDDT · 1,000 WATTS 900 KC
"Center of dial"

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Mayor Hartsfield
Sylvan Meyer

FYI

for Victor

via air mail September 3, 1959

Mr. Frank Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

We have talked further with Ed Driscoll about the impending visit of Professor and Mrs. Groenewald. He feels it would be well to go ahead with the plan suggested earlier -- that is, have them stay at the Candler Hotel in Decatur near Columbia Theological Seminary. Of course, with Columbia and the other institutions in session, there will be more to offer them.

Of course, we will be happy to handle reservations, appointments at Atlanta University and elsewhere in the community, as well as a visit or visits with our staff.

Ed Driscoll thinks it would be a good idea for you to write McDowell Richards telling him a bit about the Groenewalds' interests, expressing appreciation for Dr. Richards' willingness to be helpful, etc.

We will also be happy to see Dr. Webb if he has the time while in Georgia for the World

Methodist Council meeting.

Congratulations on the progress of your South African fund-raising efforts.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

6

PA - Advice pls.
HCF

AFRICAN—AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

RECEIVED AUG 28 1959

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

August 26, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Professor and Mrs. Groenewald arrived last week and are looking forward to being in Atlanta from October 27 to 31.

Tell me if you would like me to write to President Richards and/or Mr. Driscoll and any others in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

cc: Prof. E. P. Groenewald

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

via air mail

September 30, 1959

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Of course, I will be delighted to see Mr. and Mrs. Whyte and to render them any service I can when they are in Atlanta.

I expect to be in New York next week on Wednesday and Thursday. If you are to be there, I hope we can get together.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

RECEIVED SEP 30 1959

September 29, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Quintin and Maida Whyte will be in Atlanta on November 2, 3 and 4. I am sure that you remember that Quintin is head of the South African Institute of Race Relations. Quintin and Maida hope very much they can see you and unless I hear from you, you can expect a note from Quintin suggesting a time when he hopes you will be free during his visit.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

cc: Mr. Quintin Whyte
Mr. Loyd V. Steere

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. N. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

A major catastrophe!

RECEIVED OCT 12 1959

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 6, 1959

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
345 East 48th Street
New York 17
New York

Dear Mr. Loescher:

I regret, exceedingly, that I will not have the opportunity to see Dr. de Villiers when he is in Atlanta from November 12-17. I must be in New York on those days.

Yours very truly,

REC:b

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

October 7, 1959

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
African-American Institute
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Loescher:

Just a brief note to acknowledge your letter of September 30. I think I will be in Atlanta on November 4th and possibly the 3rd. I hope I will be able to meet Quintin and Maida Whyte.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:km

October 8, 1959

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement;

Dr. E. P. Groenewald, Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Theology at the University of Pretoria, will be visiting Atlanta from October 27 to October 30 as a Fellow of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, and I hope he may have the opportunity of meeting you. He will stay at the Candler Hotel in Decatur while he is at Columbia Seminary. Mr. Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council is helping to coordinate Professor Groenewald's visit to Atlanta, and I hope that it may be possible for him to see you while he is in your city.

Enclosed is a copy of Professor Groenewald's curriculum vitae and a brochure describing our program.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb
Enc.

cc: Harold C. Fleming
Prof. E. P. Groenewald

out 10

October 8, 1959

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

Dr. E. P. Groenewald, Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Theology at the University of Pretoria, will be visiting Atlanta from October 27 to October 30 as a Fellow of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, and I hope he may have the opportunity of meeting you. He will stay at the Candler Hotel in Decatur while he is at Columbia Seminary. Mr. Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council is helping to coordinate Professor Groenewald's visit to Atlanta, and I hope that it may be possible for him to see you while he is in your city.

Enclosed is a copy of Professor Groenewald's curriculum vitae and a brochure describing our program.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb
Enc.

cc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Prof. E. P. Groenewald

PA

AIR MAIL

October 20, 1959

RECEIVED OCT 22 1959

The Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb
Methodist Central Hall
66 Kruis Street
Johannesburg, Union of South Africa

Dear Dr. Webb:

Thank you for your letter of October 2. I am sorry there was no opportunity for the two of us to get together.

I look forward to seeing you when you come next spring. Perhaps I shall see you in February when I expect to be in the Union.

I am glad your friend, Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick, is in touch with Mr. Harold C. Fleming.

Enclosed is a copy of a formal letter about Rev. and Mrs. Mokitimi's visit. I trust this will serve your purpose. Please let me know if you need something more formal and elaborate.

With every good wish to you and Mrs. Webb.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb
Enc.

cc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming ✓

COPY

PA

AIR MAIL

October 21, 1959

RECEIVED OCT 22 1959

Dr. Jacob A. Long
San Francisco Theological Seminary
San Anselmo, California

Dear Dr. Long:

Thank you for your letter of October 19th. I have just spoken over the phone to Professor Groenewald and he says you can count on him for the address on Wednesday, November 11th at 10 a.m.

Mrs. Groenewald will not accompany Professor Groenewald to San Francisco. I am sorry to have to notify you of the change at this late date.

Professor Groenewald will be in Atlanta from October 27th to 30th. Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia, is coordinating his Atlanta visit. I am asking Professor Groenewald to notify you from Atlanta of his time of arrival in San Francisco. Because the air lines are changing their schedules, he still does not have his tickets. However, it appears that he will arrive on the morning of November 3rd and leave on November 12th.

I want to thank you and President Gill for your kind offer of hospitality for Professor Groenewald and your interest in our program.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb
cc: Prof. E. P. Groenewald, % Dr. Waldo Beach, Duke University.

P.S. Our travel agent tells us that Professor Groenewald will probably leave Los Angeles on November 3 at 10 a.m. on United flight #569, arriving San Francisco at 11:40 a.m.

bcc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming. ✓

via air mail

October 21, 1959

Mr. Frank Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

I'm to be in New York Wednesday and Thursday of next week (Oct. 28 and 29). I will call to see if you're in and we can get together.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

October 19, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 20 1959

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of October 14. We have sent a photocopy to Professor Groenewald and I am sending a copy of this letter also to him, so that he can notify you when and on what flight you can expect him to arrive in Atlanta. It is very good of you to be so helpful.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

cc: Dr. E. P. Groenewald
% Dr. Waldo Beach
Duke University

P.S. Please ring me when you get in town this week

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

JR 6-3311
ext 5100

AIR MAIL

October 28, 1959

Mr. Walter A. Gresh, Regional Director
U.S. Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife
628 Peachtree - Seventh Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Gresh:

I am pleased to learn from Mr. Harold C. Fleming of the Southern Regional Council of your interest in Dr. and Mrs. Hey's visit to Atlanta and I understand that you have in mind several activities during their stay and that you invited them to visit your home. How kind of you.

I want you to know that my Management Committee sincerely appreciates your interest and willingness to be a host to Dr. and Mrs. Hey, but in view of the arrangements which I have made with Mr. Wright and Mr. Terry I think it best that we give Dr. and Mrs. Hey all of the time that they can use under Mr. Fleming's guidance. Because of the many similarities, as well as differences, between our social problems and South Africa's it is important that Dr. and Mrs. Hey have ample time to explore this aspect of their study tour in Atlanta. Their program has been planned in such a way that only in Atlanta will they have an opportunity for a systematic observation of trends in race relations.

I hope you will not feel that my Committee is unappreciative of your interest, but we would be doing an injustice to Dr. and Mrs. Hey if they did not have as much time as they need with Mr. Fleming.

I hope you may find it convenient not to schedule too many activities in advance of their arrival in Atlanta and their conference with Mr. Fleming who is coordinating their Atlanta visit. After Dr. and Mrs. Hey have worked out their schedule with Mr. Fleming, I feel sure the Heys will appreciate your friendly help in the area of sport fisheries and wildlife.

Cordially,

Frank S. Loescher
Program Director and
General Secretary

FSL:mb

cc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Dr. Douglas Hey, Mr. William M. Terry, Mr. Stillman Wright

P.S.

Dear Douglas:

I hope this letter is satisfactory. I do want you to have ample time for systematic observation of race relations.

My Committee is not meeting on December 1; instead I have arranged for the three of us to meet with Mr. Alan Pifer of the Carnegie Corporation and a member of my Committee. Mr. Pifer has kindly invited you and Kathleen and me to lunch at the Harvard Club at 12:30. This will provide an opportunity for you to tell us about your experience and make any suggestions for our future exchanges.

It would be helpful if you could send me a week before this meeting a report of 4 to 5 pages that Mr. Pifer and I could read in advance. Later it can be duplicated for distribution to the South African and American members of the Management Committee.

Lorus Milne tells me they have a full schedule for you in Durham, N. H. Mrs. Loescher and I will go easy on you in Philadelphia, November 28-30. We are very much looking forward to seeing you both.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

COPY

10/29/59

Dear Harold,

Some of your ideas are in here. But you are not to blame.

It was good to see you Tuesday night

Frank

File

Series on
Quaker Testimonies

THE FIRST MOTION:

QUAKER TESTIMONY ON RACE RELATIONS

by Frank S. Loescher

FRIENDS GENERAL CONFERENCE

Frank S. Loescher is director of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program.

His work in American race relations during the past twenty years includes teaching sociology at white and Negro colleges, directing the American Friends Service Committee's job opportunities program, the City of Philadelphia's Fair Employment Practice Commission and Commission on Human Relations and consulting on intergroup relations to the Fund for the Republic.

He first visited Africa in 1953 when he was consultant on program to the South African Institute of Race Relations. In 1956 he attended the Bloemfontein Conference of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs on the Tomlinson Report. He has toured Southern Rhodesia, Kenya, Uganda, Ghana, and Ethiopia.

A member of Radnor Monthly Meeting, Frank Loescher is on the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee and chairman of its Africa Committee.

He is author of *The Protestant Church and the Negro* and numerous articles on South African and American race relations.

"EQUAL opportunity for Negroes will strengthen America's influence with the colored peoples of the world."

"Fair employment is good business."

"Segregation undermines American unity."

These are all good reasons for working to eliminate discrimination and segregation, but Quaker testimony is based on deeper foundations.

In describing the concern that led him to visit the Indians, John Woolman wrote, "Love was the first motion." Love of our fellow man is more fundamental than international influence or economics or even the preservation of our nation. For 300 years Quakers sensitive to the spirit have endeavored to express a love that knows no limits of race or creed or nation. When motivated by this power, they have testified by word and deed to the dignity of all men everywhere.

Quaker testimony against slavery and racial discrimination has its roots in Friends' beliefs about God and man. Central is the Quaker faith in the Inner Light and in "that of God in every man." Friends also believe that all men have received from God the gift of being able to resist evil and do good, and that they can use this gift if they want to. From these beliefs

come Quaker testimonies concerning the treatment of other races and groups. There is also the belief in perfection and the obligation to pursue perfection, and this provides one of the deepest sources for all the social reforms with which Quakers have been associated.

The meeting for business with its democratic structure often results in members feeling an obligation to take responsibility when they see a situation that needs righting. With such freedom to experiment, concerns of individuals can grow and raise the level of awareness and behavior of the membership.

Above all, the meetings for worship provide a regular corporate opportunity to be receptive to the spirit that is available to all men. As we are faithful to that spirit our thoughts become clear and we are nearer to the truth and have greater power to carry out in our daily lives the truth as we know it. We are less influenced by pressures from the world because we are sustained by a source of strength that is always available.

* * *

These are the reasons why it was possible for concerned Friends in the 18th and 19th centuries to carry on in spite of the indifference and apathy and opposition within

and without their meetings. In those times, just as difficult as ours, Friends suffered for their testimonies but were able to maintain their convictions, to speak them without hostility, to befriend victims of injustice, and to show a loving concern for those who were unable to free themselves from their attachment to an oligarchical system. To read John Woolman's *Journal* these days is to gain new insight into the "life and power that takes away the occasion of all war." Brotherhood and peace, inseparable to Woolman, were the goals of his religious faith, the things he was led by God to devote his life to.

We ask how to begin such work. Woolman began with himself. Uncomfortable when called on by his employer to write a bill of sale for a Negro slave, he decided from then on to have no part in the business of slavery. In love he visited his fellow Quakers to share with them his concern over slavery. Unfortunately, too few of his fellow Quakers and fellow citizens were willing and able to emulate Woolman's non-violence in word and deed. Few were able to appreciate what it meant to be a Negro slave or a slave-owner. Learning the needs and fears of both, Woolman was able to help the owners to free themselves and their slaves. If enough Friends and

non-Friends had followed Woolman, G. M. Trevelyan would not have been able to say, "Close your ears to John Woolman one century, and you will get John Brown the next, with Grant to follow."

In the century when Friends withdrew from the government of Pennsylvania rather than support the war against the Indians, John Woolman wrote:

> Love was the first motion, and then a concern arose to spend some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life, and the spirit they live in, if happily I might receive some instruction from them, or they be in any degree helped forward by my following the leadings of truth amongst them.

When Woolman said, "Love was the first motion," we know from the whole pattern of his life that his description of his motivation was not set down lightly. Like early Friends he tried to be receptive to the spirit and to wait until he was clear that his motives were pure. Again in the best tradition of Friends (and modern scientists) he wanted to "feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in." Unlike many do-gooders he thought he might "receive some instruction" from his experience with another people. Finally, he thought it possible that the Indians might in some degree "be helped forward"

by his "following the leadings of truth amongst them."

Friends have an inspiring heritage of personal courage, patience and persistence. In 1681 William Penn not only sought to deal justly with the Indians of Pennsylvania by treaty; he also tried to work with them as a friend. His concern for right dealings with the Indians led Friends to missionary activity among them, to the establishment of vocational schools, to service as advisors to Indian tribes, and after the Civil War as Indian agents for the government. Today Quaker social workers are helping Indians on reservations and in the complications of city life.

In 1671 George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, visited Friends in the Barbadoes, and was confronted there with slavery which was unknown in the England of his time. Fox says in his *Journal:*

> Then as to their blacks or negroes, I desired them to endeavor to train them up in the fear of God, those that were bought, and those born in their families, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord . . . I desired them also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some hath been and is, and that after certain years of servitude they would make them free.

From training their slaves in the fear of God and treating them with kindness, they gradually became sensitive to the wickedness of the slave trade.

In 1688 four "German Friends" in Philadelphia made a protest against slavery to their Monthly Meeting. Its membership, however, was not prepared to accept their concern, and it took another hundred years for the Society in Pennsylvania and New Jersey to rid itself of this evil. By putting their Christian principles into practice, Friends deepened their own religious convictions.

Many Friends participated in the movement against slavery. Some left their homes in the South when they were prevented from freeing their slaves. Others in the North established schools for Negroes, were active in the American Colonization Society and the Underground Railway. But shrill voices of hate were drowning out the voices of reason and love. The Yearly Meetings in the North were uncomfortable as the antislavery extremists pressed on. Rather than endorse means they could not in conscience approve, the Yearly Meetings withdrew from the militant antislavery organizations. After the Civil War Friends established schools for the ex-slaves and after World War I initiated

conferences and institutes where white and Negro Americans could study their common problems and get to know each other as persons.

Later Friends were led to assist two other victims of aggression—before and during World War II Jewish refugees from Europe and after Pearl Harbor people of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast.

During the past decade Friends through Yearly Meeting committees and the American Friends Service Committee and its regional offices have undertaken the practical tasks of opening up Quaker Schools and colleges to Negroes and establishing in a half a dozen northern and southern cities job opportunities programs to help Negroes obtain jobs according to their qualifications. Before the Supreme Court school decision the Service Committee organized a program in Washington to eliminate segregation in hotels and restaurants and to help prepare the public schools for desegration. After the Supreme Court decision work was undertaken in North Carolina to counsel school systems with the problems of desegregation. The latest effort of Friends is tackling one of the most difficult tasks of all—segregation in suburban residential areas.

Now Friends find themselves being drawn to the multi-racial areas of Africa in the hope that people of different colors and cultures can find the way to live together harmoniously.

* * *

To many of us working in American race relations during the postwar decade progress appeared inevitable. Integration in all aspects of life was considered only a matter of years. It seemed reasonable for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to set 1963, one hundred years after Lincoln's freeing of the slaves, as a target date for the elimination of all forms of discrimination and segregation in America. Annual balance sheets of race relations in the late '40s and early '50s showing innumerable gains and insignificant losses reinforced our optimism. Philadelphia Quakers pointed to schools and colleges that had admitted Negro students. The American Friends Service Committee listed department stores, banks and insurance companies in Philadelphia, Chicago and Indianapolis that had hired their first Negro men and women in white-collar jobs. A score of cities and a dozen states had established fair employment practice commissions. The theater, cinema, and novel showed interest in equal

opportunity and equal treatment for Negroes and other minorities. In the South, too, there was undeniable progress. Newspapers used "courtesy" titles for Negroes. Many cities employed Negro policemen, opened their public libraries and parks, built public and private housing for Negroes, and elected Negroes to city councils.

Since the Supreme Court school decision a change has come over America. Certainly one can be thankful for the progress in the Border States, but resistance is growing in the North as well as the Deep South. Some northern whites who formerly expressed verbal support for efforts to open up opportunities for Negroes have become silent; others even speak out against equal opportuntiy. Fair weather friends of the Negro no longer contribute to interracial organizations.

There is a national ideological struggle for our minds, Northerners and Southerners, whites and Negroes. What is at stake is our very beliefs in human dignity. Until recently, we were only dealing with the surface aspects of Negro-white relationships. The Supreme Court decision has helped to make explicit what was implicit in our religion. Most of us are not inwardly prepared for what is demanded. We are called upon to search much deeper.

When love becomes "the first motion," brotherhood will be inescapable.

By nurturing our spiritual life we can keep close to the light of truth. Negro or white, we can be centers of hope. We can extend the hand of friendship to oppressed and oppressors. We can try to bring people of differing views together. Northerners or Southerners we can support the law of our land and seek to have it applied in a way that offers the greatest likelihood of assent and even consent.

We can be mindful of the need to correct stereotypes concerning whites and Negroes. Above all, we can try to show by example that we really want all people to feel they are human beings. Just as Friends maintained their testimonies in other equally difficult times we hope to be true to our faith so that more and more of our fellow citizens will be encouraged to enter into the richness of fellowship where Negro and white Americans come to know and value each other.

Copies of this and other leaflets as well as information about the Religious Society of Friends can be obtained from:

Friends General Conference
1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

10M 10-59

Memorandum from
FRANK S. LOESCHER

Nov. 9, 1959

Dear Harold,

Your latest report is excellent. You really know how to write too.

Could you send copy by surface to Prof. V. J. J. Olivier Stellenbosch (Box 225) and to F J van Wyk, P.O. Box 97, Joburg?

Send with info slip

Thanks a lot.

Alles van die beste

Frank

Send 11/16/59 MS.

P.S. I will send a copy to San Francisco

November 13, 1959

President Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

We have in the United States under our exchange program an outstanding Coloured family from South Afriwa and I am writing to ask if you would be interested in having them on your campus for a week in December.

Mr. S. V. Petersen is principal of the Athlone High School for Coloureds anda distinguished poet. He has received an award from the Academy of Arts and Sciences for his Afrikaans poetry. (Of course, he and his wife and ten year old son are bilingual). Mr. Petersen is a teacher. They are find pepple and I am anxious for them to have a good look at all that is happening in Atlanta.

This is a very expensive exchange since intercontinental travel costs for Mrs. Petersen and their son Sidney were involved. I therefore write to inquire whether you would be interested in providing a room for Mr. and Mrs. Petersen and a separate room for their son. This would be a substantial contribution to our program and we should appreciate it. We can handle their travel costs. I believe Mr. Petersen would be willing to give a chapel talk or a lecture to faculty and students while he is on your campus.

I think Mr. Petersen would be willing to meet with a literature or sociology class while he is with you, but I am reluctant to offer more than this since he tries to husband his energies. Furthermore, he is a poet and appreciates opportunities for leisure to write when he has an inspiration.

Enclosed are three copies of a Brochure describing our program, progress reports with a list of our exchangees, Mr. Petersen's curriculum vitae and photocopies of an article which appeared in CONTACT, the liberal South African magazine.

I hope you won't mind my emphasizing the importance of limiting the number of formal engagements, lectures or class meetings to two or three in the course of a week. We tried to recoup some of the costs of this exchange by having Mr. Petersen lecture to some colleges and universities in the Middle West, but he found it very tiring and so rather than ask for the usual honorarium of $100

per day in return for lectures I am suggesting the possibility of hospitality in return for a lecture and a class or two. Needless tosay, if you feel disposed to give Mr. Petersen an honorarium he and I will be grateful, but I am honestly concerned about not exploiting him an any way even if our budget is strained.

It is important that in the South Mr. Petersen be in a situation where he can "get" rather than "give". There is hardly a better place for him to find out what is happening in race relations than at Atlanta University.

We could arrange for the Petersen family to arrive in Atlanta on Saturday, December 5, and to leave the following Saturday, the 12th, if this is convenient for you. Since the Petersen family is very interested in music, they could hear the choir on Sunday.

I trust I have made the position clear and I look forward to hearing from you at your early convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Loescher
Program Director and
General Secretary

FSL:mb
Enc.

bcc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

COPY

November 13, 1959

President Stephen J. Wright
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear President Wright:

We have in the United States under our exchange program an outstanding Coloured family from South Africa and I am writing to ask if you would be interested in having them on your campus for w week in December.

Mr. S. V. Petersen is principal of the Athlone High School for Coloureds and a distinguished poet. He has received an award from the Academy of Arts and Sciences for his Afrikaans poetry. (Of course, he and his wife and ten year old son are bilingual). Mrs. Petersen is a teacher. They are fine people and I am anxious for them to have a good look at all that is happening in Nashville.

This is a very expensive exchange since intercontinental travel costs for Mrs. Petersen and their son Sidney were involved. I therefore write to inquire whether you would be interested in providing a room for Mr. and Mrs. Petersen and a separate room for their son. This would be a substantial contribution to our program and we should appreciate it. We can handle their travel costs. I believe Mr. Petersen would be willing to give a chapel talk or a lecture to faculty and students while he is on your campus.

I think Mr. Petersen would be willing to meet with a literature or sociology class while he is with you, but I am reluctant to offer more than this since he tries to husband his energies. Further more, he is a poet and appreciates opportunities for leisure to write when he has an inspiration.

Enclosed are three copies of a Brochure describing our program, progress reports with a list of our exchangees, Mr. Petersen's curriculum vitae and photocopies of an article which appeared in CONTACT, the liberal South African magazine.

I hope you won't mind my emphasizing the importance of limiting the number of formal engagements, lectures or class meetings to two or three in the course of the week. We tried to recoup some of the costs of this exchange by having Mr. Petersen lecture to some colleges and universities in the Middle West, but he found it very tiring and so rather than ask for the usual honorarium of $100 per day in return for lectures I am suggesting the possibility of hospitality

in return for a lecture and a class or two. Needless to say, if you feel disposed to give Mr. Petersen an honorarium he and I will be grateful, but I am honestly concerned about not exploiting him in any way even if our budget is strained.

It is important that in the South Mr. Petersen be in a situation where he can "get" rather than "give". There is hardly a better place for him to find out what is happening in race relations than at Fisk University.

We would arrange for the Petersen family to arrive in Nashville on Saturday, December 12 and to leave the following week-end, Saturday, Sunday or Monday, December 19 to 21, if this is convenient for you. Since the Petersen family is very interested in music, they could hear the choir on Sunday.

I trust I have made the position clear and I look forward to hearing from you at your early convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Loescher
Program Director and
General Secretary

FSL:mb
Enc.

bcc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

COPY

November 13, 1959

Mr. Hodding Carter
The Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hodding:

Nic writes that you and Mrs. Carter have invited him to visit you between Christmas and New Years. Nic suggests he fly from Philadelphia to Greenville on December 26. I hope this is convenient for you.

I hope Nic can phone Harold Fleming when he is with you and arrange to see Harold in Atlanta on his way back North.

I spoke to Ned Munger the other day and he thinks Aubrey Sussens would be a stronger candidate and better representative of South Africa than George Manuel. I need your advice on whether I should write to Lyons on behalf of Manuel.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

cc: Prof. N. J. J. Olivier
Harold C. Fleming

P.S. When are your articles coming out? I don't want to miss them.

RECEIVED DEC 4 1959

December 2, 1959

Mr. Johannes Bruwer
School of Advanced International Studies
of The John Hopkins University
1906 Florida Avenue, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bruwer:

Thank you for your letter of November 26th. I am glad to know all goes well with you at Johns Hopkins.

The person you should try to see in Boston is Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Studies and Research Program, Boston University. I also suggest Mr. and Mrs. Laurence K. Marshall, 4 Bryant Street, Cambridge 38, Mass., who have made many visits to the Union to study the Bushmen. I am sure Dr. Brown and Mr. and Mrs. Marshall will be glad to suggest other people at M.I.T. and Harvard should you have the time to see others.

In the South you will find Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Secretary of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia, the most knowledgeable person. He or members of his staff can put you in touch with people in the field of your interests.

Should you be going to Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, I would urge you to try to see Professor Waldo Beach in the Divinity School.

Do let me know if you wish more suggestions.

With every godd wish.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:lm

cc: Dr. William O. Brown
Mr. & Mrs. Laurence K. Marshall
Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Dr. Waldo Beach

COPY

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

December 21, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you very much for your letter of December 18th.

I shall follow your advice and get in touch with Arthur Walmsley. I have written to some of the Bishops.

Nic has a reservation Sunday at the Dinkler-Plaza and I am sure he will ring you after he is settled. He leaves Tuesday for John Wheeler in Durham. Wheeler made~~s~~ an extraordinarily fine impression!

The best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

P.S. Remind me sometime to give you de Villiers' impressions.

FSL:lm

cc: Prof. N.J.J. Olivier

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

via air mail

December 18, 1959

Mr. Frank Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

I have talked to a few of my friends among the Episcopalian clergy about the proposed exchange with the Rev. Mr. Russell of Ladysmith. Their view -- which I am sure is correct -- is that such an arrangement, involving high-level decisions, should best be initiated at the denominational level. The ministers I have talked with are not candidates, and short of a rather widespread canvass I would be unlikely to light on the right man. This, too, suggests the desirability of working through denominational channels.

The right person to approach, I think, would be the Rev. Arthur Walmsley, Executive Secretary, Division of Christian Citizenship, The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Church Missions House, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York 10. Authur is Neil Tarplee's superior and is an alert and knowledgeable social-action guy. He could involve Neil if and as needed.

It's a most interesting proposition, if a tricky one; if you reach the point of evaluating a specific

Southern candidate, we'll be glad to help you get the necessary information.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- Just received a note from Nic Olivier saying he will arrive in Atlanta Sunday the 27th. I will, of course, be at his disposal. It pains me, however, that we will have visiting family with us and can't invite him to stay at our home.

HCF

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

December 9, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I should appreciate your advice on a proposal that is now before our exchange program, as set forth in the enclosed correspondence.

The Rev. Philip W. R. Russell, an Anglican in Ladysmith, is interested in a two-way family exchange! This type of exchange has had a top priority since we first considered the program.

Ladysmith is a remote place in a Afrikaans environment. An exchange involving a young Episcopalian (low church) from the South might be best.

Can you suggest a name or two?

Many, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:lm
Enc.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

AFRICAN — AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES — SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary
DR. F. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
U.S.A.

South African Secretary
PROF. N. J. J. OLIVIER
P.O. BOX 223
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

21st October, 1959.

Dr. F.S. Loescher,
345 East 46th Street,
New York 17, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Dear Frank,

I enclose copies of correspondence with the Rev. Philip Russell, regarding the possibility of an exchange with an Episcopalian minister in the United States. Apparently Russell is a young Anglican minister of high standing in his Church.

Members considered that it would be a good idea if this could be arranged, and requested me to write to you, to ask you to explore the possibility of such an exchange.

Yours sincerely,

N.J.J. OLIVIER,
S.A. SECRETARY.

Encl.

CF:dlr

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNET (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. J. BROWN (U.S.A.); W. J. BUSSCHAU (S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); W. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O. MAGOS (S.A.); S. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); T. F. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.)

21st October, 1959.

The Rev. Philip W.R. Russell,
The Vicarage,
64 Murchison Street,
LADYSMITH, Ntl.

Dear Mr. Russell,

I refer to your correspondence with Mr. F.J. van Wyk, a member of our Management Committee, regarding the possibility of an exchange with a Priest of the Anglican Church in the United States.

The possibility of such an exchange is being investigated by the Management Committee, and I will notify you in due course of their decision. I must point out, however, that it will not be possible to give you this decision before December of this year.

Yours sincerely,

N.J.J. OLIVIER,
S.A. SECRETARY.

CF:dlr

cc: Dr. F.S. Loescher,

COPY.

The Vicarage,
64 Murchison Street,
LADYSMITH, Ntl.

2nd September, 1959.

The Director,
South African Institute of
Race Relations,
P.O. Box 97,
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Mr. van Wyk,

Thank you for your letter of the 31st August and for your interest in the matter.

I look forward to again hearing from you after you have discussed the matter with Professor Olivier.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd). Philip Russel.

COPY

31st August, 1959.

The Rev. Philip W.R. Russell,
The Vicarage,
64, Murchison Street,
LADYSMITH, Natal.

Dear Mr. Russell,

I am sorry that I have not replied earlier to your letter of August 6. I was on leave and since my return I have been completely "snowed under" especially as Mr. and Mrs Whyte have left for the U.S.A.

I shall discuss your request with Prof. Olivier on September 28 and shall then write to you again. All our grants for 1960 have been allocated but there is no reason why you should not be considered for 1961, especially as you suggest a real exchange - which is the type of exchange which we wish to encourage.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

F.J. van Wyk,
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR.

COPY.

The Vicarage,
64 Murchison Street,
Ladysmith, Natal.

6th August.

PERSONAL

Dear Mr. van Wyk,

When I was in Johannesburg in July, you discussed the SA Leader Exchange Programme with me.

Rightly of wrongly, I rather gathered you felt I might consider applying for an Exchange Fellowship.

I have therefore discussed the matter with my Bishop who is very interested in the proposition. He has, however, made it plain to me that even were the Leader Exchange Programme people to grant me a Fellowship, it would still be my responsibility to get someone to take over my work here. Taht meant that it would really have to be an "exchange" in the full sense of the word. It would not, I think, be necessary to get a direct exchange - it would, that is, be possible for me to get an exchange with some Priest of the Anglican Church in the States merely coming to this Diocese: not necessarily to Ladysmith - possibly to one of the larger city parishes, with the Bishop sending a temporary man here from the one to which this man would go.

I write, therefore, to you, unofficially, of course, for I realise you cannot commit the Committee - but none the less asking you to be complete frank in your replies:-

(a) Is such a limited exchange of families possible (BOTH families would have to be those of Priests in the Anglican communion) possible?

(b) Is there any liklihood that such a person such as myself would be considered?

(c) Is there any possibility of such an exchange for 1960. I have specified this year as my eldest daughter is this year in Std. 6 - next year she will begin work for the J.C. It would not matter unduly interrupting her programme at this stage - there are obvious, but not unsurmountable difficulties afterwards.

I realise that any official application would ask for the fullest details, but it seems worth while to include the following details. Personal: Age 40, ordained for 8½ years. Degrees etc MBE, BA, LTh. 4½ years pre-war training as Quantity Surveyor; 5½ years in the Army. 5 Years at Rhodes & St. Paul's Theological College. Family - 3 girls, 13, 11, & 7; 1 boy - 3.

Best wishes,

Signed. Ph.Russell

AIR MAIL

Dear Frank:

I have talked to a few of my friends among the Episcopalian clergy about the proposed exchange with the Rev. Mr. Russell of Ladysmith. Their view -- whihh I am sure is correct -- is that ~~this~~ such an arrangement, ~~xxxidxinxxixxxxx~~ involving high-level decisions, should best be initiated at the denominational level. The ministers I ~~know~~ have talked with are not candidates, and ~~ixkxxxxxfxxx~~ short of a rather widespread canvass I would be unlikely to light on the right man. This, too, suggests the desirability of working through denominational channels.

The right person to approach, I think, would be the Rev. Arthur Walmsley (insert title and address). Arthur is Neil Tarplee's superior and is an alert and knowledgeable social-action guy. He could involve Neil if and as needed.

It's a most interesting proposition, if a tricky one; if you reach the point of evaluating a specific Southern candidate, we'll be glad to help you get the necessary information.

All the best.

Sincerely,

HCF

P.S. -- Just received a note from Nic Olivier saying he will arrive in Atlanta Sunday the 27th. I will, of course, be at his disposal. It pains me, however, that we will have visiting family with us and can't invite him to stay ~~withxxxx~~ at our home.

January 8, 1960

Mr. Frank Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
346 East 46th Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

I have no personal acquaintance with any of the three Episcopal ministers suggested by Dr. Alexander, though I know two of them by reputation. Ferris of Nashville and Duncan of St. Petersburg are well regarded by our kind of folks and are also important religious leaders in their communities. I have heard that both have turned down appointments to bishop in order to continue their local ministries.

As this would suggest, both men are deeply involved in local activities, which would probably make them hard to get for a whole year. But I think you would be safe in trying.

Unfortunately, I know nothing about the Memphis man, but if you decide to give him a thorough check, I'm sure I could get some information from our

Tennessee friends.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- For your information, I am to be in New York Thursday and Friday of next week. If I can shake loose from meetings long enough, I'll call you, as usual. I'm glad Nic felt his stop-over here was enjoyable. His visit was pleasant from our point of view, and everybody who met him liked him.

HCF

January 5, 1960

Dr. George M. Alexander, Dean
School of Theology
The University of the South
Sewanee, Tenessee

Dear Dr. Alexander:

Thank you for your letter and your several suggestions of men who might be interested in an exchange with South Africa. After I consult with my Committee, I may be back to you.

With sincere appreciation,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:lm

P.S. Harold, do you know any of these people suggested by Alexander? Nic enjoyed his visit with you.

All the best,

Frank

COPY

THE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH
SEWANEE, TENNESSEE

December 31, 1959

Mr. Frank S. Ioescher
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Ioescher:

It is particularly interesting to me to have the opportunity to suggest someone for your exchange program with South Africa, since the School of Theology here has had a number of rather close associations with the Province of South Africa in resent months. Bishop Inman of Natal was our guest for a week, Commencement Preacher at the Univerwity Commencement here in 1958; Archdeacon Eustace Wade was our guest and speaker in the fall of 1958; and the Rev. Lorraine Bosch was with us as student for three years. Only last June did he return to South Africa to take up his duties as a priest. He holds the B. D. degree from the University and we were able to provide for him a year of post graduate work in a field not available to him in South Africa.

We hope very much that once begun so well the associations with the Province of South Africa can be continued. I am much in hope that we may have in due time another student from Natal, for whom we are prepared to do as we did for Bosch in the way of financial assistance and post graduate work. There is on my desk at the moment a letter of inquiry from a student from S. W. Africa, whose qualifications are being examined. It is my hope that we can begin an association there, as well.

I have two suggestions to make for the exchange. First, the Re. James I. Duncan, Rector of St. Peter's Church, St. Petersburg, Florida. Duncan has the M. A. from Emory, the B. D. from Sewanee together with an excellent and broad experience in the Church. He has served on most to the key committees and boards of the Dioceses of Atlanta and South Florida, has been Deputy to our General Convention at least twice, possibly three times. He is alert, versatile, quiet, personable, and I have the feeling that his parish is in such condition as to make it possible for him to accept an exchange. I visited him in November and was delighted with the work I saw in progress. I might say that he and I were class-mates, study-mates, in seminary for three years, and after all that are the best of friends.

May I suggest, also, the Rev. Raymond T. Ferris, of Christ Church, Nashville, Tennessee. Another man of rare ability, he has served as missionary to the Canal Zone, indeed, was elected Bishop of the new Missionary District of Central America, but felt he had to decline. He holds the B. A. from Hobart, the B. D. from Episcopal Theological School, and is about to take the S. T. M. here. He, too, has been Deputy to the General Convention, is now a member of the National Council of the Church, the Convention's Executive Committee.

COPY AVAILABLE

A third man, whom I know mostly by reputation, is the Rev. Donald Henning of Calvary Church, Memphis, Tennessee, PhB from Kneyon College (where he now serves on the Board of Trustees), B. D. Bexley Hall, the Theological School of Kenyon, D. D. from Kenyon, ThD from Southwestern, Memphis. Probably Bishop Blanchard can give more information here than I can. I know him as a very effective person and an able parish priest.

Each of these men is in charge of a well organized, well staffed parish, from which I think he might manage to be away for a time, and to which I think a visitor might go with prospect of a warm reception and an opportunity to be useful.

If more suggestions are needed, I shall be glad to write again.

Faithfully yours,

George N. Alexander
Dean

photocopy to Harold Fleming

Correction!

January 8, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have talked to Mr. Loescher by phone about your letter to Dr. Johannes P. Bruwer of January 5th and Dr. Loescher has asked me to reply.

Dr. Bruwer is not one of our people but he is well worth seeing, and if you can give him some help Mr. Loescher will appreciate it. You, your colleagues and others in Atlanta will benefit.

He is a Sorbonne man and a good anthropologist. He is a former minister to SABCA Nigeria, Mr. Loescher believes.

Respectfully yours,

Louis Muller
Secretary to Dr. Loescher

Missionary

Harold, Bruwer is teaching this semester at Hopkins in Vernon McKay's place.

COPY AVAILABLE

March 2, 1960

Mr. Frank Loescher
U.S.-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

The lunch-counter crisis has kept us all hopping lately, so I must acknowledge your several recent letters at one time.

I haven't had a chance to check on the entire list of Episcopalian clergymen supplied you by Arthur Walmsley. But I can shed some light on one or two. Theodore Evans is well known to Paul Rilling and our Virginia people, who regard him as a first-rate man; I believe I wrote you earlier about him. In any case, on the basis of our information, I can recommend him highly to you.

I get less enthusiastic reports about Mead of Chapel Hill, who, I am told, is sincere and well-meaning but less than solid on race relations.

I hear that Fraser of Winston-Salem has just been elected bishop (since Walmsley wrote you). If so, this might perhaps eliminate him from consideration.

Although we know vaguely of the others, my information isn't sufficient to render any kind of

judgment. If I learn more about them before you act on this, I will pass it on.

Many, many thanks for your note concerning Mrs. Purcell's interest. I will most certainly write her shortly.

Congratulations on the reprint from Africa Special Report; this is an excellent information piece on the program.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

February 17, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a photocopy of a letter from the Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley. If it is not a lot of trouble, I would appreciate any comments you may have or be able to obtain. Did I tell you I have approached the Rev. Duncan in St. Petersburg? I am waiting to see if we can get together.

Nic left last week. It was a strenuous two months working with him on fundraising and keeping the shop going.

I will probably be in the Union in April to see if I can get them going in a more significant way fundraisingwise.

Enclosed are ten reprints from Africa Special Report. I hope before long we will be using your photograph.

The best to you and your family.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:lm
Enc.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. N. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. E. R. PURCELL (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

February 4, 1960

Dr. Frank S. Loescher
United States - South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Loescher:

Neil Tarplee and I spent some time discussing the Exchange Program while he was here this week for a staff meeting. The following persons strike us as reasonable possibilities. As we discussed the criteria for selection, we felt that the person probably had to come from a somewhat atypical situation, perhaps a college community or at least a large city. Three of the men, therefore, are attached to college communities:

The Rev. Loren B. Mead who is at 200 Hayes Road, Chapel Hill, N. C.
The Rev. Theodore H. Evans, D.D., 120 Chancellor St. Charlotteville, Va.
The Rev. Robert L. Thomas, Box 164, Blacksburg, Va.

The other two men are rectors of large parishes:

Elected Bishop
The Rev. Thomas A. Fraser, Jr., St. Paul's Church, 506 Summit Street, Winston Salem, N. C.
The Rev. Peyton R. Williams, Church of Christ and St. Luke, 560 W. Olney, Norfolk, Va.

I hope these names may be fruitful of a good lead for the Exchange. Our office, and I am sure the newly formed Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, will be very interested in helping Mr. Russell with an itinerary should the Exchange work out.

I am assuming that you will follow-up on all or several of these contacts, and keep me posted on any further developments. You may be assured of my continued interest in working with you on the project.

With every good wish—

Sincerely yours,

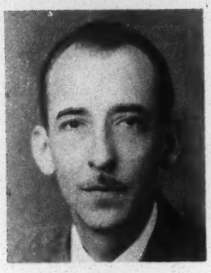
(The Rev.) Arthur E. Walmsley
Executive Secretary
DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

AEW/res

U.S.-South Africa Program Announces 25 Exchanges

CARTER

BRYAN


JOHNSON

McCANDLESS

MILNE

ROSSITER

WHEELER

ENCOURAGING progress in the exchange of professional, business and civic leaders between the United States and South Africa was reflected in the second annual report of an exchange program sponsored by the African-American Institute.

Frank S. Loescher, director of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, reported that eleven exchanges were made in 1959 and fourteen more are planned for 1960. The exchanges cover a broadening field of professions, Loescher noted. An editor, a soil conservationist, a bank president, and seven educators including a political scientist, a theologian and a poet were among persons exchanged in 1959. Most were accompanied by their families.

The first of seven Americans to visit the Union under the program in 1959 was **Hodding Carter,** Editor and Publisher of the *Delta Democrat-Times*, Greenville, Mississippi, accompanied by his wife and two sons. He has written articles about his trip that are scheduled to appear shortly in the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Coronet*.

Other Americans to go out under the program were:

G. McLeod Bryan, Associate Professor of Christian Social Ethics at Wake Forest College, and Mrs. Bryan, to study the teaching of religion in higher education.

Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, and his wife, Guion, both holding PhD. degrees in sociology, to lecture at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, until June 1960.

David A. McCandless, Director of the Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville, to serve as consultant to the South African Police College.

Lorus J. Milne, Professor of Zoology at the University of New Hampshire, and his wife, Marjorie, both holding PhD. degrees in zoology, to lecture at universities and visit conservation areas.

Clinton L. Rossiter, Chairman of the Department of Government, Cornell University, accompanied by Mrs. Rossiter, to lecture at a number of South African universities.

John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, to confer with business leaders of the several racial groups and attend the Ecumenical Conference in Johannesburg in December as a fraternal observer from the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Four South African leaders and their families were in the United States during the fall. **F. J. de Villiers,** Industrial Adviser to the Government of the Union of South Africa, conferred with American specialists in his field of interest at various universities and institutions in the United States and Puerto Rico. Mrs. de Villiers toured the United States with her husband.

E. P. Groenewald, Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Theology and Dean of the Faculty at the University of Pretoria, visited Yale, Union, Harvard, Princeton, Duke, San Francisco and a number of other seminaries. Mrs. Groenewald, who has edited several denominational periodicals, accompanied Professor Groenewald to the U.S.A.

Douglas Hey, Director of Nature Conservation in the Cape Province, and Mrs. Hey, who is also a student of zoology, studied wildlife conservation. Their tour was planned by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

S. V. Petersen, poet and Principal, Athlone High School for Coloureds, Cape Town, and recipient of the 1959 medal of honor of the Academy for Arts and Science, lectured at a number of colleges and universities including Earlham, Howard, Central State, Hanover, Park, Atlanta, Randolph-Macon Women's College, Fisk and Wilberforce. Mrs. Petersen, who is a teacher, and Sidney, Jr., accompanied Mr. Petersen.

Including wives and children, fourteen Americans and nine South Africans were exchanged in 1959.

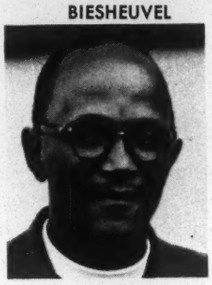
1960 Exchanges Announced

The following South Africans have been selected for exchange in 1960: **S. Biesheuvel,** Director, National Institute for Personnel Research; **D. C. de Villiers,** Editor, *Huisgenoot*, a magazine; **G. A. Manuel,** journalist, *Cape Times*; **S. M. Mokitimi,** Superintendent, Osborn Mission, Methodist Church of South Africa; **S. Motsuenyane,** Technical Adviser to the African National Soil Conservation Association (ANSCA), presently with the Alexandra Anti-TB Association, a teacher; **J. J. Muller,** Professor of New Testament, Theological Seminary, Stellenbosch; **F. J. Potgieter,** News Editor, *Transvaler*; **P. S. Rautenbach,** industrial economist, Union Government; **A. Sussens,** Assistant Editor, *Rand Daily Mail*; **P. F. D. Weiss,** Professor of Semitic Languages, Stellenbosch University. All of these men will be accompanied by their wives. Another exchange will

(Continued on page 16)

DE VILLIERS

BIESHEUVEL


MOKITIMI

MOTSUENYANE

PETERSEN

WEISS

be **Miss H. C. Lambrechts,** Secretary, Afrikaans Christian Women's Association.

Among the Americans to be exchanged in 1960 are: **Roswell P. Barnes,** Executive Secretary in the United States for the World Council of Churches; **Wheeler McMillen,** Vice President, *Farm Journal, Inc.,* and Mrs. McMillen; **Waldo E. Stephens,** Executive Vice President, Esperanza Oils, Inc., Oklahoma City, and Mrs. Stephens, member of the U.S. Commission for UNESCO.

The Leader Exchange Program is designed to further understanding between professional, business and civic leaders of the two countries, Dr. Loescher said. The Program is two-way not only in respect to exchange, but also in financing and management, he pointed out. Gifts of a number of American and South African foundations, corporations and individuals are making this private, non-governmental program possible.

An International Management Committee supervises the Program and selects leading citizens for exchange of three months to one year. Recently named to the Management Committee are Mrs. William F. H. Purcell, civic leader and school and college trustee, of Pasadena, California, and Mr. A. D. Wassenaar, General Manager, Sanlam, Cape Town. The Chairman of the Management Committee is Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director of the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Ltd.; the Vice Chairmen are the Rev. C. B. Brink, Mission Secretary of the Dutch Reformed Church (N. G. Church) in the Northern Transvaal, and Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor of History, Earlham College; Prof. N. J. J. Olivier of Stellenbosch University is Secretary in South Africa and Dr. Loescher is Program Director and General Secretary.

The other American members of the Management Committee are: Dr. George H. Bennett, Director, Asia-Africa, Institute of International Education; Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University; Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, International Missionary Council; Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc.; Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University; Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff; Leslie Paffrath, President, The Johnson Foundation; Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Gordon V. Richdale, Financier; Loyd V. Steere, Executive Vice-President, African-American Institute; Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches.

The following South Africans also serve on the Management Committee: H. Goldberg, Ellis Furnishers Ltd.; Rev. W. A. Landman, Director of Information, Cape Dutch Reformed Church (N. G. Church); Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Chairman, South African Tourist Corp.; K. P. G. Schoenan, Chairman, Bantu Investment Corp.; T. P. Stratten, Managing Director, Union Corporation, Ltd.; Prof. W. G. Sutton, Principal, University of the Witswatersrand; Dr. H. B. Thom, Principal, Stellenbosch University; F. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations; Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of S. A.

The United States—South Africa Leader Exchange Program is seeking financial support for the exchange of a substantial number of leaders every year. Contributions to the Program are tax-exempt in the United States and South Africa.

Contributions may be made to and further information obtained from:

UNITED STATES—SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N.Y., U.S.A.
or
THE FUND FOR THE UNITED STATES—SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
P.O. Box 225, Stellenbosch
Union of South Africa

Mar. 11, 1960

REMINDER FOR MF:

If Rev. Mr. James L. Duncan of St. Petersburg makes appointment with HCF pull correspondence from Frank Loescher dtd. March 10, 1960.

March 11, 1960

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Of course, I will be happy to see the Rev. Mr. Duncan if he gets in touch with me, and I will write you my impressions promptly.

Here's wishing you a pleasant and fruitful trip to South Africa. Do give my best to the various friends I have made through you and your program.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AFRICAN—AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

March 10, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter. I hope you can have a little visit with Mrs. Weiss. She is most interested in meeting writers, so if you think of people, colored as well as white, I would appreciate your helping her to see them.

Now I want to ask a favor in regard to the Anglican-Episcopal exchange. The Rev. James L. Duncan of St. Petersburg is unable to get up to see me before I leave but he tells me his wife comes from Atlanta and they occasionally visit there. I have given him your name as someone who knows about our program. I would appreciate it if you would find it convenient to see him if he should write you for an appointment. If you could send up your impressions, my secretary would forward your letter to South Africa.

It now looks as if I will leave on March 19 and get back by May!

Many, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:lm

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. E. R. PURCELL (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

SAINT PETER'S CHURCH
140 FOURTH STREET NORTH
ST PETERSBURG FLORIDA
P O BOX 1555

March 7, 1960

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Program Director and General Secretary
United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Loescher:

Enclosed is an outline of my activities and to this I need to add my family relationships.

My mother came here from Ireland and my father from Scotland. They were married in this country and I was raised in Atlanta, Georgia. My wife is a Baptist minister's daughter who has two years of college at Shorter College, Rome, Georgia. She is 34 years old. We have three fine children, Mary who is 15, John who is 10, and James, Jr. who is 8. We are a pretty typical American family with the typical problems and joys.

My parish Church has about 1900 communicants and is a downtown Church in a community of many retired people without any great wealth. I am very proud of my parish for its leadership in starting new Churches and for the fine job done in rehabilitating the parish fabric. We now have an adequate plant and are beginning to build the kind of lay leadership a Church should have.

As to personal interests, I enjoy scholastic discussions and study but I would characterize myself as an activist rather than a student. Concern for and love of people occupies most of my ministry. My work is my hobby and golf my recreation.

I would be happy to furnish any further details that you feel might be necessary.

Sincerely yours,

James L. Duncan
Rector

JLD:cc

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

JAMES LOUGHLIN DUNCAN

Born: Greensboro, North Carolina, September 11, 1913

B.A. Emory University, Emory, Georgia, 1935 (Chemistry, English majors)

M.A. Emory University, Emory, Georgia, 1936 (Philosophy)

Graduated from University of the South Theological School, Sewanee, Tennessee, 1939 with B.D.

Ordained Priest, Diocese of Atlanta, 1939

Curate, All Saints' Church, Atlanta, Georgia, 1939-1940
Rector, St. Peter's Church, Rome, Georgia, 1940-1945
Rector, All Saints' Church, Winter Park, Florida, 1945-1950
Rector, St. Peter's Church, St. Petersburg, Florida, 1950 - Present

DIOCESE OF ATLANTA

Member of the Executive Board and Chairman of the Department of Missions, 1943-1945
1943 Deputy - General Convention

DIOCESE OF SOUTH FLORIDA

1946-1948	Member of Board of Managers of the Cathedral School.
1947-1949	Member of the Bishop's Council of Advisers in Matrimonial Cases.
1948-1954	Member of Executive Board.
1955-Present	Member of Executive Board, ex officio.
1948-1953	Chairman, Department of Promotions.
1948	Chairman, Advance Work Campaign.
1948-Present	Trustee, University of the South
1948	Delegate to Provincial Synod
1949	Trustee, St. Luke's Hospital
1949-1951	Alternate Deputy - General Convention
1955-1956	Alternate Deputy - General Convention
1952-1954	Deputy - General Convention
1957-1959	Deputy - General Convention

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DIOCESE OF SOUTH FLORIDA - continued

1954	Alternate Delegate - Pan-Anglican Congress
1951-Present	Trustee, Diocese of South Florida
1951-1953	Member, Standing Committee
1953-Present	President, Standing Committee
1954-1958	Chairman, Finance Committee

NATIONAL CHURCH

1958	Member of Seabury Conference on Study of the Aged
	Paper presented at Seabury Conference, "The Production of Programs and Activities with Reference to Aging."
1958	Chairman in Charge of Sunday Services, General Convention, Miami, Florida
1959	Member of Presiding Bishop's Committee for Nuclear Reactor for St. Paul's University, Tokyo, Japan

PROVINCE OF SEWANEE

1959	Chairman, Program on the Aged for the Department of Christian Social Relations, Provincial Synod
1959	Member of Nominating Committee, Provincial Synod

PARISH ACTIVITIES

Rehabilitation of Plant

Beautifying of grounds
Building adequate Chapel and Sacristy
(Chapel started in 1951 and completed in 1952)
(Sacristy built in 1952)
Provision for adequate parking
Air-conditioning of Church
Re-lighting of Church
Repair of structural defects
Air-conditioning of Parish House

$325,000 spent in improvements

PARISH ACTIVITIES - continued

Budget

Increased from $18,000 pledged to $100,000 pledged in 1959, in addition to Building Fund of $125,000.

Growth

From 1400 communicants to approximately 1900 communicants in spite of loss from establishing six missions in St. Petersburg area.

Church of the Advent (assisted in establishment)
St. Thomas'
St. Bede's
St. Vincent's
St. Matthew's
Meadowlawn

Most important accomplishment, and due to the very active pastoral ministry, the spirit of the congregation has changed from a sense of indifference to a sense of belonging and pride in the parish.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

Member of the Mayor's Committee for Inter-racial Cooperation.

Member of the Executive Board of Ministerial Association.

Member of the Executive Board of the Pinellas County Tuberculosis Association.

County-wide Chairman of the Tuberculosis Association Survey, 1955 and 1957.

Active in study in the field of gerontology, with study made at St. Peter's Parish which was used by community agencies interested in local problems of the retired age group.

Cooperated with County Board of Education in their Adult Education Program.

FRATERNAL

Member of Kappa Alpha Order
Province Commander of Kappa Alpha, Hardeman Province 1943-1946
Member of Executive Council, Kappa Alpha Order, 1946-1955
Knight Commander (National President), Kappa Alpha Order, 1955-1957

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

March 25, 1960

MEMO: J.C.
B.C.

Please add the following person to our complimentary New South list:

Mrs. William F. H. Purcell
1425 Linda Ridge Road
Pasadena, California

Name added to New South and "Friend's" list

March 14, 1960

Mrs. William F. H. Purcell
1425 Linda Ridge Road
Pasadena, California

Dear Mrs. Purcell:

Frank Loescher has suggested that I send you some of our materials describing the Southern Regional Council and illustrating its work. Several publications are enclosed, and I am taking the liberty of adding you to our mailing list.

This opportunity to acquaint you with the Council's work is particularly welcome; for we have felt for some time that there are persons like yourself on the West Coast who should know of this organization and its program. If there are others in your area who you feel might be interested in receiving similar material, I will be grateful for them.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: Congressional Record Reprint
Executive Director's Report
"The Changing South"
Special Report - "Student Movement Protest..."

Memorandum from
FRANK S. LOESCHER

Feb. 20, 1960

Dear Harold,

Mrs. Wm F. H. Purcell a member of my Committee, 1425 Linda Ridge Road, Pasadena, Cal., asked me what groups working in the South were worth supporting. She even asked about the SCEd Fund!

Naturally, I told her about you and SPC. I am sure it would be worth your while to write her a letter,

send her some information and put her on the New South mailing list.

She is a real self starter. Thank goodness I got to her before you because she is really a working Committee member! Plus a contributor! She knows lots of people in California and she would be worth seeing when you go out there.

All the best

Sincerely

Frank

AFRICAN — AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES — SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
DR. F. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
U.S.A.

South African Secretary:
PROF. N. J. J. OLIVIER
P.O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

30th March, 1960.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
63, Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 3
GEORGIA.

Dear Harold,

Many thanks for the copy of your Report to Members and Friends of the Southern Regional Council.

I have been so occupied since my return from the States - with several visits to Johannesburg in between - that I have not yet been able to read the report, but look forward to studying it a little later at leisure.

I should like, however, to thank you most sincerely for all your hospitality and kindness to me during my visit to Atlanta and for all your arrangements. I sincerely appreciate the valuable discussions I had with you and members of your group.

With sincere regards,

Yours

N.J.J. Olivier.

CF:dlr

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNET (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); W. J. BUSSCHAU (S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

May 8, 1960

Sent to Dr. J. F. Holleman
at request of Frank Loescher

(Univ. of Natal, Durban, S. Africa)

Congressional Record Reprint
"An Appeal for Human Rights"
Collins Pamphlet
The Negro and the Ballot - MPrice
Feb., Mar., Apr., New South
Student Protest Movement Special Report
HCF"s New York Times Article (reprint)

Harold This man is director of Institute of Social Research. Perhaps you could put him on a limited mailing.
Best regards Frank

DR. J.F. HOLLEMAN

University of Natal
DURBAN
Union of S.A.

MF-
Please do, with "compliments" card, "at sugg of Dr. F. Loescher."

Otto

Jn 9-6431

Sam - 5/20/60
HCF

May 13, 1960

Mr. S. Motsuenyane
Estey Hall
Shaw University
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Motsuenyane:

I thank you for your letter of May 9. I note that you and your wife plan to be in Atlanta from May 17 to 20, and in Louisville from June 1-5. May I suggest that you try to see Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia, and in Louisville, Mr. David McCandless, Executive Director, Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky?

I assume Dr. Larkins has helped you with introductions at your several stops, but I am anxious that you meet Mr. Fleming whose organization has many similarities to the South African Institute of Race Relations and that you also meet Mr. McCandless who visited South Africa last year.

I have made a reservation for you and Mrs. Motsuenyane at the Hotel Tudor for Tuesday night, May 24.

I am also trying to reserve an economy-tourist flight for Mrs. Motsuenyane from Idlewild to Johannesburg on June 25 by KLM. The plane leaves Idlewild 6:30 p.m. for Amsterdam and arrives in Johannesburg on Monday, June 27. Please get in touch with me when you return to Raleigh early in June.

I hope you and your wife enjoy your trip.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:lm

cc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Dr. J. R. Larkins
Mr. David McCandless
Prof. N.J.J. Olivier

May 30, 1960

Mr. Frank Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Judge Elbert Tuttle is a fine jurist and an admirable human being. I have known him for some years, going back to the time when he was a lawyer (and, incidentally, head of the Republican Party in Georgia). He has been helpful to me and to SRC in various ways and has written some good and important decisions on segregation cases for the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. If he is a possible exchangee, I would recommend him warmly.

You are very kind to requisition a payment to SRC in consideration of its services to your program. You know that you can always call on us for whatever help we can give, with no thought of remuneration.

I'm sorry I missed you in New York the other day, for I look forward to talking with you about all the developments since we last met. Maybe we will have another chance soon.

Meanwhile, I hope all goes well with you. My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AFRICAN—AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

May 25, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Judge Tuttle of Atlanta is a friend of Lindsley Kimball and someone Rockefeller Foundation might send to the Union. Should I be interested?!

I hope you are in good health. This is a better time for me. My international chairman, Dr. van Eck, comes June 2 for 10 days that includes a week-end meeting. Good timing!

I hope I'll get to see you soon.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

P.S. I am asking African-American Institute to send the S.R.C. a check for $250 as part-payment for services to our program past, present and future.

FSL:lm

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. E. R. PURCELL (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

June 14, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
United States - South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Many thanks for the feedback on the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Your information squares with my hazy impression, but it's nice to be sure.

The African-American Institute's check for $250 came through promptly. Again, many thanks.

Weldon James is, by all accounts, a good man. He hails, I believe, from deeper South -- South Carolina, perhaps. He has been one of the best correspondents of Southern School News; contributed a good chapter to the book which SERS put out some time ago. He collaborated with Omer Carmichael on the book The Louisville Story, a most useful account of school desegregation there. In short, enlightened and knowledgeable about the South and race relations, and I should think a good choice.

Thanks for keeping my name in the pot, but please don't feel any urgency about that. Lord knows, I've got more here than I can say grace over; and, in light of recent developments, I dare say your program can be better served by Americans not so exclusively labelled as I am.

My best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

June 8, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of June 3 and your favorable comment on my letter to the Times.

I checked with Dave Freeman on the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Dave's understanding is the same as mine that CCF is the international body that the Fund for the Republic dealt with in New York. It is tied up with New Leader. It is liberal and anti-Communist. Sydney Hook is head of it in New York. Dave and I think it is safe. Rockefeller Brothers made them a grant for a music conference! (However, neither of us can find any brochures actually describing the organization.)

One of my Committee recommends Weldon James, Associate Editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal. He wants to go to Africa and can get a year off and needs financial help for a journalistic sabbatical. How would you rate him? (I have not forgotten about Ralph McGill, but this guy is eager and available. Someday I must sound out Ralph. Perhaps you could do so too. I am sure my Committee would back me up.)

Please let me know when you receive the check from the African-American Institute. Sometimes they are very slow.

Your name was again favorably considered by my Committee at a long week-end meeting at Lake Mohonk, New York, where we had with us my Chairman, Dr. H. J. van Eck. Van Eck endorsed your coming out, so the S.A. Group will consider again having the Flemings come out at their next meeting in August. I will keep you posted.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:lm

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. E. R. PURCELL (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.) T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

Personal June 14, 1960

Mr. Frank Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

I don't know whether you have heard anything of the distressing news about George Mitchell. If not, I know you would want to, and I'll appreciate your sharing the information with Dave Freeman when you get an opportunity.

As you know, I think, George was to put in the coming academic year at Spelman College as visiting professor under a John Hay Whitney grant. This is now off, for reasons of health. He and Alice are presently in the States, staying with Morris Mitchell at Putney, but will return to Scotland eventually. The doctors have diagnosed George's trouble as arteriosclerosis that has caused extensive brain damage; the wretched prospect is for gradual mental decline and, ultimately, institutionalization. George knows this, but, from what I can gather, shows no emotional reaction to it. I'm told he is in good spirits, reads voraciously, loves Scotland, and is beloved in Glencoe. The National Health Services there are, of course, a blessing.

Sad as this is, I wanted to be sure you knew of it soon and directly rather than late and indirectly.

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 29, 1960

Mr. Weldon James
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. James:

I tried out the Rockefeller Foundation last week, but as the enclosed letter indicates, we approached the Foundation when their limited funds for special projects were under heavy pressure.

I am sorry to have to give you this news. I know of no other sources of ahlp. I hope you can find a way to enable you to use your leave this fall in Africa.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:lm
Enc.

bcc: (with photocopy of incoming)
N.J.M. Olivier
L.M. Hoskins
H. Carter
D. McCandless
H.E. Fleming
E.A. Munger

COPY

JUN 28 1960

THE Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

JUN 28 1960

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

June 24, 1960

Dear Mr. Loescher:

Dr. Kimball retires from his position with the Rockefeller Foundation at the end of this month and, therefore, I have been asked to reply to your letter concerning Mr. Weldon James whom you would like to visit Africa during the fall of the current year. Dr. Kimball will, however, see this letter prior to mailing.

The limited funds we have available for contributions to special assignments, such as the one you contemplate for Mr. James, are under very heavy pressure from a variety of sources. We are glad that we were able to be helpful on an earlier occasion in connection with the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, but we do not feel that we would be able to respond favorably in this instance. We hope, therefore, that you will be able to obtain the necessary support from other sources which will enable you to go forward with your tentative plans. We are sorry for the necessity of having to send you this negative response to your inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

J. G. Harrar

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Program Director and General Secretary
United States - South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
African-American Institute
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

JGH:ja

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File - F. Loescher

LX162 JNW641 CJA388 STB157

DENNESIGCAPE 22 18 1620

8/26/60

Hope you'll take advantage of this -- an exciting prospect! MT

LT

LOESCHER

NYAFRAM

NEWYORK

STRONG ALLISON AND FLEMING APPROVED STOP WILL FORWARD COMMENTS SECOND ANNUAL REPORT NEXT WEEK ALSO MINUTES REGARDS NIC

Aug. 25/60

Dear Harold,

We need to talk about this soon!

Best regards

Frank

I expect to be in Office Sep. 1, 2, 3

via air mail special

September 16, 1960

Mr. Frank Loescher
United States-South African Leader
Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

Unfortunately, pressures here have forced me to cancel the Philadelphia leg of my trip, thus missing the NAIRO meeting and the chance to call you at home.

I will still be in New York (the Commodore) Monday through Wednesday of next week. While I'm mindful of your heavy involvements at that particular time, I will call your office just to check in.

Many thanks for the information on the program.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

File

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT

of the

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

1959-1960

This report covers activities from January 1, 1959 through June 30, 1960, to conform to the Program's new fiscal year, July 1 to June 30.

Not for publication or quotation
without permission.

September 1960

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT

1959 - 1960

Eleven exchanges were made in 1959 and twelve more are planned for 1960 by the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program. The exchanges cover a broadening field of professions. An editor, a soil conservationist, a bank president, and seven educators including a political scientist, a theologian and a poet were among persons exchanged in 1959. Nearly all were accompanied by their families.

The first of seven Americans to visit the Union under the Program in 1959 was Hodding Carter, Editor and Publisher of the Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Mississippi, accompanied by his wife and two sons. He has written articles about his trip in the Saturday Evening Post.

Other Americans to go out under the program in 1959 were:

G. McLeod Bryan, Associate Professor of Christian Social Ethics at Wake Forest College, and Mrs. Bryan, to study the teaching of religion in higher education.

Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, and his wife, Guion, both holding Ph.D. degrees in sociology, to lecture at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, until June 1960.

David A. McCandless, Director of the Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville, to serve as consultant to the South African Police College.

Lorus J. Milne, Professor of Zoology at the University of New Hampshire, and his wife, Marjorie, both holding Ph.D. degrees in zoology, to lecture at universities and visit conservation areas.

Clinton L. Rossiter, Chairman of the Department of Government, Cornell University, accompanied by Mrs. Rossiter, to lecture at a number of South African universities.

John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, to confer with business leaders of the several racial groups and attend the Ecumenical Conference in Johannesburg in December as a fraternal observer from the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Four South African leaders and their families were in the United States during the fall of 1959:

F. J. de Villiers, Industrial Adviser to the Government of the Union of South Africa, to confer with American specialists in his field of interest at various universities and institutions in the United States and Puerto Rico. Mrs. de Villiers toured the United States with her husband.

E. P. Groenewald, Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Theology and Dean of the faculty at the University of Pretoria, to visit Yale, Union, Harvard, Princeton, Duke, San Francisco and a number of other seminaries. Mrs. Groenewald, who has edited several denominational periodicals, accompanied Professor Groenewald to the U.S.A.

Douglas Hey, Director of Nature Conservation in the Cape Province, and Mrs. Hey, who is also a student of zoology, to study wildlife conservation. Their tour was planned by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

S. V. Petersen, poet and Principal, Athlone High School for Coloureds, Cape Town, and recipient of the 1959 medal of honor of the Academy for Arts and Science, to lecture at a number of colleges and universities including Earlham, Howard, Central State, Hanover, Park, Atlanta, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Fisk and Wilberforce. Mrs. Petersen, who is a teacher, and Sidney, Jr., accompanied Mr. Petersen.

Including wives and children, fourteen Americans and nine South Africans were exchanged in 1959.

1960 Exchangees

The following South Africans are being exchanged in 1960:

S. Biesheuvel, Director, National Institute for Personnel Research
D. C. de Villiers, Editor, Huisgenoot, a magazine
G. A. Manuel, journalist, Cape Times
S. Motsuenyane, Technical Adviser to the African National Soil Conservation Association (ANSCA), presently with the Alexandra Anti-TB Association
J. J. Muller, Professor of New Testament, Theological Seminary, Stellenbosch
A. Sussens, Assistant Editor, Rand Daily Mail
P. F. D. Weiss, Professor of Semitic Languages, Stellenbosch University

All of these men will be accompanied by their wives. Another exchangee will be Miss H. C. Lambrechts, Secretary, Afrikaans Christian Women's Association.

Among the Americans to be exchanged in 1960 are:

Vernon A. Eagle, Executive Director, New World Foundation, and Mrs. Eagle

Waldo E. Stephens, Executive Vice President, Esperanza Oils, Inc., Oklahoma City, and Mrs. Stephens, member of the U.S. Commission for UNESCO
Laurence E. Strong, Chairman, Department of Chemistry, Earlham College

Objectives of the Program

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, organized in 1958, has been sponsored for the past two and one half years by the African-American Institute, a private, non-governmental, tax-exempt organization interested in building better understanding between the peoples of Africa and the United States. The Program is also tax-exempt in the Union as a result of a ruling by the South African Commissioner of Inland Revenue in March 1959. In South Africa contributions can be made to the Fund for the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Box 225, Stellenbosch. In the United States contributions can be made to the African-American Institute, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, with a notation that the gift is for the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program.

The Program is designed to encourage, counsel and assist extended visits of South African and American leaders to each others' countries. Through planned visits of three months to a year the Program enables Americans to see at first hand the facts of life in South Africa, to gain insight into the forces at work and to lend their knowledge to individuals and groups working for fair and just solutions. It also enables South Africans to become acquainted with America's problems, to see how Americans are trying to solve their problems and to learn of the crucial role that Africa is playing in relations between East and West.

Need for the Program

The Program has the endorseement of former Ambassador to South Africa, Mr. Byroade, the present Ambassador, Mr. Crowe, and Mr. Joseph Satterthwaite,

Assistant Secretary of State for Africa. The Program is also highly regarded by leading South Africans.

It is distressing to read of proposals to cut off American contacts with South Africa. Hope for peaceful change with justice for all people in South Africa lies in keeping South Africa related to the world community. Ostracizing South Africa will benefit neither the Africans, the Coloureds, the Indians, the whites nor the interests of the United States in Africa.

When the Program Director was in South Africa in April 1960, many South Africans urged him not to forget South Africa and to maintain and if possible accelerate contact between the United States and the Union. They have not given up hope. They are encouraged by the growing evidences of a new approach on the part of the whites. They are especially encouraged by the proposals put forward by the leading Afrikaans daily, The Burger, which has called for consultation with Africans, modification of the pass laws, changes in the liquor laws and higher wages for urban African workers. Similar sentiments are being expressed by English and Afrikaans churchmen and business leaders. As the Program Director pointed out in his letter to the New York Times of May 30, 1960, these thoughtful groups face the same problem in South Africa that their counterparts in the American Deep South are trying to deal with -- how to bring along the indifferent, the fearful and the hostile whites. During this visit to South Africa the Program Director, with the assistance of Professor Olivier, Secretary of the Program in South Africa, and other members of the Management Committee succeeded in raising $25,000 in gifts and commitments per year for five years, 1961-1965, from English and Afrikaans business and industry. The South African members believe that they can raise an additional $15,000 per year for five years. This is concrete evidence of the desire of leading South Africans to keep in close

touch with the United States and of their confidence in the approach of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program.

Impact of the Program

Is the Program having an impact? The first South African to come over was the Reverend J. S. Gericke, minister of one of the largest Dutch Reformed Churches and Vice Chancellor of the leading Afrikaans university, Stellenbosch. After returning to South Africa in the fall of 1958 Mr. Gericke reported to the South African members of the Management Committee that more contact was essential between the several racial groups. Mr. Gericke is active in stimulating contact between the Afrikaans students at Stellenbosch University and non-white students in South Africa and other parts of Africa.

The next four South Africans (two Afrikaans-speaking, one English-speaking and one Coloured) returned to the Union in December 1959, so too little time has elapsed to evaluate what they are now doing. However, the written reports which these men submitted before their departure indicate that they all profited by their contacts with their professional colleagues in the United States.

On the American side Hodding Carter has written articles on South Africa for the Saturday Evening Post. (Copies are available.) These articles get below the surface of the usual newspaper accounts and help Americans to realize the complexity of the situation. David McCandless of the Southern Police Institute, having served as consultant to the South African Police College, is negotiating for some South African police officers to attend his Institute. Clinton Rossiter, who lectured to distinguished groups of scholars, government officials and jurists on Federalism and the American Constitution, has interested one of the outstanding younger professors in his department of government at Cornell in spending a year of teaching and research in the Union.

In addition to stimulating more exchanges and writing and lecturing, the exchangees are making other significant contributions. The first Coloured family from South Africa, the Petersens (Mr. Petersen is principal of a high school and a poet; Mrs. Petersen is a teacher) visited Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Virginia. They occupied the college guest rooms and Mr. Petersen spoke in Chapel and lectured to several classes. No American Negro had ever lived in the dormitories before and the College deliberately used a South African non-white to break the pattern.

Mr. John Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham, North Carolina, was the first Negro to go to the Union under the Program. He stayed at leading hotels in South Africa, Carlton in Johannesburg and Mount Nelson in Cape Town, and had his meals in the public dining rooms. He also spoke at a dinner at the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce.

Each American exchangee has written a report of his observations, impressions and suggestions and in nearly every report there is concern to accelerate America's progress in improving human relations, bearing out Dr. Gwendolen Carter's observation that "to study South Africa is to confront in more elemental terms issues with which we ourselves should continuously wrestle."

The reports of the South African exchangees express great satisfaction over the benefits they derived from meeting people in their professional fields. They too refer to new insights into human relations and speak gratefully in many cases of the friendships they have made in the United States with persons of many groups.

In view of the widespread concern over human relations in both countries, this discussion of impact has emphasized the value to participants in seeing race relations from a fresh perspective. Actually there are many other values in the exchange, values that may be of even greater significance to the development of

harmonious race relations. The experience in the United States of a Union Government economist, Dr. F. J. de Villiers, with the responsibility for the economic development of the Native Reserves, is a case in point. Dr. de Villiers conferred with leading economists at Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Stanford Food Research Institute and California Institute of Technology, North Carolina Development Corporation and Puerto Rico. If his work is successful in South Africa, a great contribution to peaceful coexistence of the races of South Africa would result.

In another field, Dr. Douglas Hey, Director of Nature Conservation in the Cape Province, found his study tour of American predator control of great value in the work he is responsible for in the Union. He is negotiating to bring out an American expert from the United States Fish and Wildlife Service to assist him in his work with South African farmers in the Cape Province.

The value of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program is perhaps best expressed in the words of the exchangees themselves, each of whom is asked to write a report on his study tour.

> "It was experience, the full impact of which we shall only realize once we are back in South Africa."
>
> -- S. V. Petersen, 1959 grantee

> "The whole idea of learning to 'know each other' by visiting each other's country is fundamentally sound."
>
> -- F. J. de Villiers, 1959 grantee

> "My wife and I are deeply grateful for the opportunity given us to visit the United States. We have acquired a tremendous store of experience and information which, if God wills, we shall use in the best interest of our people and our country."
>
> -- S. M. Motsuenyane, 1960 grantee

> "The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program is accomplishing a worthwhile purpose. There is an urgent need for more and better understanding between our two countries, so similar in many respects. I feel fortunate in having been a participant and have learned much as a result of the trip."
>
> -- D. A. McCandless, 1959 grantee

Finances

The Program is a cooperative effort as its name implies. It is two-way in respect to management, exchange and also finance. Contributions of foundations, corporations, individuals, the African-American Institute and special support from universities and churches interested in exchange have made this Program possible.

The American supporters include:

Foundations

Carnegie Corporation of New York
(Grant for S. Biesheuvel)
Anna M. and Elizabeth H. Chace Fund
Danforth Foundation
(Grant for G. McLeod Bryan)
Division Fund
Ford Foundation
Johnson Foundation
New World Foundation
Norman Fund
Phelps-Stokes Fund
Christopher Reynolds Foundation
Richardson Foundation
Rockefeller Foundation
(Grants for Hodding Carter and David A. McCandless)
Benj. Rosenthal Foundation
Wyomissing Foundation

Corporations

Allied Chemical Corporation
Bristol-Myers Company
Engelhard Industries, Inc.
Pan American World Airways System

Individuals

Miss Ethel R. Allen
Mr. Morton Bodfish
The Rev. John H. Burt
Mr. Roger Clapp
Miss Louise M. Clevenger
Mr. Kingman Douglass
Mr. and Mrs. John A. Dreyfuss
Mrs. Walter B. Driscoll
Mrs. J. S. Harris
Mrs. Darwin P. Kingsley, Jr.
Mrs. William F. H. Purcell
Mr. Francis Randolph
Mr. and Mrs. L. M. C. Smith
Mr. Arnold Skromme
Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Sweezy
Mrs. Seth P. Taft
Mrs. Frances Thompson
Mrs. George B. Wislocki

Others

African-American Institute
University of North Carolina (Keenan leave for Guy B. Johnson)

The South African contributors include:

Abe Bailey Trust
Anglo-American Corporation of S.A. Ltd.
Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investments Co. Ltd.
Argus Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd.
Breweries Institute of S.A.
Cape Times Ltd.
De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd.
Dutch Reformed Mission Church of S.A.
Dutch Reformed Church of the Transvaal
Engelhard Industries Ltd.
General Mining & Finance Corp. Ltd.
Mrs. William F. H. Purcell
Rembrandt Tobacco
Rhodes University (Teaching position for Guy B. Johnson)
Safmarine
Karel Schoeman
Union Corporation Ltd.

A Five Year Plan

A Five Year Plan, 1961-1965, has been approved by the South African and American members of the Management Committee. The Plan calls for doubling the number of exchanges from an average of 12 couples per year to 25 couples per year.

The exchange of 12 couples has cost approximately $100,000 per year. The number of exchanges could be doubled at a cost of about $175,000 per year.

The Management Committee hopes that the foundations, corporations and individuals which helped to launch the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program will wish to have a share in enlarging the Program in view of the successful experience to date and the great need to expand lines of communication between South Africa and the United States during the next five crucial years.

Commitments for the Five Year Plan have been received from:

Abe Bailey Trust
Anglo-American Corporation of S.A. Ltd.
Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investments Co. Ltd.
Argus Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd.
Cape Times Ltd.
De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd.

General Mining & Finance Corporation Ltd.
Safmarine
Union Corporation Ltd.

A few other firms have promised support for the Five Year Plan.

Financial Statement, July 1, 1959 - June 30, 1960

A statement of income and expenditures for the fiscal year July 1, 1959 to June 30, 1960, is being sent to contributors. An independently audited annual financial report of the African-American Institute is available for inspection.

The International Management Committee

An International Management Committee supervises the Program and selects leading citizens for exchange of three months to one year. The Management Committee encourages exchanges in both directions by people who have approved projects with definite sponsorship or at least with assured cooperation in the host country. The aim is to provide participants with a meaningful and broadening experience significant for their future life's work.

Recently named to the Management Committee are Mrs. William F. H. Purcell, civic leader and school and college trustee, of Pasadena, California, and Mr. A. D. Wassenaar, General Manager, Sanlam, Cape Town. The Chairman of the Management Committee is Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director of the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa Ltd.; the Vice Chairmen are the Rev. C. B. Brink, Mission Secretary of the Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Church) in the Northern Transvaal, and Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor of History, Earlham College; Prof. N. J. J. Olivier of Stellenbosch University is Secretary in South Africa and Dr. Frank S. Loescher is Program Director and General Secretary.

The other American members of the Management Committee are: Dr. George H. Bennett, Director, Asia-Africa, Institute of International Education; Dr. William

O. Brown, Director, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University; Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, International Missionary Council; Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc.; Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University; Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff; Leslie Paffrath, President, The Johnson Foundation; Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Dr. Emory Ross, President, African-American Institute, missionary and consultant on Africa; Loyd V. Steere, Executive Vice President, African-American Institute; Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches.

The following South Africans also serve on the Management Committee: H. Goldberg, Ellis Furnishers Ltd.; Rev. W. A. Landman, Director of Information, Cape Dutch Reformed Church (N. G. Church); Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Chairman, South African Tourist Corp.; K. P. G. Schoeman, Chairman, Bantu Investment Corp.; T. P. Stratten, Managing Director, Union Corporation, Ltd.; Prof. W. G. Sutton, Principal, University of the Witwatersrand; Dr. H. B. Thom, Principal, Stellenbosch University; F. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations; Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of S.A.

October 19, 1960

Mr. Frank Loescher
U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange
Program
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

Thanks for the word on Dr. and Mrs. Biesheuvel. I recall that Vernon spoke of him mett enthusiastically. We will try to arrange a good week for him, about which more later.

Jane and I are just recently back from San Francisco, where I gathered you were to be shortly. Have you been? We had a fine time there, both professionally and personally, although it's too soon to tell what the financial returns, if any, will be.

The John Mays, who hosted us magnificently, are superb people, and I was delighted that you were going to have a chance to get to know him better. In a deceptively quiet way, John strikes me as both a very able and a very committed person. I think it would be a good stroke if you could get him and Margarita over to South Africa.

As for my own situation, I should report to you that I raised the question with my executive committee a few weeks ago. After some discussion, the Committee voted unanimously that, when and if circumstances permitted, my participation in the exchange program would have policy

approval. John Wheeler was present and, of course, was enthusiastically pro; however, because of his comments, I think the committee was thinking in terms of a period shorter than three months.

Anyway, this doesn't solve any of your problems or mine. It simply means that, if everything should work out, there would be no obstacle within SRC, as matters now stand.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

To: Members and Friends of the Management Committee

From: Frank S. Loescher, Program Director and General Secretary

Notice of Change of Address:

Effective January 3, 1961, our address will be:

Noted
wf

101 South 39th Street

Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Telephone: EVergreen 2-7830

12/30/60

D.R.C. struggle for leadership has started

RAND DAILY MAIL 12/12/50

BY STAFF REPORTER BENJAMIN POGRUND

A STRUGGLE for leadership of the adherents of the Union's Dutch Reformed Churches—constituting about 50 per cent. of the country's White population—has broken out after the holding of the inter-church consultation in Johannesburg this week.

The results of the struggle — between the powerful Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerke, standing for an easing in colour policy, and the smaller Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk, which is remaining loyal to the Government's apartheid outlook — will vitally influence South Africa's racial situation.

The Consultation, attended by representatives of eight Protestant churches and an overseas delegation from the World Council of Churches, condemned major aspects of South Africa's race policy.

Far-reaching

Its far-reaching decisions included that the right to own land and to participate in the government of the country is "part of the dignity of the adult man," that there are no Scriptural rounds for the prohibition of mixed marriages, that migrant labour has "disintegrating effects" on African life, that there is not enough "consultation and communication" between the different racial groups.

One of the most significant events at the consultation was the full acceptance of these decisions by the largest Dutch Reformed Churches — the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerke of the Cape and the Transvaal. More than 42 per cent of the White population belong to these churches.

During the consultation the delegates of the two Churches criticised the Government's application of apartheid. They said they knew that some aspects were "un-Christian" and "unworkable," and were therefore not in accordance with their outloook.

Not incompatible

At the close of the consultation on Wednesday, the Kerke issued a statement affirming their belief in a "policy of differentiation"—but adding that the consultation's decisions were in no way incompatible with their belief.

In other words, they view differential development as a realistic and, in fact, the only solution for South Africa. But they insist that this policy must be implemented with justice and with full recognition of the rights and needs of all racial groups. They do not believe the Government is succeeding in doing this.

Continued on Page 2

cont. from page 1

N.G. KERKE FACE MANY DIFFICULTIES

The Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk, on the other hand, has remained steadfastly loyal to the Government. The Kerk was the smallest of the Dutch Reformed Churches at the meeting, and has about 7 per cent of the country's Whites in its ranks.

In the consultation's discussions the Kerk opposed any relaxation of rigid apartheid, and on the final day, issued a statement dissociating itself completely from the decisions taken.

Since then, several of its leaders have issued sharp statements attacking the consultation, and opposing any changes in apartheid.

Although the leaders of the large Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke are apparently determined to attempt to follow new paths in their attitudes towards South Africa's race problems, they will inevitably encounter dangerous difficulties.

The first will come from the Government, which has already indicated its attitude to them through the chief information officer of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. He has said that the consultation's decisions, "like so many others of its kind," was deliberately slanted against the positive work of the Government in the "Bantu homelands."

The churches, he said, seemed to refuse to work towards any goal other than that which would lead to integration.

With the Government diametrically opposed to the consultation's decisions, the Nederduits Gereformeerde leaders will undoubtedly be faced with severe pressure to reverse their views and to fall into line with general Nationalist attitudes.

At the same time, the Kerk leaders are probably ahead of their own members in their thinking — and will have difficulties here too.

The Hervormde Kerk is aware of this, and it is believed that its statement of dissociation and its subsequent attacks are aimed principally at undermining the authority of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk leaders.

The Hervormde Kerk hopes to gain new members for itself from the adherents of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke, by capitalising on their reactions to the new paths which their leaders are trying to follow.

An intensive conflict is likely to ensue, the results of which will have fundamental effects on the future of South Africa.

If the Nederduits Gereformeerde churchmen succeed in bringing across the bulk of their more than a million White adherents, and also in attracting members of the Hervormde Kerk to their point of view, powerful pressures will develop on the Government for a "liberalising" of colour policy.

If, however, the Hervormde Kerk, by remaining loyal to rigidity succeeds in drawing off substantial sections of the memberships of the other churches, it will provide greater encouragement and support for the Government to continue with its present apartheid policies and actions.

(News by Benjamin Pogrund, 174, Main Street, Johannesburg.)

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AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

November 1, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Dr. H. C. Lambrechts, a leading South African social worker, will be in Atlanta from November 20 to 28 and I would appreciate any help you can give her. Enclosed is a copy of her curriculum vitae. As you can see, she is spending a good deal of time with the Family Service Association of America and she will have letters of introduction to affiliates in Atlanta.

Any help you or your staff can give Dr. Lambrechts in the way of understanding trends in race relations in the South will be appreciated. I think she would like to visit the Atlanta School of Social Work and meet Atlanta Urban League people. She is also interested in having some first hand contact with rural social work. Perhaps you can assist her in these areas.

I thought it best for her to stay at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel rather than at Atlanta University.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:lm

cc: Dr. H. C. Lambrechts
Midston House
22 East 38th Street
New York, N.Y.

HENDRIEN C. LAMBRECHTS

928 GROOTE KERK BUILDING,
CAPE TOWN,
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. E. R. PURCELL (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.) T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

October 1, 1960

CURRICULUM VITAE OF DR. HENDRINA CHRISTINA LAMBRECHTS

SOUTH AFRICAN ADDRESS: General Secretary of the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue-Vereniging (Afrikaans Christian Women's Association)
928 Groote Kerk Building
Adderley Street
Cape Town

AGE: 42 years.

MARITAL STATUS: Single

EDUCATION: B.A., M.A. and D. Phil., Stellenbosch University.

PROFESSIONAL AND OTHER ACTIVITIES:

General Secretary of the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue-Vereniging (A.C.V.V.); Chairman of the Social Workers Association of the Western Cape; Member of the Executive of the N.A.S.W. of S.A.; Secretary to the Western Cape Marriage Guidance Council; Member of the Executive of the Cape Regional Welfare Board (a statutory body); Director of a non-profitmaking company controlling a Holiday Camp for children; Secretary to a Utility Company for the Erection of Homes for the Aged.

Dr. Lambrechts will spend 3 months commencing October 6, 1960, in the United States under a grant from the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program. This private exchange program was established in 1958 to strengthen the lines of intellectual communication between South African and American professional, business and civic leaders and to foster closer relations between the peoples of the United States and the Union of South Africa.

Dr. Lambrechts' objective during her stay in the United States will be to study the organization and coordination (local and national) of family welfare work, particularly rural; recording, evaluation and cost analysis of case work services; the use and training of volunteers in family welfare work; welfare services for the aged (institutional and non-institutional); holiday camps for underprivileged children; welfare services of minority groups; the organization of professional social workers; programs for meetings; study groups for social workers.

February 15, 1961

Mr. Frank Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program, Inc.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your note about the National Conference of Friends on Race Relations. I received the invitation from James Walker, but with keen regret I am having to decline. For reasons that I will be explaining to you soon, I simply can't accept any further obligations in June.

I would have been disappointed in any case not to be able to say yes, but I am doubly so since you are chairman of the Planning Committee.

My best regards, as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

EVergreen 2-7830

UNITED STATES–SOUTH AFRICA LEADER
EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.

February 9, 1961

Dear Harold:

You will be receiving an invitation from James Walker of the Friends World Committee to participate as a leader in a National Conference of Friends on Race Relations to be held June 19 to 24 at Earlham College. As chairman of the Planning Committee, I hope very much you may be able to come even for a day or two

The very best

Sincerely,

Frank

LWD ✓
MF

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Penna.

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1961

February 28, 1961

Memorandum

To: Members and Friends of the Management Committee

From: Frank S. Loescher, Program Director and General Secretary

Enclosed are copies of recent South African press clippings that I believe you will find of interest.

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PENNA.

SABRA congress delay a victory for Dr. Verwoerd

SUNDAY TIMES POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

FEB. 5, 1961 CAPE TOWN, Saturday.

THE decision to postpone the annual congress of SABRA was taken only after a heated discussion in the national executive committee.

Only 16 of the 23 members of the national executive were present. These 16 were divided almost evenly on the question of postponement.

Supporters of the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, won the day. The congress has been postponed indefinitely.

It was due to take place early in April and the theme was to be the controversial one of the position of the Coloured people in the political, economic and social life of the country.

The Cape members of SABRA were in favour of proceeding with the congress. The northern members, who are mostly supporters of Dr. Verwoerd, wanted it postponed.

The intention of the northern members. I understand, is to delay the congress until the general election is held later this year. Then Dr. Verwoerd's position will be strengthened and he will be ready to meet any challenge which might come from SABRA.

Dr. Verwoerd's tactics clearly are to play for time until the election.

Coloureds given top-job chances in advertising

STAR By the Industrial Correspondent FEB. 6, 1961

AN ADVERTISING GROUP in the Schlesinger Organisation is making certain skilled jobs available to Coloureds. This was announced today by Mr. John Schlesinger. The jobs are defined by Mr. Allen Payne, a director of the group, in accounts, media, art and production departments.

With media, the Coloured staff will assist in selecting journals for different forms of advertising. In the art and production departments they will prepare drawings and layouts, design advertisements and make them ready for printing.

In this specialized work they will be paid on the basis of the "rate for the job." In other words, said Mr. Payne, they will draw the same salaries as Europeans working at the same skills.

This means that in some creative departments a highly talented Coloured man could earn as much as £2,500 a year.

START IN CAPE

Coloureds selected for higher jobs will receive their first training at the Cape Town branch of the group. Successful employees can then be transferred to other cities.

The policy is already operating to some extent in Johannesburg and Cape Town.

In Johannesburg three Coloured men are doing a responsible job in the checking department. At the Cape Town agency four Coloureds are employed in accounts, filing, checking and dispatch.

The Star

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1961

Dressing the granite

THE Government made two sensible moves yesterday. It would be too much to say that that celebrated granite wall has been cracked. But at least it may be easier to live with at home and more presentable abroad.

Mr. Piet Botha, Deputy-Minister of the Interior, announced an amendment of the Group Areas Act which appears to have the effect of allowing Indians to retain occupation of their business premises in towns provided they go to live in the Asiatic group areas outside. This means that the large Indian business interests in the centres of Durban, Pretoria and Johannesburg, as well as in almost every dorp in Natal and the Transvaal, can remain so long as the Indians do not sleep there.

This does not leave the Indians in possession of these central premises. It only leaves them in occupation. Nor need there be any lyrical gratitude over this reprieve from what always was an unnecessary and unjust sentence. But it does go a very long way towards meeting the objections of Indian businessmen to the Group Areas Act and towards allaying their fears of commercial extermination.

It does more. It is a message to the Indians of South Africa that the Nationalist Government accept them and are prepared to accommodate them. It is a new phase, almost a reversal, of Nationalist policy, more significant to the Indians than the proposal to form a Department of Asiatic Affairs, or even perhaps than the franchise. It deserves a co-operative response from the Indian community in South Africa; and it ought to smooth relationships between South Africa and India and Pakistan at a moment when South Africa greatly needs the friendship of those countries.

The other concession to sanity is Mr. de Klerk's sensible admission that the Censorship Bill is, after all, not necessary. This measure looked all too much like part of a pattern for dictatorship. It was causing misgivings here and gratuitously providing the Government's enemies abroad notably some influential but not very well informed people in Canada — with a sjambok with which to beat us all. Moreover it was not going to help resist any real evil that could not be dealt with under existing laws.

It would be satisfactory to be able to record a third concession—that the Bill to set up a Union Education Advisory Council had been suspended until a commission of inquiry had examined not only the effect of such a council but all the misgivings about educational trends already in existence.

Nothing could be more likely to allay mutual suspicion between the two language groups than a broadly based inquiry of that kind.

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PENNA.

INDIAN TRADERS GET CHANCE OF REPRIEVE IN NEW BILL

STAR FEB. 9, 1961

Government change group areas policy

By the Political Reporter

THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION to make a distinction between residential and commercial occupation of property under the Group Areas Act, is a major switch of policy.

The Deputy Minister of the Interior, Mr. Botha, announced in the Senate yesterday that the Group Areas Amendment Bill was designed to enable premises to be occupied or used for a particular purpose, such as business only.

This announcement has far-reaching effects and means a radical change in the application of the Group Areas Act.

It is a reprieve for thousands of Indian traders in cities and towns. The full implementation of the Act has hung over them for more than 10 years.

COMPENSATION

It means that the Government are not prepared to accept the full financial implications of the previous group areas scheme which would have entailed paying millions of pounds' compensation to Indian traders and landowners.

Attempts have been made to use the Group Areas Act to destroy the Indian community economically by forcing them out of business centres. In Transvaal towns the invariable pattern was to establish a group area for Indians a few miles away.

Because the Act at present makes no distinction between residential and business occupation, Indian traders would have to close their shops in "White" business areas.

In some cases attempts would be made to get rid of Indian competition in country towns.

The amendment will enable Indian traders to retain their businesses, but to move their homes to the group area assigned to them. In most cases this will involve no particular hardship.

RADICAL

In Johannesburg and Pretoria the business areas will in practice remain "mixed." In Pretoria full application of group areas would have deprived about 5,000 Indians of their livelihood in commerce.

The amendment also brings a radical change in the Government's attitude to Indians in general. Originally the Group Areas Act was seen as an instrument to squeeze out the Indian community and "persuade" them to accept repatriation.

By amending the Act the Government have recognized their permanence and the complete failure of repatriation.

Extremists try to get rid of "Dawie"

FEB. 6, 1961 — *NEWSPAPER REPORT*

SUNDAY TIMES REPORTER

EXTREMISTS in the Nationalist Party have tried to get rid of Dawie, the political columnist of Die Burger in Cape Town, according to a front-page report in Weekblad this week. But, says the report, the attempt has failed.

Dawie, who is in fact the newspaper's Editor, Mr. Piet Cillie, has been assured of the full support of the board of directors. The board refused to accept Mr. Cillie's voluntary resignation, says Weekblad.

The newspaper says that Nationalist Party extremists have become progressively more annoyed in recent months with points made by Dawie in his column. They feel that the column has become a threat to the Verwoerd group in Parliament.

Mr. Cillie's position as Editor of the newspaper was deeply involved in November when Die Burger raised the possibility of Coloureds being represented by their own people in the House. Die Burger also published many letters from readers supporting such a move.

Photo copy

At the end of November Die Burger clashed with Mr. De Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, when the newspaper said that the Minister had referred to the possibility of direct representation for Coloureds and Indians in Parliament.

Mr. De Wet Nel denied this statement, saying that it was known that he was not well liked by Dawie and the columnist's "progressive" friends.

Die Burger retaliated by publishing a photostatic copy of Mr. Nel's statement as it appeared in Die Transvaler.

Weekblad says that many Verwoerd Nationalists complained that Die Burger was trying to split the Nationalist Party. The paper says that Dr. Dönges, Cape leader of the Nationalist Party, visited Mr. Cillie at the time to discuss the matter with him.

Dr. Dönges told Mr. Cillie that the newspaper should be more careful, but Mr. Cillie held that it was a newspaper's duty to allow free discussion among its readers.

'Dismiss him'

Earlier this year, says Weekblad, an attempt was made by extremist Nationalists to get Mr. Cillie dismissed. This move was led by Mr. Eric Louw. The directors of Die Burger refused to dispense with Mr. Cillie.

Mr. Cillie tendered his resignation, but the board refused to accept it and promised him their full support.

Meanwhile, says Weekblad, National M.P.s., particularly from the Transvaal, attending Parliament in Cape Town, made no secret of the fact that they do not want to read Die Burger. They are having Die Transvaler airmailed to them instead.

Die Burger still, however, has the support of a large number of Nationalist intellectuals who feel, in spite of the ruling of the Federale Raad that the representation of Coloureds by Whites must be a matter of principle, that the door has not yet been closed.

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PENNA.

SUNDAY TIMES POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

FEB. 5, 1961 CAPE TOWN, Saturday.

THE Niedermayer incident has cost South Africa £5-million pounds in hard cash. There have been a whole series of these colour incidents and the cost to the country of each one varies from £1-million to more than £1,000-million.

This is stated bluntly today by Dawie, political columnist of Die Burger, the Nationalist newspaper in Cape Town.

Dawie discusses the Niedermayer incident at length in his column today. He concludes by summing up the views of "foreign friends and knowledgeable South African observers" as follows: "It cannot continue like this any longer, it cannot continue like this any longer!"

This is what Dawie said:

"A German teacher in Johannesburg has been notified that he will have to return to Germany in June. He is the man whose children (aged four to nine) recently went on holiday to their Black nanny, Maria, in her hut of clay.

"They were taken from there amid nation-wide excitement, although their adventure reminded many Afrikaners of similar experiences in their youth; playing on the farm with the young Natives ("klonkies") or calling at Ai Mieta's little house for milk or cookies.

"Whether everything was as innocent in this case I do not know. It is also said that on one occasion Mr. Niedermayer 'mixed socially with non-Whites.' Heaven knows what this means in his case.

Harm

"But I want to come to the harm which an incident like this causes to South Africa in the form in which it is undoubtedly presented overseas.

"That harm naturally cannot be measured precisely, but today I want to set a price on it. I say that this event is costing our country £5 million, mainly in Western Germany.

"If you consider this price to be too high, ask any specialist in our foreign relations or any expert on public relations. Most of them, I believe, would say that I had stated the damage absurdly low.

"I can mention other incidents, a whole series of which the estimated price to the country ranges from £1 million to £1,000 million. And I am not concerned now with the rights or wrongs of the particular incidents, only with the cold irrevocable price which South Africa must pay and must continue paying.

Clear picture

"If it is stated in terms of figures, then we get a clearer idea possibly of our international position and of how it is affected by race incidents.

"Then we will be in a better position to decide what we can and cannot afford.

"A person is willing to pay heavily for his principles. If White civilisation and our internal welfare require that we should pay £5 million to send away a German teacher, then we must surely pay it. Equally so in all the other cases. But let us have no illusions about the price.

"The world, unfortunately, is like that. Our own position is like that, that we must pay fantastic prices for every colour incident of this kind.

"People who are fully aware of the situation feel their hair rising with each new headline story. They know how little we can afford it, even in the short term.

"But they stand helpless before the question of how to impress this fact on other South Africans.

"Well, I have tried to help by attaching these price labels. The red lights are blinking all round.

"Every foreign friend, every knowledgeable South African observer, is acquainted with this stirring up of hornet's nests, however correct and defensible from our own point of view: *'It cannot continue like this any longer, it cannot continue like this any longer!'*"

Multi-racial hotel for Jan Smuts

STAR

By the Air Correspondent FEB. 6, 1961

THE GOVERNMENT PLAN TO BUILD an imposing multi-racial hotel on the north side of the terminal building at Jan Smuts Airport.

A Pretoria firm of architects has been commissioned to draw up the plans, but officials of the Public Works Department refused today to disclose details.

I believe the Department of External Affairs and the Department of Transport are the principal Government bodies concerned.

Airline men welcomed the news.

One said: "The problem of finding suitable accommodation for non-White travellers to the Union is becoming acute."

FOUR SUITES

Meanwhile, four bedroom suites in the new south wing of the terminal building are nearing completion and should be available to "in transit" passengers at Jan Smuts Airport from the beginning of April.

The suites, capable of accommodating eight people, will be a boon to travellers who find it inconvenient or impractical to go to an hotel in Johannesburg.

Apartheid regulations will not apply to " in transit" passengers who stay there.

Adjoining the suites will be a lounge and a dining room.

Rand Daily Mail

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1960.

THE GREAT DILEMMA

IN spite of the careful wording of the resolutions passed by the recent conference of the World Council of Churches in Johannesburg there is no doubt that there are the seeds here of a conflict between the biggest of the Dutch Reformed Churches and the Government. Such an outcome would be serious for the Afrikaner people and for the country as a whole, but no good purpose can be served by hiding the possibility.

Perhaps the differences can be resolved, but the fact remains that the decisions of this historic meeting of South African and world Protestant church leaders cut across the policy of apartheid as exemplified in much of our racial legislation.

The principle of banning mixed marriages, for instance, has been called in question and so has the denial of all political and land rights to Africans. The problem of freehold title for non-Europeans has been raised and the Government's refusal to consider the admission of Coloureds to Parliament has been criticised. Those are only some of the issues involved, but they are enough to show that the conference has questioned the moral basis of apartheid at many points which the Government considers vital.

It is true that one of the three Dutch Reformed Churches took no part in the discussions and that another rejected the resolutions outright, but the Church with overwhelmingly the largest membership subscribed to these "advanced" views. That in itself is a development of the utmost significance at this stage in the country's history when apartheid is claiming a basis in ethics as well as mere expediency.

These resolutions are not binding on the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, and the official views of that church have still to be expressed. Much discussion and heart-searching have still to take place. What is important is that responsible church leaders have had the courage to face the terrible dilemma into which apartheid is leading them. The Dutch Reformed Churches are not alone in facing this problem. It confronts Christians of all denominations in this country and, indeed, throughout the world.

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PENNA.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1960

D.R.C. DECISION ON AFRICANS' POLITICAL RIGHTS

CAPE TIMES

Cape Times Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — If complete territorial separation is impossible, then full rights, including political rights, cannot indefinitely be withheld from those Africans living permanently in the White areas. This was said in a statement issued last night by delegates of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerke of the Transvaal and the Cape who attended the recent inter-church consultation here.

"Those who do not agree with this must now give definite moral grounds for their point of view," said the statement.

"This responsibility must not be evaded. It is not a question of a political formula, or an inadmissible *coup d'etat* but of justice.

"The repudiation of this cannot, in our opinion, be reconciled with the Christian conscience."

The statement, by the full Cape delegation and by the available members of the Transvaal delegation, was issued because of "the uncertainty which appears to exist" in connection with the consultation which was sponsored by the World Council of Churches.

The consultation condemned major aspects of South Africa's race policy. Since then, several Nationalist newspapers and some of the smaller Dutch Reformed Churches have criticized the consultation's decisions.

The statement of the delegates of the NG Kerke said that since World War II the race problem, both in South Africa and the world had grown in seriousness and magnitude.

As a result, there had been "a ferment of thought" in every sphere of public life.

"The Church consultation is not the cause, or the beginning of differences of opinion on race matters. At the most it can be regarded as an expression of those differences."

WAS NECESSARY

"At the same time the relationship of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk towards its sister churches (Coloured churches, Bantu and Asiatic) as well as our responsibility in the sphere of mission work, made this discussion necessary in this time of race tension."

The chairman of the consultation as well as the other members of the World Council of Churches who acted as chairmen of study groups, carried out their duties impartially and fairly.

"Our delegates—in as far as the N.G. Kerke are concerned—and not the World Council, must accept responsibility for findings which, in the main, flowed from memoranda of the two N.G. Kerke concerned, which they compiled independently of each other."

These memoranda were prepared before the consultation by about 50 professors, ministers and missionaries of the two churches. "The agreement between the memoranda of the Cape and the Transvaal, compiled independently of each other, was particularly noteworthy."

Dealing with decisions of the consultation, the delegates said: "The delegation accepts the necessity of advisory councils and the preparation of Coloured people for their responsibility.

"The highest word about the welfare of the Coloured people is not discussed in advisory councils but in parliament and this right cannot be withheld forever. Those who disagree with this must give moral grounds for their standpoint.

"This responsibility must also not be evaded."

MIXED MARRIAGES

The decision of the consultation stating that there are no scriptural grounds from the prohibition of mixed marriages "has been interpreted by some as if the delegates of the N. G. Kerke are in favour of mixed marriages.

"Such an interpretation is clearly in conflict with our church's declared policy in regard to differentiation such as put forward by our delegations.

"Until the Synods have expressed their attitudes to the findings contained in the memoranda, it is senseless either for those who condemn them or those who applaud them to attach to them the official stamp of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk."

The Synod of the Transvaal will meet in April and that of the Cape in October next year.

The delegates' statement was issued with the knowledge of the Executive Committee of the Organizing Committee of the Church Council.

Prof. Olivier sees danger in South African isolation

SUNDAY TIMES REPORTER FEB. 5, 1961

PROFESSOR J. N. OLIVIER, Cape SABRA leader and professor of Bantu Studies at Stellenbosch University, said at Alberton last night:

"The Communist countries know that if South Africa can be isolated from the West, they will be able to bring terrible things about in the Union without fear of interference from the West. That is the deadly danger of South Africa's isolationist policies and the reason why we must keep our Western friends."

Professor Olivier was addressing a small meeting in the Alberton Town Hall.

He told me before the meeting that the report in Johannesburg Nationalist newspapers that his meeting was planned to be "secret for the purpose of establishing a new political partly opposed to the Nationalist Government," was arrant nonsense.

Whether Afrikaners liked it or not, he said, the idea of fundamental human liberties was now a world-wide one, and by it South Africa was judged.

History, and especially the history of Germany in World War II had created a strong revulsion to any policy based on concepts of race superiority or racial discrimination.

Ans. by phone
P.A.
Apr. 18, 1961

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Vines

RECEIVED
APR 11 1961

101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

April 10, 1961

COPY

Professor N. J. J. Olivier
P. O. Box 225
Stellenbosch, South Africa

Dear Nic:

Re: Dr. (Prof.) Gaither McConnell, Tulane University

Enclosed is a photocopy of a letter from Mrs. Waldo Stephens reporting the recommendation of Dr. Rautenbach (Eisenhower Fellow) that our Program assist Dr. McConnell to extend her visit to South Africa.

I do not know Dr. McConnell and I am asking Harold Fleming, Lewis Hoskins and Alan Pifer if they know her or can find out anything about her that might help us in making a decision. I hope to hear from them by April 19th.

The first question in my mind, however, is whether, in view of the large number of Americans we are sending to South Africa this year, we should even consider another American. The second point is that you will have your hands full in July, and perhaps later, with our Tour and Joint Meeting of the whole Management Committee.

Can you cable me your reactions by April 19?

Should I receive favorable reactions from you and Harold, Lewis and Alan by April 19, I would have time to ask Dr. McConnell if she would be interested in seeing me in Oklahoma City the first week-end in May when I plan to be in Oklahoma City.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL/b

CC: Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins
Mr. Alan Pifer
Mrs. Waldo B. Stephens

Dear Harold
What can you tell me about Dr. McConnell?
All the best
Frank

6641 Avondale Drive
Oklahoma City, Okla.
April 4, 1961

Dr. Frank Loescher
101 South 39th St
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Frank,

Dr. and Mrs. Peter Rautenbach have just spent a few days with us and we have had a most delightful time. They have such wide interests and great energy. We shall want to tell you about their visit when we see you, but I am now writing to you to relay a message from Dr. Rautenbach. He was a little hesitant about writing you but I assured him that you would appreciate this information and offered to write you.

Dr. Rautenbach is alert to the whole question of exchange between our two countries and when he meets someone whom he feels would make a good exchange he wants to share that information. He met such a person in New Orleans and feels that you would welcome knowing about her.

Dr. (Prof.) Gaither McConnell of Newcomb College, Tulane University New Orleans, La. is the Dean of Education and in Dr. Rautenbach's opinion an outstanding woman. She is in her forties, is intelligent, keen and just the type of person who would be a superb representative of U.S. and one whom South Africans would enjoy and appreciate. He feels she would make a very great contribution to S.A. and the U.S.

Dr. McConnell on two occasions was made a member of Commissions for Comparative Educational Studies--one in the Far East in Japan, one in the Soviet Union. She plans to go to South Africa this coming summer, in July at her own expense. However she plans a short trip--one which Dr. Rautenbach feels is too short to accomplish much of anything. But if she would have the assistance of the Leader Exchange Program in opening up contacts, and helping partly with the added expense of a longer stay she could, he feels, remain for a few months and make a very real contribution. She is an excellent speaker and Dr. Rautenbach would be happy to help open up valuable contacts etc for her, and some speaking engagements. He talked to her about such a plan and she was most interested and gave him to feel that she would make good use of every contact that the Leader-Exchange Program might make for her. Her trip could be so much more valuable from every angle if she had the backing and introduction of the Program. I know time is short, and the year's money probably allocated, but it occurred to me that you should know about such a person and since she will contribute to her own expenses it might be possible for the Program to assist her.

I saw no reason why this should not be presented to you. You understand, of course, that I do not know Dr. McConnell but Dr. Rautenbach could not say enough about her--he thought she was one of the most outstanding women he had met in the U.S. Mrs. Rautenbach--whom I found very perceptive, also agreed to all this.

If any of this is of immediate interest to you it might be possible for Dr.McDonnell to fly here during your May visit. We have good service between O.K. and New Orleans---she might even make the round trip in a day if that were necessary. Of course I am shooting in the dark on this.

I hope you will understand my writing to you so frankly but it has always been my feeling that the more the Program can help people of the right kind to make a trip meaningful the better for everyone. And since Dr.McDonnell hopes to make the trip to Mt this year we might profit all round.

I am having a conference this week with the President of Central State College and the Dean of Education at which time I hope to tighten everything for your visit. Incidentally I think we should not continue to consider Dean and Mrs. Ryden of Oklahoma City University--for reasons which I will explain when you are here.

We are very happy that we can look forward to a visit with you and Mrs.Lonsacher.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Mrs.Waldo E.Stephens

P.S. Dr.Lentschnek told me of some other people whom he felt were superior and who would help Ok., but I shall save all that until I can talk with you here.

April 18, 1961

COPY

Mr. Ralph McGill
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

Several weeks ago I phoned you about the possibility of your going to South Africa under the auspices of our Program and you told me that you might be going to Africa for the State Department and would know in a month. I would be interested in knowing how matters stand at this time and whether you might be available to go to South Africa for our Program for three months in 1962.

In case you have not seen our Second Annual Report, I am enclosing a copy.

Incidentally, Harold Fleming is very familiar with the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

L/o
enclosure

cc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

HC7

April 20, 1961

COPY

Dr. Gaither McConnell
Newcomb College
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisana

Dear Dr. McConnell:

I have learned through Dr. Rautenbach that you plan to be in South Africa in July and he expresses the hope that you might be able to stay longer and that our Program might give you some supplementary assistance. We are open to considering this and I hope you will feel free to write me about your plans and interests and enclose a few copies of a curriculum vitae.

I plan to spend a few days in May in Oklahoma City with Dr. and Mrs. Waldo Stephens, who visited South Africa last year under the auspices of our Program. Perhaps you would find it convenient to fly up there and have a chat with me and also with Dr. and Mrs. Stephens. Mrs. Stephens is arranging my schedule, so if this idea appeals to you, it might be desirable for you to phone or write her and set a time for your visit. I will be with the Stephens' from late Thursday afternoon, May 4th, until Monday noon, May 8th.

Their address is 6641 Avondale Drive, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Enclosed is a copy of our Second Annual Report and a popular summary.

Sincerely yours,

L/o
enclosures

Frank S. Loescher
Program Director and
General Secretary

Blind P.S.: Stephens, Fleming, Hoskins, Pifer, Olivier
From Harold Fleming I have received a very favorable report on Dr. McConnell from a colleague of hers who is a consultant to the Southern Regional Council. Hence this letter.

FSL

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

Program Director and General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

April 24, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Mr. and Mrs. P. J. Philander are taking Eastern flight #527 at 1:20 p.m. from Raleigh-Durham on Tuesday, May 9. They are due in Atlanta at 4:00 p.m.

Mr Bouchet or Miss Buchanan

It is very good of you to arrange to have them met at the airport and driven to Atlanta University Graduate Dormitory. If anything goes wrong, they will take a taxi.

They leave Atlanta for Tucson on Delta #911 at 8:50 a.m. on Sunday, May 14.

arrive 5:03

Many thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

L/o

cc: Mr. P. J. Philander

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

Program Director and General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.
EVergreen 2-7830

April 11, 1961

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

RECEIVED
APR 12 1961

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Can you conveniently coordinate the visit to Atlanta of Mr. and Mrs. P. J. Philander, Coloured teachers from Cape Town? Enclosed are five copies of biographical data. They plan to fly to Atlanta from Chapel Hill on May 9 and fly to the Southwest on May 14.

Poets & Critics - Ed Weeks
A. U. & Teacher Training

My thought is that they should stay at Atlanta University and see lots of the University, particularly teacher training, literary people and others in the field of their interests listed at the bottom of the vita. I would hope that their visit would not be a great burden to S.R.C.

Mr. Bauer Scholar on Slavery

As soon as our new bank account is set up in Philadelphia, I will be sending you a check for $250 to help defray some of the expense my Program has caused the Council. We can never really make things even, but we do want to show some tangible evidence of our appreciation.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

L/o
enclosures

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

April 24, 1961

Mr. Frank Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

As my last official act, I thank you most warmly for the contribution of $250 to the Southern Regional Council.

I am sure that you will find the staff here eager to render continued assistance to your program, and I hope that sometime soon you will have an opportunity to meet Les Dunbar.

Needless to say, I expect to be in close touch with you in my new work.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.
~~Official~~
Official receipt and description of Potomac Institute

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

April 14, 1961

Program Director and General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

4/17/61
RHA

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is our check for $250.00, a token of our appreciation for the tender, loving care you all have been giving our South Africans.

The very best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL/b

Enc.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

May 25, 1961

Mr. Frank Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Loescher:

I am responding to your letter of May 23 to Mr. Anthony, who is away from the office.

Enclosed is an up-to-date list of our state councils which will furnish you with addresses for both the South Carolina and Virginia Councils. Paul Rilling is no longer in Virginia but is now with SRC here in Atlanta. The Virginia Council is now, or will soon be, without a director. However, if you are seeking the services of that Council, Dr. Thomas Henderson who is chairman will be of whatever service he can to you I'm sure.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MCF

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

May 23, 1961

Program Director and General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

RECEIVED
MAY 24 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Can you give me the addresses of Mrs. Alice Spearman of the South Carolina Council and Paul Rilling of the Virginia Council?

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL/b

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

December 1, 1961

Mr. Frank S. Leoscher
United States South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Leoscher:

I received the carbon of your letter of November 28 to Dr. Jansen. We shall be most happy to see him if he comes South.

As I have a freshman daughter now at Swarthmore there is a better than ordinary possibility that I may occasionally get to Philadelphia. When I do I shall certainly give you a call.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

November 28, 1961

If Dr. Dunbar, If Jansen comes through Atlanta, I hope we can meet you. When you come North, do let me know! Sincerely, Frank L.

Dr. J. P. Jansen
Western College for Women
Oxford, Ohio

Dear Dr. Jansen:

Thank you for your letter of November 20th. It was good to be able to see you at Boston and to know that you and your wife and son are enjoying the Visiting Lectureship at Western College for Women.

I doubt that I will be able to get to Oxford. This is a very busy time with Chris Fourie, Nic's assistant arriving shortly, the McLachlans a bit later, then Francois du Plessis and his wife plus having Dr. and Mrs. Viljoen back in Philadelphia for a week before they fly to Europe.

Now about your plans to see a bit of the country during the Christmas holidays. If you do go South, you may wish to get in touch with some close friends of our Program, including:

Dr. John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, former Exchangee and now a member of our Management Committee.

Mr. and Mrs. Hodding Carter, Publisher, Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Mississippi, former exchangees.

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Secretary, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia, or Mr. Paul Anthony.

Drs. Guy and Guion Johnson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, former exchangees.

I also hope that you may be able to have a visit at Earlham College with Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Vice Chairman of the U.S.-South Africa Leader Exchange Program and if you

COPY

To Dr. J. P. Jansen

should get to Racine, Wisconsin, that you will call on Mr. Leslie Paffrath, President, The Johnson Foundation, who is a member of the Management Committee.

If you can return from the South via Philadelphia, Mrs. Loescher and I would be delighted to see you again and to meet Mrs. Jansen and your son.

Let's keep in touch.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL/r
cc: Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins
Mr. Leslie Paffrath
Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Mr. John H. Wheeler
Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Mr. Hodding Carter

COPY

file
Loescher

February 19, 1962

Mr. Frank Loescher
Executive Director
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Loescher:

Under separate coper we are mailing to you today the requested 50 copies of the Wall Street Journal reprints.

If we can be of further service to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to Mr. Dunbar

mmj

EVergreen 2-7830

Rec'd 2/19/62

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER
EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.

February 16, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Sending today

Thank you for sending me a copy of your reprint from the Wall Street Journal, January 16, 1962. If you have 25 to 50 extra copies I believe I can put them to good use.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

Frank S. Loescher

FSL/r

P. S. Separately I am sending you a copy of our Third Annual Report.

file

MEMORANDUM

Rec'd 7/27/62

Feb. 25, 1962

Dear Dr. Dunbar, Libby Loescher

Thank you for sending me a copy of your Annual Report. I continue to be an admirer of the S.R.C. and its executive director!

Sincerely

Frank Loescher

P.S. Hope you will stop by when in Philadelphia.

Frank S. Loescher

Rec'd 5/3/62

PR ✓
JM
PA ✓
MJ

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

P. O. Box 225
Stellenbosch, South Africa

PROGRESS REPORT, SPRING 1962

1. Plans for the Wingspread Conference on "United States-South Africa Economic Relations" are moving ahead. Co-sponsors of the Conference for business, foundation and community leaders on April 30 at Racine, Wisconsin are The Johnson Foundation, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, the University of Wisconsin and the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program.

The following have accepted invitations to give addresses or participate in panels: Dr. Anton Rupert, Chairman and Managing Director, Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation (S.A.) Ltd.; Mr. J. G. Finlay, Deputy Chairman and Managing Director, South African Marine Corporation, Ltd.; Mr. Sebastian J. Kleu, Economic and Financial Editor of the Burger, Cape Town, presently an associate Nieman Fellow at Harvard; Dr. Edwin S. Munger, Professor of Geography, California Institute of Technology, a regular visitor since 1946 to sixty political entities of Africa for his reports on economic, political and social problems in Sub-Saharan Africa; Mr. John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina; Mr. Vernon Eagle, Executive Director, The New World Foundation; Mr. William Marshall-Smith, Manager, Caltex Africa, Ltd., Caltex West Company; Dr. William O. Brown, Director, Africa Studies Program, Boston University, and Dr. Emory Ross, Chairman Emeritus, Phelps-Stokes Fund.

A booklet summarizing the major findings of the Conference is to be published and will be sent to interested persons writing to the Program's Philadelphia office.

2. Our Leader Exchangees report productive experiences.

Mr. and Mrs. Kleu and their three children have been at Harvard since last September with the assistance of a Johnson Foundation Fellowship.

Mr. and Mrs. Philip McLachlan of the University of Stellenbosch Education Faculty made a two-week intensive study of music in the Philadelphia Public Schools; later they visited Fisk University and Peabody College in Nashville, spent several days with Dr. and Mrs. Waldo Stephens in Oklahoma City and went to Oberlin College and the University of Indiana and attended the Music Educators Conference in Chicago. The McLachlans returned to South Africa on March 28.

Mr. Francois du Plessis, Assistant Librarian at the University of Stellenbosch with responsibilities for the development of the University's African Studies Library, received a great deal of help from Dr. Brown in Boston. Mr. and Mrs. du Plessis then spent several useful days at Northwestern and Wisconsin with Africa Studies specialists, two weeks at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, visited Berkeley, Stanford, Cal Tech, U.C.L.A., Atlanta University and the Library of Congress. They left the United States on March 25 and are returning home from London by ship.

Professor F. X. Schumacher, Emeritus Professor of Forestry, Duke University, is now teaching at the University of Stellenbosch. Professor and Mrs. Schumacher received partial assistance from the Program.

Looking ahead, the Reverend and Mrs. W. J. Lubbe are due to arrive in the United States in the middle of May in order to attend the National Conference on Social Welfare. Mr. Lubbe is Organising Secretary for Social Services, Dutch Reformed Church, Cape Province; his special interests are social work, including the work of the Churches, particularly the family, child and youth welfare, institutional care, alcoholics and unmarried mothers.

Mr. and Mrs. Louis Lyons will arrive in South Africa in June for consultations on the training of journalists. Mr. Lyons, Curator of the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University, has also received a grant from the Carnegie Corporation.

Mr. and Mrs. John R. May will also go to South Africa in June. Mr. May is Executive Director of the San Francisco Foundation. He will confer with leaders in social welfare and philanthropy.

Mr. and Mrs. George Golding are coming to the U.S. in September. Mr. Golding is Principal of the Ashley Street School, Cape Town, and President of the Coloured People's National Union. He is interested in studying audio-visual education, adult education, child guidance clinics and medical services for children.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Steyn are expected in September. Mr. Steyn, who is on the staff of the Cape Argus, will be an Associate Nieman Fellow at Harvard. He has been awarded a Johnson Foundation Fellowship.

Dr. and Mrs. H. A. F. Barker will also come to the U.S. in September. Dr. Barker is Director of the National Clothing Federation of South Africa and Industrial Representative, Board of Trade and Industries' Tariff Advisory Committee.

3. The first Faculty Exchangees under a Ford Foundation grant to the Program, Professor and Mrs. J. C. de Wet of the University of Stellenbosch Law School, visited the University of Pennsylvania and then proceeded to Tulane, the University of Southern California and Cal Tech where Professor de Wet lectured in his field of law. They later visited Stanford and Berkeley, spent a week at the University of Chicago and are now at Harvard University. They leave for Europe at the end of May. Professor de Wet has also received a grant from the Carnegie Corporation.

A second faculty exchangee, Dr. T. R. H. Davenport of the University of the Witwatersrand, arrived on March 27. He and his family will be at the University of Rochester this spring where he will do research on French Canadian colonial nationalism. He will also teach at Rochester this summer. He plans to attend the annual Conference of Canadian Historians at Hamilton, Ontario, and to visit universities in Canada, New England and the South.

Professor and Mrs. J. C. G. Kotzé come to the U.S. in July. Professor in Practical Theology at the Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch, Dr. Kotzé is interested in studying modern methods and techniques of evangelism, youth work and clinical training for pastors. They plan to attend Dr. Richard Young's program in clinical pastoral training at North Carolina Baptist Hospital, Winston-Salem, N.C. during September-October.

Professor and Mrs. D. H. Houghton of Rhodes University, Department of Economics, will be in the United States from August until January, 1963.

Professor and Mrs. W. M. Kgware of the University College of the North, Department of Education, will be in the United States from the middle of September until February, 1963.

Professor Monica Wilson of the University of Cape Town, African Studies Program, will arrive in the U.S. in September 1962 to teach at Brandeis University.

Dr. Philip Mayer, Rhodes University, Professor of Social Anthropology and Head of the Department of African Studies, will be coming in 1963, and Professor James Yeats of the University of Stellenbosch, Department of Law, in 1964.

The first American faculty exchangees to go to South Africa are Professor and Mrs. Philip Curtin and their two children. They leave for South Africa via France and East Africa in August. Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, Dr. Curtin will lecture at South African universities from September to January.

Professor Frederick Harbison, Director, Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University, may visit several South African universities this summer.

Professor and Mrs. William O. Brown plan to be in South Africa from February to July, 1963. Professor Brown is Chairman of the African Studies Program of Boston University.

Professor Otto Piper of Princeton Theological Seminary is Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis. He is going to Johannesburg in January, 1963 under the auspices of the Theological Education Fund of the World Council of Churches to lecture to teachers of non-white theological students. Our Program will assist Professor Piper so he can confer with theologians in Pretoria, Potchestroom, Stellenbosch and Grahamstown.

Professor and Mrs. Steven Muller of Cornell University will be in South Africa beginning February, 1963. Professor Muller, who is Acting Director of the Center of International Studies, has received a Rockefeller Foundation grant for research. A supplementary grant under the Faculty Exchange project will enable Professor Muller to extend his visit and lecture at some of the universities.

Dr. William E. Welmers, Professor of Linguistics at U.C.L.A., and Mrs. Welmers and their son will go to South Africa in the second half of 1963.

4. This summer our Program has again been invited by the National Science Foundation to nominate South African science professors and secondary school teachers to participate in the N.S.F. summer institutes. A committee composed of two 1961 science exchangees, Professor S. S. Israelstam of the University of the Witwatersrand and Professor C. B. van Wyk of the University of the Orange Free State, Professor N. J. J. Olivier, Program Secretary in South Africa, and Dr. Argus Tresidder, U.S. Cultural Attaché, has nominated six science exchangees: Dr. L. A. Prinsloo, Associate Professor, Department of Physics, University of Pretoria; Mr. G. N. Krynauw, Lecturer in Chemistry, Sasolburg Technological Institute; Mr. D. H. S. Jeffrey, Head of Science Department, St. John's College, Johannesburg; Mr. J. M. B. Faure, Inspector of Education, Bloemfontein; Mr. Karl Steneveld, Science Teacher, Trafalgar High School, Cape Town; and Dr. Theodorus van Es, Lecturer in Chemistry, University of Witwatersrand.

****

Congratulations are in order for two former leader exchangees who engaged in a direct exchange, The Rt. Reverend J. L. Duncan and the Reverend Philip W. R. Russell. Reverend James Duncan has been elected Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of South Florida; Reverend Philip Russell is now vicar of the Parish of Kloof and Archdeacon of Pinetown, Natal.

****

Chris Fourie, Assistant to Professor Olivier in our Stellenbosch office, has also returned to South Africa. His visit here to seek advice on a private social and technical assistance plan from South Africa to countries in East and Central Africa was very useful. He conferred with church and missionary groups, the Peace Corps, A.I.D. and the American Friends Service Committee; his interpretation of East and Central Africa where he lived for ten years was warmly appreciated by groups in Philadelphia, New York, Racine, St. Paul, San Francisco and Pasadena.

****

Further information about exchangees, including reports of those who have completed their study tours and biographies and itineraries of future exchangees, is available in the Philadelphia and Stellenbosch offices.

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Attached is a copy of a brief description of South Africa reproduced with the permission of the National Education Association. Americans may find this helpful when introducing a South African exchangee. Write to the Philadelphia office for additional copies.

April 20, 1962

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 South 39th Street
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SOUTH AFRICA

LOCATION AND SIZE: A former member of the British Commonwealth, the Republic of South Africa, occupies the southernmost portion of the African continent, between the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans. The country includes 4 provinces - the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State - with a total area of approximately 472,000 square miles, nearly twice as large as Texas. The former German colony of South West Africa, about 318,000 square miles in area, also is administered as an integral part of the South African republic, but its status has long been in dispute between the South African government and the United Nations.

LAND, CLIMATE, ECONOMY: A land of much natural beauty, South Africa has a moderate, invigorating climate with cool summers and mild winters well-suited to European settlement. Since it lies in the southern hemisphere, its seasons are opposite to those in the United States.

The dominant land form of South Africa is the interior plateau, rising up to the high veld, 4,000 to 6,000 feet in elevation. Sheep, cattle, grains, and irrigated crops are raised on this generally dry plateau, and in the bush veld of northern Transvaal is Krueger National Park, a world-famous reserve for African wildlife. Around the Cape are rocky mountains and a coastal belt of orchards and vineyards. In the east, the steep peaks of the Drakensberg separate the high veld from the green valleys and sub-tropical coast of Natal.

While agriculture plays a sizeable role in the national economy, it is far outdistanced today by mining and industry. Possessing large deposits of gold, diamonds, uranium, coal, iron, copper, and other valuable minerals, South Africa in the 20th century has become the "industrial giant" of the African continent with a large export economy. Mining and heavy industry center around the booming city of Johannesburg in the Witwatersrand area of Transvaal, and there are many manufacturing industries in the large coastal cities of Capetown, Durban, and Port Elizabeth.

PEOPLE, RELIGION, LANGUAGE: Living within South Africa are some 15 million people, representing 4 major racial groups with diverse cultural backgrounds. There are 3 million white Europeans, over 10 million negro Africans, about 1-1/2 million Colored persons of mixed blood, and half a million Asians. The white minority itself is divided into two distinct groups - about 60% of the Union's whites are Afrikaners, the other 40% are largely of British descent. The Afrikaners are descended primarily from Dutch pioneers who settled in South Africa in the 17th and 18th centuries; they speak Afrikaans, a language resembling Dutch; and they adhere largely to the Dutch Reformed Church. The British element, whose forefathers arrived in the 19th century, speak English and are predominantly Episcopalians and Methodists with some Roman Catholics. The African majority are mostly Bantu-speaking peoples, divided into many tribal groups and including numerous Christians. The Asians, mainly Hindus and Moslems of Indian origin, are descended from imported plantation laborers and later immigrants. The country's official languages are Afrikaans and English.

SOCIAL PATTERNS: The white minority, about 3/4 urbanized, runs the country's government and its modern economy. About 2/3 of the Coloreds and Asians also dwell in urban areas (the Coloreds chiefly in Capetown, the Asians in Durban). Half of the Africans still live in rural areas "reserved" for their occupancy, where tribal patterns of society prevail; about 3 million of them dwell on white farms; and over 2 million of them live in mining compounds and urban areas. The Africans outside the "reserves" provide the basic manual labor force in nearly all phases of the country's economy and include a growing university-educated minority.

Inter-racial relations in South Africa are among the most complex in the world. Industrial development, accompanied by increasing influx into the cities, has added a host of new problems to historic tensions. A legal color bar long has denied Africans the right to own land, to sit in parliament, to live in "white" neighborhoods, and to move from place to place without special permit. Since 1950, legal restrictions on the non-white majority have been greatly expanded under the Nationalist government's policy of "apartheid" (separation of races). The apartheid restrictions have enhanced the grievances of the non-whites and have been the object of dissension within the white minority itself.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND: Prior to 1961 this country was called the Union of South Africa. A united South Africa was formed in 1910, a fusion of two British coastal colonies (the Cape and Natal) with two formerly-independent Afrikaner republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State). Political union followed the Boer War, in which Britain triumphed over the Afrikaner farmers of the interior (the "Boers"). Both British and Afrikaner residents were given equal rights under the new national government, and two capitals were established - Capetown, the seat of the legislature; Pretoria (Transvaal), the seat of the administration.

GOVERNMENT: A major political change took place in the Union on May 31, 1961. On this day South Africa became a republic and withdrew from the British Commonwealth of Nations. The decision to end membership in the Commonwealth was announced by Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London two months earlier and was brought about by what the South African government regarded as excessive interference in its internal affairs, specifically in its racial policies. By withdrawing from the Commonwealth, the country ended over half a century of political association with Britain, an association which once had flourished under the leadership of the noted Afrikaner statesman General Jan C. Smuts.

South Africa's government is led by the prime minister, who is responsible to the lower house of the national parliament. All members of parliament must be citizens of white descent. In 1959 apartheid legislation known as the "Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act" provided justification for elimination from parliament of all 7 deputies who served as representatives of the Africans. This Act calls for consolidation of the rural Bantu reserves into 8 or 9 large groups, popularly known as Bantustans, under territorial authorities composed of tribal chiefs and headmen.

EDUCATION: At primary and secondary levels, the provincial governments are responsible for education of European, Colored, and Asian children, while the national government has assumed responsibility for education of African children. There are separate schools for each racial group, and attendance is compulsory only for white children. Many African pupils attend mission schools, some of which are government-aided.

South Africa has 9 universities, 4 of them using English as the medium of instruction. Legislation approved in 1959 bans attendance of non-white students at South African universities except for medical students and those taking correspondence courses at the University of South Africa. To meet African needs for higher education, the government recently created two new university colleges. Fort Hare University College, which once attracted non-white students from all over the country, is being restricted to members of the Xhosa tribe.

FOOD: Diet and food customs in South Africa reflect the diverse cultural backgrounds of its people - Dutch, English, Indian, and African. Afrikaner dishes and eating habits are typically Dutch, while British South Africans generally prefer English food. The country's great shell-fish specialty is the langouste, known abroad as the South African lobster tail. Mutton is used in many meat dishes, particularly stews and pies.

(Reprinted from OTHER LANDS, OTHER PEOPLES: A Country-by-Country Fact Book. Committee on International Relations, National Education Association of the United States. Second Edition 1961.)

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT

of the

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

1961-1962

This report includes an audited financial statement for the Program's fiscal year, July 1, 1961 to June 30, 1962

Philadelphia, Penna.
November 1962

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT

1961 - 1962

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. was organized in 1958 to develop through private, non-governmental means a mutual basis of co-operation between professional, business and civic leaders of all races in the United States and South Africa. The Program is incorporated in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and contributions are tax-exempt in the United States and South Africa.

This voluntary, nonprofit organization is unique in the international field. A Management Committee of distinguished American and South African business, university, religious and civic leaders makes the policies and selects the exchangees. The Program exchanges both American and South African leaders; American and South African corporations, foundations, individuals provide the financial support.

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS

1. The Program has steadily grown from eleven exchanges, mostly couples, in 1959, twelve in 1960, nineteen in 1961 to twenty-one in 1962. Since 1958 more than 125 South Africans and Americans, including wives and children, have participated.
2. Five South African science teachers and professors came to the United States in 1962 to participate in the Summer Institutes of the National Science Foundation through the cooperation of the latter organization. This was the second year of the science education project.
3. The Faculty Exchange project between South African and American institutions of higher education, made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation, had

its first year of operation.

4. The Program co-sponsored a Conference for business leaders on "United States-South Africa Economic Relations" at Wingspread, Racine, Wisconsin in co-operation with The Johnson Foundation, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and the University of Wisconsin.

5. During the past year six American members of the Management Committee visited South Africa and conferred with the South African members of the Management Committee.

6. Indirect assistance to the Program, in the form of free transportation, grants from foundations directly to exchangees and compensation by universities for teaching by exchangees increased from $14,000 in fiscal 1960-1961 to $28,000 in fiscal 1961-1962. Without such help the Program would have had fewer exchanges.

Leader Exchange Program

The leader exchange program which exchanges distinguished couples in the fields of journalism, religion, government service and education for three months to one year, had the following exchanges in 1961 and in 1962:

1961 Exchangees

Mr. Malcolm N. Allison. Mr. Allison, District Agent, U.S. Department of the Interior, Fish and Wildlife Service, was consultant to the Department of Nature Conservation, Cape Province, at the request of Dr. Douglas Hey, Director of Nature Conservation, Cape Province, a previous exchangee.

Mr. R. B. Ballinger. Mr. Ballinger, Senior Lecturer, Department of History, University of the Witwatersrand, was awarded a John Hay Whitney Grant to teach at American universities and, after termination of this program in June 1962, he has been visiting African Studies Programs in the United States and doing research in his field under the auspices of the U.S.-South Africa Program.

Dr. and Mrs. Gabriel G. Cillié. Dr. Cillié, an astronomer and Professor of Mathematics, University of Stellenbosch, arrived with Mrs. Cillié in the

United States in July 1961. He received a Program grant to visit observatories and attend an international conference on the West Coast. He did research at the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory in Cambridge, Mass. until January 1962.

The Rt. Rev. and Mrs. James L. Duncan and their three children. Reverend Duncan, who is Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of South Florida, exchanged for six months with the Rev. Philip W. R. Russell of Ladysmith, Natal.

Dr. and Mrs. Johannes P. Jansen and son. Dr. Jansen, Senior Lecturer in Geography, University of Stellenbosch, after a tour of Tropical Africa arrived in the U.S. in September 1961. Until February 1962 he was a Visiting Lecturer at Western College for Women.

Mr. and Mrs. S. J. Kleu and their three children. Mr. Kleu, Economic and Financial Editor of DIE BURGER, was an Associate Nieman Fellow at Harvard. The Johnson Foundation awarded a fellowship to Mr. Kleu through this Program.

Mr. and Mrs. Philip McLachlan. Mr. McLachlan, Senior Lecturer at the Faculty of Education, University of Stellenbosch, was in the U.S. for three months beginning in December 1961 to observe the organization and techniques of music education in American schools and to attend the biennial meeting of the Music Educators National Conference in Chicago in March 1962.

The Rev. and Mrs. S. M. Mokitimi. Mr. Mokitimi is superintendent of the Osborn Mission, Mt. Frere, Methodist Church of South Africa. The Mokitimis studied church life in cities, rural church life and work, and the American Ecumenical Movement.

Mr. and Mrs. P. J. Philander. Mr. Philander, prizewinning poet and principal at Belgravia High School, Athlone, Cape Town, received an Ella Lyman Cabot Fellowship through the Program. The Philanders observed teacher training and the work being done in American elementary and secondary schools.

Dr. F. J. Potgieter, Assistant Editor, DIE TRANSVALER. Dr. Potgieter's three-month study tour included participation in a two-week seminar at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, study of problems of soil and water conservation and the position of the American Indians in cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Gallup, and visits to many newspapers and several schools of journalism.

The Rev. and Mrs. P. W. R. Russell and their four children. Father Russell, Vicar of the Parish of Kloof and Archdeacon of Pinetown, Natal, exchanged with the Rt. Rev. Duncan, Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of South Florida, who at that time was Pastor of St. Peters Episcopal Church, St. Petersburg, Florida. During August and September Father Russell substituted in St. Paul's Church, Elkins Park, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Dr. and Mrs. William Stewart. Dr. Stewart is Director of the Los Angeles County Department of Arboreta and Botanic Gardens. The Stewarts conferred

with botanists in South African universities and horticulturists and plantsmen, collected seed of South African plants, presented seminars and lectures and observed South African agriculture, particularly citrus and sub-tropical fruits.

Dr. and Mrs. S. P. Viljoen. Dr. Viljoen, Deputy Director, Board of Trade and Industries, Republic of South Africa, studied all forms of industrial development and especially the motor, tractor and textile industries, and lectured at the University of California, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California Institute of Technology and Howard University.

1962 Exchangees

Dr. and Mrs. H. A. F. Barker. Dr. Barker is Director of the National Clothing Federation of South Africa; he and Mrs. Barker were here from August 15 until the end of October as "paying guests." They attended the Marketing Theory Seminar in Burlington, Vermont, and then traveled west where Dr. Barker lectured on industrial relations at the California Institute of Technology. The Program arranged consultations for Dr. Barker throughout the country with business, labor and community leaders.

Mr. and Mrs. F. du Plessis. Mr. du Plessis, Assistant Librarian of the University of Stellenbosch, visited university libraries, African Studies Programs and participated in an Executive Seminar at the Aspen Institute.

Mr. Chris Fourie, Assistant to Professor Olivier in the Program's Stellenbosch office, candidate for a degree in theology and former administrator of African Affairs, was in the United States early in 1962 to seek advice on a private social and technical assistance plan whereby South Africans would give aid to countries in East and Central Africa.

Mr. and Mrs. George J. Golding. Mr. Golding is Principal of the Ashley Street School, Cape Town, and President of the Coloured People's National Union. Mr. and Mrs. Golding arrived in September for a three-month study tour of audio-visual education, adult education, child guidance clinics, medical services for children and intergroup relations.

The Rev. and Mrs. W. J. Lubbe. The Rev. Lubbe is Organising Secretary of Social Services of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape Province. Rev. and Mrs. Lubbe attended the National Conference on Social Welfare, New York, the Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University, and studied all branches of social work, especially the work of Churches. Mr. Lubbe's special interests are in family, child and youth welfare work, institutional care for alcoholics and unmarried mothers.

Mr. and Mrs. Louis M. Lyons. Mr. Lyons is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Nieman Foundation for Journalism, Harvard University, and a news commentator on Station WBGH-TV-FM, Boston. The Carnegie Corporation awarded a grant for Mr. and Mrs. Lyons to visit South Africa this past summer under the auspices of the U.S.-South Africa Program for consultations on the training of journalists.

Mr. and Mrs. Theo Pauw. Mr. Pauw is Principal of the School for the Blind, Worcester. Their two-month study tour of schools for the blind and social welfare agencies for the blind was aided by a grant from the Pfieffer Foundation; the American Foundation for Overseas Blind, New York, planned their itinerary.

Dr. and Mrs. Francis X. Schumacher. Dr. Schumacher, Professor-Emeritus, Forestry Department, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, lectured at the University of Stellenbosch and served as a research consultant early in 1962. The Program assisted with a travel grant for Mrs. Schumacher.

Mr. and Mrs. Allister H. Sparks and their two children. Mr. Sparks, Political Correspondent, RAND DAILY MAIL, is an Associate Nieman Fellow at Harvard University. The Johnson Foundation has awarded a fellowship to Mr. Sparks through this Program.

Science Teachers and Professors

The National Science Foundation invited the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program to nominate South African participants for its Summer Institutes for science teachers and professors. Professor Laurence E. Strong, Chairman of the Department of Chemistry, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, Director of the Chemical Bond Approach Project of the National Science Foundation and a former leader exchangee, is American adviser on this Program. Professor S. S. Israelstam, Professor of Chemistry, University of the Witwatersrand, and Professor C. B. van Wyk, Professor of Applied Mathematics, University of the Orange Free State, are advisers in South Africa.

The following South African science teachers and professors participated in the 1962 institutes:

Mr. Johannes M. B. Faure, Inspector of Education, Department of Education, Orange Free State. --University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, July 2 - August 10.

Mr. Duncan Harry S. Jeffrey, Head of Science Department, St. John's College, Johannesburg. -- Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, June 25 - August 4.

Mr. Gert Nel Krynauw, Lecturer in Chemistry, Sasolburg Technological Institute, Sasolburg, O.F.S. --University of Florida, June 18 - August 11.

Dr. Louwrens A. Prinsloo, Associate Professor, Department of Physics, Pretoria University. --University of Colorado, June 25 - August 17.

Mr. Karl Steneveld, Teacher of mathematics and physical science, Trafalgar High School, Cape Town. --Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, June 25 - August 4.

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program supplemented the National Science Foundation grant covering tuition, living costs at the Summer Institutes and part of the international travel costs by contribution for international travel costs and arranging for each participant a two-week cultural tour of the United States. The National Science Foundation has invited the Program to nominate five more South African science teachers and professors for its 1963 Summer Institutes and has also offered to make available to the Program several positions in the National Science Foundation Academic Year Institute activities.

Faculty Exchange Project

Ten to fourteen professors in the social sciences and humanities are being exchanged over a two-year period under a grant from the Ford Foundation in support of an exchange of academic personnel between American universities and universities in the Republic of South Africa for six-month study tours.

1962 Exchangees

Professor and Mrs. Philip D. Curtin and their two children. Dr. Curtin, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin, is lecturing at South African universities from August to November 1962.

Professor and Mrs. T. R. H. Davenport and their two children. Dr. Davenport, Lecturer in the Department of History, University of Cape Town, and his family were in the United States for six months. Professor Davenport spent several months at the University of Rochester where he did research on French Canadian Colonial nationalism and taught in the summer session. He attended the annual Conference of Canadian Historians at Hamilton, Ontario, and visited universities in Canada, New England and the South.

Professor and Mrs. J. C. de Wet. Professor de Wet of the Faculty of Law, Stellenbosch University, arrived with Mrs. de Wet in the United States in February for a three-month study tour. After visiting the University

of Pennsylvania, Professor de Wet lectured at Tulane University, the University of Southern California and California Institute of Technology. They later visited Stanford and Berkeley, spent a week at the University of Chicago and stayed for six weeks at Harvard University. They also visited several other law schools in New England and the East.

Professor and Mrs. Desmond Hobart-Houghton. Professor Houghton, Head of the Department of Economics, Rhodes University, and Mrs. Houghton arrived in August and will be in the United States until January 26, 1963. They participated in an Executive Seminar at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies and visited Midwest and West Coast university African Studies Programs. From October 16 to December 15 they will be in Boston where Professor Houghton will do research at Boston University, see colleagues at MIT and Harvard and lecture for two weeks at Smith College. Following a tour of the South, Professor Houghton will lecture at the School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, and Howard University.

Professor and Mrs. W. M. Kgware. Mr. Kgware, Professor of Education, University College of the North, and Mrs. Kgware arrived in October for a six month visit. Professor and Mrs. Kgware are spending a month at Earlham College, with the Department of Secondary Education and observing in the Richmond elementary and secondary schools. Professor Kgware will later spend a month in Washington lecturing at the School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, and Howard University and observing in the Washington public schools. They will tour the South and Midwest in 1963.

Professor and Mrs. J. C. G. Kotzé. Dr. Kotzé is Professor of Practical Theology, Theological Seminary, University of Stellenbosch. The Kotzés attended the Sesquicentennial Institute at Princeton Theological Seminary in July, visited the West Coast and participated in the Clinical Training Program of the North Carolina Baptist Hospital, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. They are concluding their visit with an extended stay at Boston University School of Theology.

Professor and Mrs. Otto Piper. Dr. Piper, Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis, Princeton Theological Seminary, and Mrs. Piper will go to South Africa in December 1962 under the auspices of the Theological Education Fund of the World Council of Churches to lecture to non-white theological students. The Program will assist Professor Piper so he can confer with theologians in Pretoria, Potchestroom, Stellenbosch and Grahamstown.

1963 Faculty Exchangees

Professor and Mrs. William O. Brown. Dr. Brown, Director, African Studies Program, Boston University, and Mrs. Brown will go to South Africa in February for six months where Dr. Brown will study African Studies Programs.

Professor and Mrs. Seward Hiltner. Dr. Hiltner, Professor of Theology and Personality, Princeton Theological Seminary, and Mrs. Hiltner plan to visit South African theological seminaries in August and September.

Professor Philip Mayer. Professor Mayer, Head of the Department of African Studies, Rhodes University, will arrive in February for six months to lecture and do research in African Studies Programs at several universities.

Professor Monica Wilson. Professor Wilson of the School of African Studies, University of Cape Town, will teach in the fall at Brandeis University. In the winter of 1963-64 she plans to spend some time at Stanford and the University of California and also tour the South.

Professor and Mrs. James Yeats. Professor Yeats of the Law Faculty, University of Stellenbosch, and Mrs. Yeats plan to visit American law schools in the fall of 1963.

Other faculty exchangees in 1963 will be announced when their travel plans are determined.

Members of the U.S. Selection Committee are:

Professor Gwendolen M. Carter, Smith College
Dr. C. W. de Kiewet, President Emeritus, University of Rochester
Dean Erwin Griswold, Law School of Harvard University
Professor Guy B. Johnson, University of North Carolina
Professor Vernon McKay, School of Advanced International Studies of The Johns Hopkins University
Professor Clinton L. Rossiter, Cornell University

The South African Selection Committee members are:

Dr. Simon Biesheuvel, formerly Director of the Institute of Personnel Research of the S.A. Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
Professor D. Hobart-Houghton, Rhodes University
Professor J. H. Moolman, University of South Africa
Professor B. F. Nel, Pretoria University
Professor Monica Wilson, University of Cape Town
Professor James Yeats, University of Stellenbosch

Wingspread Conference

On April 30, 1962 the Program co-sponsored a Conference for business leaders on "United States-South Africa Economic Relations" at Wingspread, the headquarters of The Johnson Foundation in Racine, Wisconsin. Mr. Leslie Paffrath, a founding member of the Program and President of The Johnson Foundation, proposed that the

United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program join The Johnson Foundation in sponsoring such a Conference which was also co-sponsored by the University of Wisconsin and the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations.

The Conference was primarily for Midwestern business leaders and was of a private nature without participation by either government and without press coverage to encourage the free exchange of ideas and allow for frank discussions.

Fifty businessmen and several professors and community leaders attended the all-day Conference. Mr. Paffrath and Dr. Emory Ross, the Honorary Chairman, welcomed the participants. Highlights of the morning sessions included the addresses by Dr. Anton Rupert, Chairman and Managing Director, Rembrandt Tobacco Company, Ltd., and Mr. J. G. Finlay, Deputy Chairman and Managing Director, South African Marine Corporation, on the present achievements and future potential of South Africa; the observations by Dr. Edwin S. Munger on trends in the new African states and the panel discussions led by Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Studies Program, Boston University, Mr. Vernon A. Eagle, Executive Director, New World Foundation, Mr. S. J. Kleu, Economic and Financial Editor, DIE BURGER, Cape Town, Mr. William Marshall-Smith, Manager, Caltex Africa, Ltd., and Mr. John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina.

Luncheon was served at tables for eight, each with a chairman to assemble questions from his group for the afternoon discussion. This arrangement also provided an opportunity for informal consultation between inquirers and knowledgeable people with experience in Africa. Chairmen included Dr. George H. Bennett, International Division, New York World's Fair, Mrs. William F. H. Purcell, School and College Trustee, Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches, all members of our Management Committee, and Captain G. H. Evans, Former President, South African Marine Corporation, New York, Captain L. A.

Renehan, Manager, Trade Development, Farrell Lines, and Dr. Horace Gilbert, California Institute of Technology.

The afternoon was devoted to questions from the audience. These questions were ably and skillfully handled by Dr. Rupert, Mr. Finlay, Dr. Munger and other leaders of the morning session. The questions covered a wide range and it was obvious that there was much interest among the people who attended the Conference. The Conference was closed by a helpful summation by Dr. Brown and concluding remarks by Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor of History, Earlham College, and Vice Chairman, United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program.

That the Conference was worthwhile and made a definite contribution to better knowledge of the South African economy and U.S.-South Africa economic relations is evident from the many letters of commendation. Mr. Harold F. Muntz, Vice President, International Sales, Marketing, Kellogg Sales Company, Battle Creek, Michigan, wrote: "It was a most interesting and stimulating day and I came away feeling quite encouraged for the long term progress of South Africa." It is hoped that some time in the future similar meetings for business and community leaders may be held in other regions of the United States.

Copies of Dr. Rupert's address and the printed program of the Conference are available at the Philadelphia and Stellenbosch offices of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program.

Intervisitation among Members of the Management Committee

During the past year several American members of the Management Committee have been in South Africa. Mr. Douglas went on business in 1961 and 1962 and both times conferred with South African members of the Management Committee. Mr. Hochschild also was in South Africa on business and saw some of his colleagues associated with the Program. Mrs. Purcell was in South Africa in 1961 and 1962;

in August 1961 she and Dr. Hoskins, who had been in Kenya on an educational mission, attended a regular meeting of the Management Committee in South Africa. Dr. Munger and his colleagues of the California Institute of Technology spent the summer of 1962 in South Africa on a Southern Africa Project Field Trip. Dr. Loescher, the General Secretary, who goes to South Africa every year to confer with the South African members of the Management Committee and staff, also attended the August 1961 meeting. In addition, he saw many former South African exchangees and discussed with future exchangees their professional interests in coming to the United States.

The Program had in the United States as a special exchangee Mr. Chris Fourie who is part-time consultant to the Program in South Africa, assisting Professor Olivier, Secretary in South Africa. Mr. Fourie attended a meeting of the American members of the Management Committee and conferred with several former American exchangees in the course of his study of American programs in the field of international social and technical assistance.

Five Year Plan

The Management Committee hopes in 1963 to reach the goal of its Five-Year Plan - 25 exchanges. Twenty-one exchanges, mostly couples, were carried out in 1962.

The South African members of the Management Committee are raising 25 per cent of the present budget and have pledged themselves to raise 25 per cent of $185,000, the estimated cost of exchanging 25 couples annually.

Several contributors have given support on a five-year basis, subject to effective Program performance. If a few more contributors are able to make five-year pledges, Committee and staff will be able to devote nearly all of their time to the Program's reason for being - assisting exchangees to obtain maximum value from their study tours.

Financial

The steady increase in the number of exchangees has been made possible by a healthy broadening in the base of financial support. Especially valuable has been the indirect assistance rendered to the Program in both countries, amounting in fiscal 1961-62 to more than $28,000, as indicated in Footnote A of the auditors' report. These contributions which do not pass through the Program's accounts represent free transportation, compensation by universities to exchangees for teaching, paid leaves to exchangees, and foundation grants paid directly to persons recommended by the Program.

Since the inception of the Program Safmarine has given four free passages annually to the Program's exchangees. The Carnegie Corporation of New York on three occasions has given grants directly to exchangees recommended by the Management Committee. Universities and colleges in both countries have offered opportunities for our exchangees to teach and several universities have given paid leaves to assist their faculty members. Newspapers have similarly assisted their staff. The National Science Foundation for two successive years has made it possible for eleven South African science teachers and professors to participate in the Summer Institutes which run for six to eight weeks. The Management Committee is also grateful to The Johnson Foundation for financing the major part of the costs of the Conference on "United States-South Africa Economic Relations" at its headquarters at Wingspread, Racine, Wisconsin.

Including the $28,000 in indirect assistance, the ratio of money spent on exchangees to the cost of administration increased from $66,949.11 to $31,248.12 in 1960-61 to $106,704.72 to $39,146.62 in 1961-62. Thus the ratio of exchange expenditures to administrative costs improved from 2 to 1 to 3 to 1.

Footnote B in the auditors' report shows that the balance of approximately

$125,000 includes $81,450.50 of earmarked funds: $41,941.10 committed to faculty exchangees selected to come to the United States in the latter part of 1962 and 1963 and $39,509.40 committed for leader exchangees in the second half of 1962 and early 1963.

The Program's financial outlook for the first half of 1963 is reasonably good, but the Program will not be able to reach its goal of 25 exchangees in calendar year 1963 unless some $20,000 in new money is contributed. Since several grants expire this year, the Program faces the necessity of obtaining $80,000 to exchange 25 couples in fiscal 1963-64.

The following foundations, corporations, individuals and institutions in the United States and South Africa have contributed directly to the Program or to the exchangees:

Foundations

Abe Bailey Trust
Amax Foundation
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust (grant for P. Philander)
Carnegie Corporation (grants for S. Biesheuvel, J. C. de Wet, L. M. Lyons, L. E. Strong)
Chace Fund
Claremore Fund
Danforth Foundation (grant for G. Bryan)
Division Fund
The Family Fund (grant for W. S. Stewart)
Ford Foundation
Hopkins Charitable Fund
The Johnson Foundation
J. M. Kaplan Fund
National Science Foundation
The New World Foundation
Norman Fund
Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust
Gustavus and Louise Pfeiffer Research Foundation (grant to American Foundation for Overseas Blind, Inc. for Mr. and Mrs. Theo Pauw)
Phelps-Stokes Fund
Christopher Reynolds Foundation
Richardson Foundation
Rockefeller Foundation (grants for H. Carter, D. McCandless)
Benj. Rosenthal Foundation
South Africa Association
Robert D. Stern Fund
Western Publishing Company Foundation
Weyerhaeuser Foundation
Wyomissing Foundation

Corporations

African Explosive and Chemical Industries Ltd.
Allied Chemical Corporation
Anglo-American Corporation of S.A., Ltd.
Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investments Co., Ltd.

Argus Printing and Publishing Company, Ltd.
Brewers Institute of S.A., Ltd.
Bristol-Myers Company
Bristol-Myers (Pty) Ltd.
Cape Times, Ltd.
Colgate Palmolive Ltd.
Courtaulds (Alabama) Ltd.
De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.
Engelhard Industries, Inc.
Engelhard Industries, Ltd.
Farrell Lines, Inc.
Federale Mynbou Bpk.
General Mining and Finance Corporation, Ltd.
Maggs Somerset (Pty) Ltd.
Model, Roland and Stone
The National Press (contribution to S. J. Kleu)
Newmont Mining Corporation
O'Okiep Copper Company, Ltd.
Pan American World Airways System
Rand Mines Ltd.
Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation of S.A., Ltd.
Roberts Construction Co. (Pty) Ltd.
Safmarine
South African Associated Newspapers, Ltd.
Stellenbosch Travel Agency
Tsumeb Corporation, Ltd.
Twin Disc Clutch Company
Union Corporation, Ltd.
Vacuum Oil Company of S.A. Ltd.
Weyerhaeuser and Company

Individuals

Mrs. H. Clifford Allen
Dr. Eugene C. Blake
Mr. Morton Bodfish
The Rev. John H. Burt
Mr. Roger Clapp
Miss Louise M. Clevenger
Mr. Kent G. Colwell
Mr. and Mrs. D. Crena de Iongh
Mr. Kingman Douglass
Mr. and Mrs. John A. Dreyfuss
Miss Gertrude Ely
Mr. I. S. Haggie
Mrs. J. S. Harris
Mrs. Frances W. Hartwell
Mr. Harold K. Hochschild
Dr. and Mrs. Clark Kerr
Mrs. Darwin P. Kingsley, Jr.
Mrs. Daniel E. Koshland
Dr. Frank S. Loescher
Mrs. Frances B. McAllister
Mr. William L. Mellon III
Mr. S. G. Menell
Dr. and Mrs. L. J. Milne
Mrs. William F. H. Purcell
Mr. Francis Randolph
Mrs. Edward Bliss Reed
Mr. David Rockefeller
Mrs. Madeleine H. Russell
Mr. Karel Schoeman
Mr. Arnold Skromme
Mrs. Ruth C. Sloan
Mr. and Mrs. L. M. C. Smith
Mr. Gardner H. Stern
Mrs. S. Emlen Stokes
Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Sweezy
Mrs. Seth P. Taft
Mrs. Grace W. Waring
Mrs. George B. Wislocki
Mr. Philip Woodyatt

Others

African-American Institute
Cape Provincial Administration (M. Allison, consultant)
Dutch Reformed Church of the Transvaal (contribution for S. Petersen)
Dutch Reformed Mission Church of South Africa (contribution for S. Petersen)
International Astronomical Union (contributed to G. G. Cillié)
Rhodes University (teaching position for G. Johnson)
Smithsonian Astrophysical Institution (contributed for research work to G. G. Cillié)
Summer Institutes of National Science Foundation (contributed to 5 S.A. science teachers while attending summer institutes)

University of North Carolina (Keenan leave for G. Johnson)
University of Rochester (teaching position for T. R. H. Davenport)
University of Stellenbosch (teaching position for F. X. Schumacher)
Western College for Women (teaching position for J. Jansen)

(The auditor's report for the Program's fiscal year, July 1, 1961-June 30, 1962, is appended.)

The International Management Committee

An International Management Committee supervises the Program and selects leading citizens for exchange of three months to one year. The Management Committee encourages exchanges in both directions by people who have approved projects with definite sponsorship or at least with assured cooperation in the host country. The aim is to provide participants with a meaningful and broadening experience significant for their future life's work.

The Chairman of the Management Committee is Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director of the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa Ltd.; the Vice Chairmen are the Rev. C. B. Brink, Mission Secretary of the Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Church) in the Northern Transvaal, and Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor of History, Earlham College; Prof. N. J. J. Olivier of Stellenbosch University is Secretary in South Africa and Dr. Frank S. Loescher is Program Director and General Secretary.

The other American members of the Management Committee are: Dr. George H. Bennett, International Affairs and Exhibits, New York World's Fair 1964-1965 Corp.; Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University; Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, Division of World Mission and Evangelism, World Council of Churches; Lewis W. Douglas, formerly Ambassador to the Court of St. James; Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc.; Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University; Dr. Edwin S. Munger, Professor, California Institute of Technology; Leslie Paffrath,

President, The Johnson Foundation; Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Mrs. William F. H. Purcell, civic leader and school and college trustee; Dr. Emory Ross, missionary and consultant on Africa; Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches; John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank.

The following South Africans also serve on the Management Committee: H. Goldberg, Ellis Furnishers, Ltd.; Rev. W. A. Landman, Director of Information, Cape Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Church); Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Chairman, South African Tourist Corp.; K. P. G. Schoeman, Chairman, Bantu Investment Corp.; T. P. Stratten, Deputy Chairman and Managing Director, Union Corporation, Ltd.; Prof. W. G. Sutton, Vice Chancellor and Principal, University of the Witwatersrand; Dr. H. B. Thom, Principal, Stellenbosch University; F. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations; A. D. Wassenaar, General Manager, Sanlam; Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of South Africa.

C O P Y

TOUCHE, ROSS, BAILEY & SMART
Certified Public Accountants

Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Bldg.
Philadelphia 9, Pennsylvania

Management Committee
United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc.
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

We have examined the statement of net assets of United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc., as of June 30, 1962, and the related statement of receipts and disbursements and changes in net assets for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances, except that it was impractical for us to extend our examination of contributions received beyond accounting for amounts so recorded.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly the financial position of United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. at June 30, 1962, and the results of its operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

/s/ TOUCHE, ROSS, BAILEY & SMART
Certified Public Accountants

August 17, 1962

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UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
STATEMENT OF NET ASSETS
JUNE 30, 1962

CURRENT ASSETS:		
Cash:		
Demand deposits		$ 11,498.64
Savings deposits		113,215.31
Office cash funds		28.90
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS		$124,742.85
LESS CURRENT LIABILITIES:		
Payroll taxes withheld from employees		79.74
NET CURRENT ASSETS		$124,663.11
EQUIPMENT:		
Furniture, fixtures and equipment - at cost	$1,894.14	
Less, accumulated depreciation	303.52	
		1,590.62
NET ASSETS (NOTE "B")		$126,253.73

See Notes to Financial Statements

(OVER)

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS AND CHANGES IN NET ASSETS
YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1962

RECEIPTS:			
Contributions:			
Foundations		$119,770.00	
Corporations		30,662.42	
Individuals		23,833.05	
			$174,265.47
Interest on savings accounts			3,657.98
Other			172.56
			$178,096.01
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Program grants		$ 78,704.72	
General and administrative:			
Salaries and wages	$24,075.97		
Communications	803.52		
Rent and utilities	1,356.00		
Postage	1,042.82		
Staff travel	2,907.05		
Committee members' travel	3,529.89		
Payroll taxes	401.51		
Printing	993.97		
Supplies and equipment	1,387.28		
Maintenance and service	1,012.72		
Periodicals	98.46		
Accounting and auditing	750.00		
Depreciation	189.42		
Other	598.01		
		39,146.62	
			117,851.34
EXCESS OF RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS			$ 60,244.67
NET ASSETS, JULY 1, 1961			66,009.06
NET ASSETS, JUNE 30, 1962 (NOTE "B")			$126,253.73

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NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS - YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1962

NOTE "A" - GRANTS AWARDED DIRECTLY TO EXCHANGEES:

The financial statements do not include grants awarded by certain public and private agencies directly to exchangees of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. During the year ended June 30, 1962, grants of this nature amounted to approximately $28,000.00.

NOTE "B" - COMMITMENT OF UNEXPENDED FUNDS:

At June 30, 1962, unexpended funds of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. were committed for specific exchangees as follows:

Faculty exchangees	$41,941.10
Leader exchangees	39,509.40
	$81,450.50

January 30, 1963

Mr. Frank Loescher
Program Director
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program, Inc.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Loescher:

I greatly enjoyed meeting Allister Sparks, and so did the others here at the Council. I hope that he got something from his Atlanta trip. By now he must be somewhere in darkest Mississippi. He has, I think, the understanding to learn from it.

I had a letter the other day from Professor William O. Brown of Boston University. Unfortunately, I am going to be in Indiana the day he is in Atlanta, but I suggested to him in my reply that he come by the office to see Paul Anthony.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

January 11, 1963

Program Director and General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1963

ML - please handle & let me know - I should reply to Loescher

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am writing to introduce Allister Sparks, curriculum vitae enclosed, who is an Associate Nieman Fellow at Harvard now travelling by car through the South with his family. Mr. Sparks plans to arrive in Atlanta on Friday, January 18, and leave on Wednesday, January 23. Could you conveniently make a reservation for him at an inexpensive place as he is trying to save money? He and his wife and two small children are quite prepared to stay in one large room. He will come to your office or phone you on Friday morning. 18.00

Mr. Sparks has a good many contacts, but if there are two or three people that you would especially like him to see, he would welcome your assistance. Mr. Sparks is absolutely top-grade in every way and I hope very much you will have some time for him.

If there are any opportunities for him to pick up some money through speaking engagements, he would welcome this.

I hope you will put a tickler in your files to include a visit with me when you next come up to "civilization".

All the best.

Peachtree Manor

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

Frank S. Loescher

FSL/b

Enc.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Penna.

P.O. Box 225
Stellenbosch, South Africa

MA ✓
MJ-file

March 1963

1963 EXCHANGEES

This year we are again fortunate in having a number of outstanding exchangees. Biographical information and preliminary itineraries are available in the Philadelphia and Stellenbosch offices.

SOUTH AFRICAN EXCHANGEES

Dr. and Mrs. A. P. Blignault Dr. Blignault is a psychiatrist and Editor of the journals of the Medical Association of South Africa. Mrs. Blignault is a well-known Afrikaans essayist and a member of the editorial staff of the Afrikaans woman's magazine: Sarie Marais. They plan to be in the United States from March 12 to June 2.

Dr. and Mrs. John de Villiers Dr. de Villiers is Assistant Director in charge of all Regional Offices of the Geological Survey. Dr. and Mrs. de Villiers will visit the United States from September 15 to December 15.

Dr. and Mrs. Joseph S. Manca Dr. Manca, an accountant in the City Treasurer's Department, Cape Town, is Conductor and Musical Director of the Cape Town Light Opera Company, Musical Director of the Eoan Group (an organization established for the Coloured Community) and of Pinelands (St. Stephen's) Repertory Society. Dr. and Mrs. Manca are visiting New York, Cleveland, Oberlin, Bloomington, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oklahoma City and New Orleans. They leave the United States on May 4.

Professor and Mrs. Philip Mayer* Professor Mayer is Head of the African Studies Program, Rhodes University, Grahamstown. After visiting California universities, Northwestern, Chicago, Indiana, Fisk, Howard, Johns Hopkins, Smith, Princeton and Yale from February to April, they will be associated with the Department of Social Relations at Harvard in May and June.

Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Namedi Phatudi Mr. Phatudi is Sub-Inspector of Bantu Education. He has written two novels, is Chairman of the Conference of Sub-Inspectors and Supervisors, Bantu Education, Southern Transvaal Region, and President of the Federation of the Sub-Inspectors and Supervisors, Bantu Education. Mr. and Mrs. Phatudi will be in the United States from April until July.

Mr. and Mrs. J. J. J. Scholtz Mr. Scholtz, who has received a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, is Foreign Editor of Die Burger. Mr. and Mrs. Scholtz will be in the United States from August through November. They will participate in a two-week seminar at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies,

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*Faculty Exchangees

Aspen, Colorado and then tour the West Coast, the South and the East. The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program is sponsoring them and arranging their study tour.

Professor and Mrs. P. A. Verhoef Professor Verhoef is Professor of Old Testament, Theological Seminary, Stellenbosch. He is also Executive Editor of the theological quarterly of the Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Church) and a member of the Committee for the Revision of the Afrikaans Translation of the Bible. Professor and Mrs. Verhoef expect to begin their study tour of theological seminaries in November and stay until January 1964.

Professor Monica Wilson* Professor Wilson is a member of the African Studies Program and Professor of Social Anthropology, University of Cape Town. From September 1963 to February 1964 she will be a visiting professor at Brandeis University and will then visit other universities on the West Coast until April.

SCIENCE EDUCATION PROGRAM

Under the auspices of the National Science Foundation for the third year several science teachers and professors will participate in the N.S.F. summer Institutes and have a two-week cultural tour of the United States offered by the U.S.-South Africa Program. The National Science Foundation has also offered to make available to the Program a position in an Academic Year Institute. The names of the science exchangees will be announced shortly.

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AMERICAN EXCHANGEES

Professor and Mrs. Wayne C. Booth* Dr. Booth is Pullman Professor of English at the University of Chicago. From August until November Dr. and Mrs. Booth will visit universities and government and church schools. Dr. Booth will participate in a Conference on the teaching of English sponsored by the Standing Committee of the Associated Church Schools, in conjunction with the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses and Rhodes University.

Professor and Mrs. William O. Brown* Professor Brown is Director of the African Studies Program, Boston University. Professor Brown will lecture at several universities and confer with professors of African Studies from February to July.

Professor and Mrs. Paul W. Bruton* Professor Bruton is Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Pennsylvania. He will lecture at universities and confer with members of the legal profession from June until the end of August.

Professor and Mrs. Seward Hiltner* Professor Hiltner, Professor of Theology and Personality, Princeton Theological Seminary, will lecture at South African theological seminaries in August and September.

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*Faculty Exchangees

Mr. and Mrs. John R. May Mr. May, Executive Director of the San Francisco Foundation, San Francisco, California, and Mrs. May will be in South Africa from June to September to confer with leaders in social welfare.

Dr. and Mrs. Derrick T. Vail, Jr. Dr. Vail is Professor of Ophthalmology and Director of the Department of Ophthalmology, Northwestern University Medical School, and Editor-in-Chief, American Journal of Ophthalmology. Dr. and Mrs. Vail will be in South Africa from July to October. Dr. Vail will lecture at universities and confer with officers of the National Council of the Blind and industrialists interested in the prevention of blindness.

Mr. Philip Woodyatt Mr. Woodyatt, a member of the management consulting firm of Pritchard, Schaffer and Woodyatt, and formerly Director of Special Programs for the Institute of International Education, will be in South Africa during February and March. Mr. Woodyatt is a long-time friend of the Program. His work in South Africa will include consultations with Management Committee members, former exchangees, and others closely interested in the Program. An important object of his work will be to gather data which will help us plan the agenda for the joint meeting this July of South African and American members of the Management Committee.

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Mr. Lewis M. Douglas, formerly Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, a member of the Management Committee, plans to be in South Africa in May and will see members of the Committee.

Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor of History at Earlham College and Vice Chairman of our Program, and Mrs. Hoskins will visit South Africa this summer for two or three weeks. They plan to devote most of their stay to visiting with former exchangees.

Dr. Edwin S. Munger, Professor of Geography at the California Institute of Technology and a Management Committee member, and Mrs. Munger will also be in South Africa this summer. Dr. and Mrs. Munger look forward to seeing former exchangees.

Mrs. William F. H. Purcell of Pasadena, California, a Management Committee member, expects to be in South Africa in October and hopes to see many of our exchangees whom she has met in the United States.

****

This summer we will have a joint meeting of the South African and American members of the Management Committee at Wingspread, headquarters of The Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin, from July 21 to 25. Several of the South African members plan to be in the United States for extended periods before or after the joint meeting, including Reverend W. A. Landman, Director of Information, Cape Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Church); Professor N. J. J. Olivier, University of Stellenbosch; Mr. K. P. G. Schoeman, Chairman, Bantu Investment Corporation; Professor W. G. Sutton, formerly Vice Chancellor and Principal, University of the Witwatersrand; Professor H. B. Thom, Rector, University of Stellenbosch; Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director, Industrial Development Corporation of S.A.; Mr. F. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South

African Institute of Race Relations; Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church. Mr. H. Goldberg, Chairman, Ellis and Company, and Mr. A. D. Wassenaar, General Manager, SANLAM, also expect to attend the joint meeting. The plans of the other three South African members are uncertain at this time.

UNITED STATES—SOUTH AFRICA LEADER
EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.

I am happy to send you this copy of our Annual Report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1962.

FRANK S. LOESCHER
General Secretary

PAV
SBV
MA-file

UNITED STATES–SOUTH AFRICA EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

Frank S. Loescher

101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pa., 19104

EV 2-7830

EV 2–7830

file

FRANK S. LOESCHER

UNITED STATES — SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

I PLEAD
FOR MY COUNTRY
AND ALL ITS PEOPLES

Address by
Dr. Anton Rupert
to The African Affairs Society of America
in New York on 26th April, 1962
and the Conference of
The U.S.A.-South African Leader Exchange Program
in Racine, Wisconsin on 30th April, 1962

ON HELPING THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

May I thank you for your wonderful hospitality and for the great privilege of being able to speak to you here today.

During my many travels I have learnt that there are good and bad amongst all races — but that if possible there are more good people amongst the Americans — **the givingest of all races** (The United States has disbursed $75,000 million in international aid from 1945 to 1960 of which $21,000 million was in non-military aid to the underdeveloped countries).

My late father was a bit of a philosopher. During my youth when I was a national, or nationalist student leader my father used to say:

"One thinks with one's heart and then rationalises with one's brain.

"Be careful of this. There are good and bad amongst all people.

"A man without heart is a materialist. The heart is important — but let your head always balance your heart."

This is the concept I have found in the American-South African Leader Exchange Committee: The courage

to dare — the wisdom to deliberate — the happiness in doing something for others. My presence here is a token of appreciation for that spirit.

THE PROBLEM

Before discussing my country as a newly developing country in particular, may I discuss help to the under-developed — or as I would rather call them, developing — countries in general.

The main index of the economic survival of the new developing states will be their capacity to pay for goods and services from outside.

Dr. Kimble has aptly put it: "Even freedom, that most precious gift of all, sometimes means little more than the power to decide how you would cut your cake, **if you had one".**

Nations obviously need food as well as freedom. It is our task to help them in this. To do this effectively, we must firstly rid ourselves of the idea that any such help is detrimental to ourselves. This is a common misconception — rather like that of the farmer who believes that in sharing the economy, he has to divide his land and have less available.

THE HOPE

Fortunately, this is not so, for **prosperity is contagious.** This is best exemplified by the present situation in Europe.

The fact that Britain needs to join the European Common Market amply illustrates this one salient fact: **major increases in trade today are in exchanges of manufactured goods between highly industrialised countries.**

There is, therefore, no danger in the existing industrialised countries developing the underdeveloped. Rather the contrary.

If we must have further proof, we need only consider the situation in South Africa. Barely thirty years ago, when South Africa started its first Industrial Revolution and particularly at the time of the formation of our Iron and Steel Corporation, it was felt that this would do grave damage to the older countries of Europe. What has happened since, has proved to be exactly the opposite. While South Africa has overcome its poor-white problem, and wage rates and general well-being have increased, we have had to impose import control because we were in fact buying much more from those very countries which had previously feared that their trade with us would suffer.

This is not surprising, for we need but consider that half the industrial products of America today were totally unknown a quarter of a century ago. And in the next decade we shall see products which hitherto have been unheard of.

While South Africa now manufactures its own railway lines and corrugated iron, it imports more specialised machinery and electronic equipment.

Britain's exports point to the same conclusion:

In 1935/38 **Engineering Products** formed **20.1%** of Britain's exports.

By 1961 they had more than doubled to **45.5%.** The greatest increase was in **machinery** and **instruments,** jumping from **13.3 to 30.7%** of total exports.

Vehicles and **aircraft** increased from **4.8 to 14.2%.** On the other hand, **coal dropped** from **8 to 0.8%** and textiles from **24 to 7.8%.**

It is true that the South African import trade has shifted to products of a more specialised nature, but as a result of our general high standard of living and larger number of wage earners, we still buy certain non-specialised products from them as well.

If **we** develop the underdeveloped, we shall become better off while **their** standard of living will rise.

THE PREREQUISITES

And now, how shall we set about aiding the underdeveloped?

I believe that it is a fallacy to maintain that the policy of "giving away" large sums of money leads us anywhere. No man loves his creditor and no man likes to be indebted. The easiest way to lose a friend is by doing him too great a favour without allowing him to do something in return. Between 1956 and 1961 the West spent almost twelve thousand million dollars on

a "give away" basis and yet Russia has made the greater gains.

The time has come for you to tell the leaders of developing countries that there are simple, but important provisoes for economic development — these facts might well be taught at our schools.

According to Prof. Rostow these prerequisites are:

1. They should establish law and order.
2. They should maintain a sound and adequate monetary system.
3. They should create an impartial and honest civil service.
4. They should construct proper transportation and communication systems and provide utility services.

Instead, in some new states we are apt to find the official opposition in custody, currency losing its value and corruption in the civil service.

A POSITIVE PROGRAMME

To help them I believe that we should attempt the following **7 Point Programme:**

1. Retain a competent body of expert administrators, scientists and civil servants who can be made available to every emergent state.
2. Help them to establish Western financial institutions of the type which we so easily take for granted.

We know that the most ardent advocate of private property and private initiative is the man who owns his own house. On the other hand, the most willing victim of Communist propaganda is the man whose children have no roof over their heads.

In South America, for example, where there are practically no Building Societies, the incidence of home ownership is the lowest in the Western world. Of the thirty million houses in South America, at least twenty million, or two out of three, are below the minimum standard suitable for human habitation. Moreover, 40% of the South American population, or 70 million in total, are below the age of fifteen.

Consequently, a million houses are required there annually to meet the growing demand, without even taking into account replacements.

At present, however, only one new house is built for every sixteen additions to the population, as compared with one for each three additions in the population of the United States of America.

What is necessary is that the techniques of mortgage bond-financing such as employed by our Building Societies, should be introduced.

This also implies that we, in South Africa, in so far as our own non-white areas are concerned, should think of the establishment of Mutual Savings and Loan Societies as well as other financial institutions.

3. We need an idea that will transcend all negative implications, including that of self-interest; an idea which will stir the imagination of the emergent states and which will guide them on the way to economic independence.

I recently told leaders of Moral Re-Armament that a psychological "up-lift" would cause a psychological "let-down" unless accompanied by **economic re-armament.**

I believe that the idea of "industrial partnership" between the developed and the underdeveloped, between the West and the emerging states, could provide this economic re-armament.

I believe the solution is that all enterprises started in a country by people from outside should, as far as possible, be based on the principle of equal partnership with the inhabitants of that country.

I believe in this because I have seen it work. It is a policy applied throughout my Group of Companies, that no new enterprise is launched in any country unless the inhabitants of that country are given the opportunity of acquiring at least half the shares. The Chairman and the majority of the members of the Board of Directors are also nominated from the citizens of the country concerned. This I believe to be the only way of tackling the development of an area and carrying it through successfully.

How else could we constitute such select boards with the ex-Prime Minister of Canada as President of our

Canadian Board, the ex-Prime Minister of Rhodesia on our Rhodesian Board, the banker de Rothschild in England, and His Highness, Temenggong Ahmad, son of the Sultan of Johore, on the Malayan Board — to mention but a few.

People of this calibre hardly co-operate on terms of **inequality.**

Apart from this, I believe this is the only policy which can be morally justified. How can one use the labour, the communication systems, the utility services, the goodwill and markets of a country without making the inhabitants of that country one's partners?

Above all, how can one go to these territories and gain the confidence of the people if one has not enough confidence in them to let them participate in one's undertaking? One must give confidence in order to gain confidence.

We must take the risk of placing confidence in the people of the areas that are to be developed. **Where there is no confidence, life has no meaning.** Schweitzer once said that confidence is the supreme capital in any enterprise — without confidence nothing of real value can be achieved.

May I put it like this: **To trust is a risk, but to distrust an even greater risk.**

4. The Western Governments should help enterprise in emergent states by partially guaranteeing against

political risk. This should be cheaper than mere "give-aways".

5. The West must allow the products of the young countries into their markets. In many labour-intensive industries, like cheap textiles, the underdeveloped countries can well produce at a more competitive rate than the Old World; the latter can then adapt itself to nucleonic production rather than labour-intensive production.

6. Because an enlightened government requires an enlightened proletariat, **we must contribute funds to foster education in the underdeveloped countries so as to create an educated middle class.**

7. But our greatest need is for true **entrepreneurs — those people with initiative, with purpose and drive, who can bring markets, material, capital and labour together and thus create sound, new enterprises.**

We shall have to create the necessary climate for the growth of such entrepreneurs. Without them our civilization will perish.

I PLEAD FOR MY COUNTRY AND ALL ITS PEOPLES

From the general, I now come to the particular — to South Africa as an example of a developing country.

The Cape of Good Hope, where I come from, and New Amsterdam — or as you now call it, New York — have much in common. When my maternal ancestor, Johann van Eeden, arrived in Cape Town, now exactly

three hundred years ago, Cape Town was the more important being the half-way station to the East. The Cape was a Dutch possession under Governor Jan van Riebeeck and New Amsterdam a Dutch possession under Governor Peter Stuyvesant.

The Dutch built forts, called castles, on the Isle of Manhattan and at the Cape of Good Hope. The fort at Manhattan has gone, but the castle at Cape Town is still there as a national monument. And so are many of the old Cape Dutch buildings and houses, which would greatly interest you as the cultural descendants of the Knickerbockers.

When David Rockefeller visited me in the Cambridge of South Africa — Stellenbosch, a university town thirty miles from Cape Town — he was astounded by the rich cultural heritage left us by the Dutch. I mention these facts because they are **our "title-deeds" to the country we love** — as much as you love America.

I am therefore a white African, or Afrikaner, as my people have called themselves since the historic day in 1707, when in this very Stellenbosch, a young Huguenot, Hendrik Bibault, first exclaimed: "Ik ben een Afrikaner". It is clear, therefore, that my country is not populated by black Africans only. Where I live, my ancestors had made their home some three centuries ago.

A LAND OF MANY RACES

My country is multi-racial: White and Brown and Black.

All her peoples are not the same — neither in quantity nor cultural development. Dr. Albert Schweitzer, that great benefactor of Africa, said many years ago that **one could give a man political fredom on a platter, but that economic and cultural freedom had to be earned.**

Nor are our peoples socially equal. As Lord Milnerton says: **"Social equality must be earned** by the personal merit that comes from education, the acceptance of high standards of values, the recognition of integrity and the maintenance of consistent effort".

If one counts heads alone — and consequently suffers from the tyranny of the majority — we light-skinned Africans form but 5 million, or one-third of South Africa's total population. If one does not include those Africans who live in their national homelands, we light-skinned Africans form half the population.

Those who realise that creative thoughts come from the individual and not from the masses, do not count heads alone. They realise that the little Netherlands gave us a Stuyvesant in New York, a Van Riebeeck in Cape Town, an Abel Tasman encircling Australia and the first of the moderns in painting, namely Rembrandt, contemporaries all.

A country need not be large in numbers to be great. Since the time of the Greeks, no country has achieved more, in such a relatively small territory, than the English. And this includes every sphere of human endeavour — from Shakespeare to Stevenson — from steam engines to jets.

Consider what the small Jewish nation has given the world: the Christian Faith and, diametrically opposed thereto, the Communism of Karl Marx. In the struggle between Christianity and Communism, the most important factor is the atom bomb: a result of the labours of another Jew, Einstein.

I am not here today to criticise my countrymen. I **do** criticise, but criticism, to be effective, must be done face to face — at home. Suffice it to say that I have been advocating the formation of an African Development Corporation for more than a decade. My Group, for one, has developed full industrial partnership in both white and non-white countries, on five continents, by offering 50% of the stock in our factories to the inhabitants of the countries concerned.

I recall the little American song:

Isn't it terrible sad
that I'm so good
and the world so bad!

with the refreshing refrain:

Isn't it terrible sad:
to think you're good
is really bad!

No, I am here today not to criticise but to plead for my country and all its peoples.

We are a small group of 15 million people of all colours who have built one of the most modern states

in the world with a more integrated economy than that of California.

ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS

- We have attained the highest standard of living in the whole of Africa and higher indeed than that of any country in South America.
- Our annual national income per head of the population is three times that of Ghana, five times that of Nigeria and six times that of India.
- Our Asiatics have four times the average income of their brothers in India; our Coloured people are economically better off than the people of Ceylon; our Africans have a higher income than any of the Africans in other African states.
- In fact, our non-White citizens today run a hundred thousand motor cars of their own, four times more per capita than the 575,000 cars in the whole of Russia.
- Although there are only few countries in the world with more automobiles than South Africa, we are, according to a recent German visitor, one of the very few countries where roadbuilding is ahead of traffic: we possess thousands of miles of the finest highways.
- With only 6% of the continent's total population, our domestic economic activities account for 30%

of the production and income of the entire continent of Africa.

- We have nearly 50% of all vehicles, 50% of all telephones; we generate nearly two-thirds of all electrical power and operate more than 50% of all rail transport in Africa . . . all this with only 15 million out of a total population of 240 million for Africa.

- We are by far the most highly developed country on the continent, producing more steel than the rest of Africa combined. We possess the largest wine cellars in the world, the largest "petrol out of coal" plant, the deepest airconditioned mines and the largest man-made object ever, the latter being, I understand, a mine dump near Johannesburg.

- All this has been attained without any Marshall Aid and we were one of the few countries to repay the United States in full our total lease-lend obligations incurred during the Second World War.

- With only six per cent of the total population of Africa, we have more eye hospital facilities for black Africans than the rest of Africa combined. One of the general hospitals for non-Whites — the Baragwanath Hospital near Johannesburg — has 2,500 beds and 200 doctors of whom half are specialists and some twenty are African physicians. This hospital, by far the largest in Africa, is one of the most modern in the world.

- We have been able to afford an expenditure of more than R100 million ($140 million) on the largest re-

housing programme ever launched in the Southern Hemisphere. Houses for non-Whites are being built at a rate of 25,000 a year by the State and at a rate of only 2,000 a year for Whites.

CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS

But one cannot live on bread alone. Let us look at what has been achieved in the cultural field.

My forebears created a new South African language, Afrikaans — the most modern Germanic language in the world — as one of our national languages, whilst maintaining English as our international language. Like Canada, South Africa is bilingual. Please do not regard this as a misfortune — we are in good company: Belgium and Canada are bilingual, Switzerland trilingual. Whilst Canada has inherited the glory of Shakespeare, Voltaire and Balzac, we have inherited from Shakespeare and Vondel and Goethe.

I would like to read to you one poem translated from Afrikaans. It was written shortly after the fiercest colonial war of this century. (To deviate, this war could perhaps best be described by quoting a reply, given on behalf of President Kruger by General Smuts, to an editor of a leading New York newspaper, who had asked: "Would you put up a fight if necessary?" The reply was: "Yes. It will be a fight that will stagger humanity"). The poem I referred to describes the return of an exiled

prisoner of war to the barren veld of his farm — in what would be your Midwest.

Although written more than half a century ago, it is crisp and modern in style. Its title: **That's All** *

Gold,
blue;
veld,
sky;
and one bird wheeling lonely, high —
that's all.

An exile come back
from over the sea;
a grave in the grass,
a tear breaking free;
that's all.

In addition to these two Western languages, we have five other main language groups (some with more than one tongue) spoken by Black Africans and all used in radio broadcasts: Xhosa, Zulu, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho and Tswana. Add to these, two Indian languages and you have a picture of diversity that will shock any American.

But, in writing about "Democracy in America" as early as 1835, de Tocqueville said: "As conditions of men

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* "Dis Al" by Jan F. E. Cilliers.
Translation by Guy Butler.

become equal, individuals seem of less and society of greater importance. Increasingly then men in democracies put a premium upon equality and sameness rather than upon difference, and soon they become **intolerant of the very freedom to be different".**

In South Africa our peoples of all races still delight in the freedom of difference.

My Group has been sponsoring "teach yourself" language courses on records of the various tongues spoken in our country. I have brought some of these courses to show to you today. I wish you could listen to the beauty of the musical Xhosa, with words like "Lusikisiki", and "isithuthuthu". A number of our singers today regularly appear in famous Opera Houses in Europe; our poets, like Roy Campbell, are represented in English anthologies; and others, like van Wyk Louw, Opperman and Elizabeth Eybers in Dutch anthologies.

LEADERSHIP

But what about our men? May I recall the great **President Kruger** of the old Boer Republic. He fought, for freedom, the first anti-colonial war of this century — fifty years before President Nkrumah founded his party.

Hé was the man of whom one of your compatriots wrote more or less as follows: "I had the privilege of seeing the old Boer President — one cold and misty night in Paris — pleading the cause of his embattled

Boers. I could not understand one word of what he said, but knew then what men had meant when they said of Helen of Troy: 'Such was a face that launched a thousand ships' ".

May I recall our great Boer leader **General Jan Christian Smuts** -- who fought two wars on your side — and who was the spiritual father of the idea of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation.

May I recall **Eugene Marais,** lawyer, poet and philosopher who wrote "The Soul of the Ant" and whom one of your scientists has called the greatest naturalist of this age.

May I include that great Indian, **Mahatma Ghandi** who, although not born in South Africa, was formed there.

And the first Nobel Prize winner in Africa — **Arnold Theiler** of my old University.

On the present day scene, you all know of **Dr. Verwoerd,** the Amsterdam-born apostle of separate development and of **Mr. Albert Luthuli,** the first African born recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize.

You have all read about our problems, because human nature is such that exceptions are high-lighted. **Yet never has there been a country where so many peoples of so many different races have lived together peacefully on farm and in factory, year in, year out without a single case of lynching.**

In fact, we now employ in the Republic of South Africa one million non-Whites from outside our borders who come here voluntarily to enjoy an improved standard of living.

Modern industrial enterprise requires an apex of highly trained University graduates with a broad base of high grade secondary and primary school pupils. It is in this field of leadership that South Africa is far in advance of any country, both as regards our White and our non-White population. In addition to a few hundred thousand university-trained Whites, we have more non-Whites with higher education than the whole of the former Britsh East Africa combined.

REASONS FOR PROSPERITY

What then has enabled South Africa to outstrip its African brother states in performance?

Firstly:

The fact that South Africa has more educated citizens than any of the other states — and economic prosperity, everywhere in Africa, is in direct ratio to the degree of education.

Secondly:

We have not given one man one vote. Lord Hailey, one of the greatest living authorities on Africa, said: "May it never be said that the African had asked for bread and was given the

vote." There is some truth in this, for where in the world have you seen a country making a successful industrial take-off under a system of complete voting equality? It most certainly did not happen in Germany or Japan. Nor did England or the United States have equality of vote during their industrial take-off.

For, if all have the same say during such a period, they devour all the products of the society and no savings can be effected to ensure industrial growth. Consider Russia's industrial success and China's present emergence, under dictatorships.

May it never be said of us that when the peoples of the world sought "freedom from want" we gave them the "bondage of the vote".

The underdeveloped countries, therefore have the simple choice of a pyramidal society — like ours — or a dictatorship. The latter seems the unavoidable situation everywhere else in Africa.

Due to South Africa's pyramidal society, the national savings are of the highest in the world, now amounting to some 30% which is being ploughed back into development. This must result in a better standard of living for all.

Thirdly:

The White South African has a philosophy of economic activity similar to yours.

The African philosophy of life, on the other hand, has not been one of economic activity. **"The Africans are naturally happy-go-lucky,"** General Smuts said in a Rhodes Memorial Lecture in 1929.

"They are not oppressed with the stirrings of that divine discontent which has made the European the most unhappy but the most progressive of all human beings." (He could well have said that of many others as well). There are, therefore, built-in social resistances to economic growth. Where progress has been made, it has coincided with immigration — even in Liberia.

Fourthly:

The South African social pattern, however much maligned, may have been beneficial to economic growth.

The fact that the Whites have kept themselves separate and **maintained a certain standard of living** has caused them to set a standard to which the non-Whites aspire. In the process the latter are being helped up, whereas the Whites are not being pulled down.

However important politics may be, South African racial problems are not going to be solved by political parties but by industry. For democracy first needs a responsible **"body economic"** before a responsible **"body politic".**

Industry is the life-blood of the nation — alone it earns the money that pays for education, hospitals and roads — in short, for our way of life. Without a flourishing industry, we would have been in a state of chaos — like the Congo. Instead, we enjoy a very high standard of living.

South Africa's great number of industrial firms are bringing a new concept of life to the non-Whites and are laying the foundation for a middle class that will prove the salvation of our racial problems.

Many of us are slowly beginning to realise that prosperity is contagious and that if we help the dark man to rise, we shall rise with him, but if we hold him back, he will pull us down with him.

WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE?

★ South Africa is on the threshold of great industrial development. In the next few years about R2,000,000,000 ($2,800,000,000) will be put into already planned projects and extensions.

★ The programme of expansion will involve capital investment in the following basic industries:

Iron and steel	:	R600,000,000 ($840,000,000)
Electric power	:	R400,000,000 ($560,000,000)
Petrol from coal	:	R 60,000,000 ($ 84,000,000)
Transport	:	R400,000,000 ($560,000,000)
Other undertakings	:	R540,000,000 ($756,000,000)

★ In addition, the biggest single irrigation and hydro-electric scheme ever to be tackled in Africa was announced for South Africa during March this year. This plan, the Orange River Project, is in the same category as is that of the Tennessee Valley Authority,

and upon completion it will cost about R450,000,000. ($630,000,000).

How can South Africa afford all this? **It is producing two-thirds of the free world's gold; its reserves of coal, at some 75 billion tons, form a third of the entire reserves of the Southern Hemisphere. The nation can repay its total foreign debt with only eight months' production of gold from its mines.**

With unlimited iron ore, coal, manganese and chrome, South Africa is fast becoming the workshop of the entire continent.

This is a country where you should have a stake. American companies doing business in South African industry are averaging profits of some 27% on invested capital and have trebled their investments in the last decade.

This brings me back to de Tocqueville who wrote in 1835:

"There are at the present time two great nations in the world which started from different points but seem to tend towards the same end. I allude to the Russians and to the Americans. Both of them have grown up unnoticed; and whilst the attention of mankind was directed elsewhere they have suddenly placed themselves in the front rank among nations.

"All other nations seem to have nearly realised their natural limits but these are in the act of growth.

"The conquests of America are gained by the **plowshare** — those of the Russians by the **sword.**

"The principal instrument of the former is **freedom** — of the latter **servitude.** Each of them seems marked by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe."

But in South Africa you need not fear Communism, for our five million light-skinned Africans and our enlightened dark-skinned Africans will never tolerate it.

Rather shall we, if Europe and Africa were to turn to Communism, find ourselves like Hawaii, part of the American scene. For our northernmost border is not much further in time from Washington, the centre of Western power, than Washington is from Honolulu, nor is our population more diverse.

Just as your 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean ensures the freedom of Greece, and the 7th Fleet in the East the safety of Australasia, the Pax Americana — like the Pax Britannica of old — embraces the Cape.

Finally, we have a lot in common. Has Fate not willed that we should both have been **first Dutch, then British possessions and should now be Republics?** Is it not now up to us to ensure that for the future we build upon this happy association?

A NEW BRIDGE OF UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION

A NEW BRIDGE OF UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION

Few Americans realize that the social, political and economic forces at work in Africa have the deepest significance to the United States in its role as a leader in the Western World. In particular, the expanding economy of the Republic of South Africa and the social problems it is facing resemble certain challenges Americans face in their own country. It is time the two nations began to learn about—and from—each other's experience.

South Africans, on the other hand, are increasingly conscious of the United States, but relatively few of them have a clear picture of life in America or the meaning of American policies and institutions.

This lack of mutual understanding is a matter of immediate concern. A new bridge of understanding and co-operation must be built through personal relationships between leading citizens of the two countries.

The United States—South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc., founded in 1958, is an effort to develop through private, non-governmental means a mutual basis of co-operation between professional, business and civic leaders of the United States and the Republic of South Africa. With the financial assistance of individuals and business and philanthropic organizations in both countries

the exchange program encourages, counsels and assists extended visits of South African and American leaders to each other's country.

The program enables Americans to see South African life at first hand and gain better understanding of the efforts South Africans are making to solve their problems. It also enables South Africans to study America's way of life, see how Americans are trying to solve their problems and become acquainted with American conceptions of the crucial role that Africa is playing in relations between East and West.

An International Management Committee supervises the program and selects the leaders for exchange. Three types of exchange fellowships have been planned:

★ *Exchanges of families:* The leader will actually work on the staff of an organization in the U. S. or South Africa in his specific field. Responsibility for hospitality, job placement, finding a home, schooling for children and travel arrangements are borne by the employing organization. The Management Committee can provide matching funds to the employing organization, as may be necessary. Examples might include librarians, journalists, clergymen, professors, school teachers, civil servants.

★ *Individual short-term projects:* This enables the individual leader to undertake a specific piece of work in his particular field and participate in conferences during a three month period. Provision is made for wives to accompany husbands. (Faculty exchanges are usually for six months.)

★ *Team programs:* Teams of four to six leaders may be selected to study intensively in the U. S. some particular problem, e.g. soil conservation, rural electrification, etc., facing South Africa in which the U. S. has knowledge and experience, and *vice versa.*

A recent survey showed that leader exchange between the United States and South Africa, while extremely limited, has been effective and recommended that American and South African organizations should be stimulated to expand these types of exchange. South Africans can gain increased understanding through first hand experience with America's pluralistic society. A similar knowledge of South Africa's multi-racial society will help Americans both domestically and internationally.

In the interests of the peoples of South Africa, of America's stake in Africa and of world peace itself, there is an urgent need to promote a greatly expanded program of exchanges between the Republic of South Africa and the United States. This is the objective of the United States—South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc.

MANAGEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES—SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

The program is supervised by a Management Committee of 40 members—20 American and 20 South African. The following members thus far have been appointed to the Management Committee:

American Members

Dr. George H. Bennett, Formerly Director, Asia—Africa, Institute of International Education.

Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Studies Program, Boston University.

Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, Division of World Mission and Evangelism, World Council of Churches.

Lewis W. Douglas, Formerly Ambassador to the Court of St. James's.

Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc.

Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor, Earlham College.

Dr. Frank S. Loescher, Program Director, U. S.—S. A. Leader Exchange Program.

Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University.

Dr. Edwin S. Munger, Professor, California Institute of Technology.

Leslie Paffrath, President, The Johnson Foundation.

Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Mrs. Elizabeth R. Purcell, School and College Trustee.

Dr. Emory Ross, Missionary and Consultant on Africa.

Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches.

John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank.

South African Members

Rev. C. B. Brink, Mission Secretary, Dutch Reformed Church ("N. G. Kerk"), Northern Transvaal.

H. Goldberg, Chairman, Ellis and Company.

Rev. W. A. Landman, Director of Information and Stated Clerk, Cape Dutch Reformed Church ("N. G. Kerk").

Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Chairman, South African Tourist Corporation.

Prof. N. J. J. Olivier, Professor, Stellenbosch University.

K. P. G. Schoeman, Chairman, Bantu Investment Corporation.

T. P. Stratten, Deputy Chairman and Managing Director, Union Corporation, Ltd.

Prof. W. G. Sutton, Vice Chancellor and Principal, University of the Witwatersrand.

Prof. H. B. Thom, Rector, University of Stellenbosch.

Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director, Industrial Development Corporation of S. A.

F. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations.

A. D. Wassenaar, General Manager, SANLAM.

Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of S. A.

OFFICERS

Dr. van Eck is Chairman of the Management Committee;

Rev. Brink and *Dr. Hoskins* are Vice-Chairmen;

Dr. Loescher is Program Director and General Secretary;

Prof. Olivier is Secretary in South Africa.

The United States—South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc., exchanged 13 South African and American couples and 6 science teachers and professors in 1961. Financial support is being sought for 25 couples per year during the next five years. Contributions to the Program are tax-exempt in the United States and South Africa.

Contributions may be made to and further information obtained from:

UNITED STATES—SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.

or

THE FUND FOR THE UNITED STATES—SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
P. O. Box 225, Stellenbosch
Republic of South Africa

Rev. 1962

See: Cabinet #14 Draw. 1

December 30, 1963

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Program Director
U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange
Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I'll look forward to meeting Professor Wilson.

I don't think I have ever thanked you decently for the help which I am sure you gave to us in our successful application to the Chace Fund. This is going to be of tremendous aid to us. My thinking is that we should not look to the Chace Fund regularly, or even frequently, for assistance (of course, if I am wrong about this you might let me know). We regard this latest grant as a life line, and it indeed is that.

Happy New Year, and all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

December 24, 1963

Program Director and General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

PW
MC
return to LD

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I am writing to introduce Professor Monica Wilson of the University of Cape Town, vita enclosed, who plans to stay at the Atlantan Hotel from January 8 to 15. I hope very much Professor Wilson is able to see you and I have suggested she phone you on arrival.

With every good wish for a happy new year.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL/d
Encl.

CC: Professor Monica Wilson

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

file - Loescher, Frank

MJ

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

January 6, 1964

Program Director and General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter of December 30. About the Chace Fund - you have at least two friends of the Council on the Committee. At some stage, perhaps in three or four months, why don't you mail ten copies of an account of your activities to Harold Evans, the Chairman, and a note asking him if he would like to distribute them to members of the Chace Fund Committee. If you come to Philadelphia, you might try to have an hour with him too. As long as the SRC is related to Quaker interests and activities, I should think you would stand a good chance of furhter support although you might want to make your request for a special purpose, as you did this time.

I feel sure you will find a session with Monica Wilson worthwhile. I appreciate your willingness to see her.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

note for when we distribute annual report

FSL/d

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

Rec'd 3/19/65

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

March 6, 1964

General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Program Director:
W. G. C. MOIR
P. O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Cable address: QUINTUS

file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Dr. and Mrs. James Murray will be in Atlanta for about a week beginning March 19. I would appreciate it if you could see Dr. Murray and advise him on certain aspects of the training of Negro medical personnel in the United States.

The Murrays are not our Exchangees. They are friends of many of my good friends in South Africa and they can help you when you go! Dr. Murray is here for a medical meeting. He will phone you soon after arrival.

Many thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL/d

CC: Dr. James Murray

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); E. C. BLAKE (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); F. COOLBAUGH (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); V. A. EAGLE (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); H. C. KOCH (S.A.); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—GENERAL SECRETARY); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); S. M. NABRIT (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

MS file: Loescher, Frank

FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

of the

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

1962-1963

This report includes an audited financial statement for the Program's fiscal year, July 1, 1962 to June 30, 1963

Philadelphia, Penna.
March 1964

FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

1962-1963

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. was organized in 1958 to develop through private, non-governmental means a mutual basis of cooperation between professional, business and civic leaders of all races in the United States and South Africa. The Program is incorporated in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and contributions are tax-exempt in the United States and South Africa.

This voluntary, nonprofit organization is unique in the international field. A Management Committee of distinguished South African and American business, university, religious and civic leaders makes the policies and selects the exchangees. The Program exchanges both American and South African leaders. American and South African foundations, corporations and individuals provide the financial support.

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS

1. The highlight of last year was the first joint meeting of the South African and U.S. members of the Management Committee at Wingspread, headquarters of The Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin, from July 21 to 25 with twenty-two of the twenty-eight members attending.
2. The Program has steadily grown from eleven exchanges, mostly couples, in 1959, twelve in 1960, nineteen in 1961, twenty-one in 1962 and twenty-three in 1963. Since 1958 more than 150 South Africans and Americans, including wives and children, have participated.
3. Four South African science teachers and professors came to the United States in 1963 to participate in the Summer Institutes of the National Science Foundation through the cooperation of the Foundation. Two other South Africans

and their families are attending Academic Year Institutes. This was the third year of the science education project.

4. The Faculty Exchange project between South African and American institutions of higher education, made possible by a grant from The Ford Foundation, had its second year of operation.

5. During the past year four American members of the Management Committee, visiting South Africa on private business, conferred with the South African members of the Management Committee.

6. Indirect assistance to the Program, in the form of free transportation, grants from foundations directly to Exchangees and compensation by universities for teaching or lecturing by Exchangees, was a substantial factor in 1963. Without such help the Program would have had fewer exchanges.

Leader Exchange Program

The leader exchange program which exchanges distinguished couples in the fields of journalism, religion, government service and education for three months to one year, had the following exchanges in 1962 and 1963:

1962 Exchangees

Dr. and Mrs. H. A. F. Barker. Dr. Barker is Director of the National Clothing Federation of South Africa; he and Mrs. Barker were here from August 15 until the end of October as "paying guests." They attended the Marketing Theory Seminar in Burlington, Vermont and then traveled west where Dr. Barker lectured on industrial relations at the California Institute of Technology. The Program arranged consultations for Dr. Barker throughout the country with business, labor and community leaders.

Mr. and Mrs. F. du Plessis. Mr. du Plessis, Assistant Librarian of the University of Stellenbosch, visited university libraries, African Studies Programs and participated in an Executive Seminar at the Aspen Institute.

Mr. Chris Fourie, Assistant to Professor Olivier in the Program's Stellenbosch office, candidate for a degree in theology and former administrator of African Affairs in East Africa, was in the United States early in 1962 to seek advice on a private social and technical assistance plan whereby South Africans would give aid to countries in East and Central Africa.

Mr. and Mrs. George J. Golding. Mr. Golding is Principal of the Ashley Street School, Cape Town and President of the Coloured People's National Union. Mr. and Mrs. Golding arrived in September for a three-month study tour of audio-visual education, adult education, child guidance clinics, medical services for children and intergroup relations.

The Rev. and Mrs. W. J. Lubbe. The Rev. Lubbe is Organising Secretary of Social Services of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape Province. Rev. and Mrs. Lubbe attended the National Conference on Social Welfare, New York, the Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University, and studied all branches of social work, especially the work of Churches. Mr. Lubbe's special interests are in family, child and youth welfare work, institutional care for alcoholics and unmarried mothers.

Mr. and Mrs. Louis M. Lyons. Mr. Lyons is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Nieman Foundation for Journalism, Harvard University and a news commentator on Station WBGH-TV-FM, Boston. The Carnegie Corporation awarded a grant for Mr. and Mrs. Lyons to visit South Africa under the auspices of the U.S.-South Africa Program for consultations on the training of journalists.

Mr. and Mrs. Theo Pauw. Mr. Pauw is Principal of the School for the Blind, Worcester. His two-month study tour of schools for the blind and social welfare agencies for the blind was aided by a grant from the Pfieffer Foundation; the American Foundation for Overseas Blind, New York planned the Pauws' itinerary.

Dr. and Mrs. Francis X. Schumacher. Dr. Schumacher, Professor-Emeritus, Forestry Department, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina lectured for a term at the University of Stellenbosch and served as a research consultant early in 1962. The Program assisted with a travel grant for Mrs. Schumacher.

Mr. and Mrs. Allister H. Sparks and their two children. Mr. Sparks, Political Correspondent, RAND DAILY MAIL, was an Associate Nieman Fellow at Harvard University. The Johnson Foundation awarded a fellowship to Mr. Sparks through this Program.

1963 Exchangees

Dr. J. Adendorff. Dr. Adendorff, General Manager of the Bantu Investment Corporation, studied race relations in urban areas and on the Indian reservations with emphasis on economic problems and small business opportunities during July-August 1963.

Dr. and Mrs. A. P. Blignault. Dr. Blignault is a psychiatrist and Editor of the journals of the Medical Association of South Africa. Mrs. Blignault is a well-known Afrikaans essayist and a member of the editorial staff of the Afrikaans woman's magazine, SARIE MARAIS. During a three-month study tour of the practice of psychiatry Dr. Blignault attended the annual meetings of the American Psychiatric and Psychoanalytic Associations and conferred with the editors of the JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION. Mrs. Blignault in her study of modern American literature met many American writers.

Dr. and Mrs. John de Villiers. Dr. de Villiers is Assistant Director in charge of all Regional Offices of the Geological Survey. Mrs. de Villiers is a librarian at the University of South Africa. With the advice and assistance of the U.S. Geological Survey, the U.S. Bureau of Mines and officers of mining companies Dr. de Villiers studied the roles of government and private industry in the production of minerals.

Dr. and Mrs. Joseph S. Manca. Dr. Manca, an accountant in the City Treasurer's Department, Cape Town, is Conductor and Musical Director of the Cape Town Light Opera Company, Musical Director of the Eoan Group (an organization established for the Coloured Community) and of Pinelands (St. Stephen's) Repertory Society. Dr. and Mrs. Manca studied choral and operatic music in major cities of the United States.

Mr. and Mrs. John R. May. Mr. May, Executive Director of the San Francisco Foundation, and Mrs. May conferred with South African leaders in the field of social welfare and philanthropy.

Mr. and Mrs. C. N. Phatudi. Mr. Phatudi, an African educator and author, is Sub-Inspector of Bantu Education in the Transvaal and President of the Federation of Sub-Inspectors and Supervisors of Bantu Education. Mr. and Mrs. Phatudi studied the organization and administration of public education in northern and southern cities.

Mr. and Mrs. J. J. J. Scholtz. Mr. Scholtz, Foreign Editor of the BURGER, studied American race relations and attended an Executive Seminar at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies. The Carnegie Corporation awarded Mr. Scholtz a travel grant.

Mr. Cecil Skotnes. Mr. Skotnes, a painter employed by the Johannesburg Municipality as Cultural Organizer for Non-Europeans, attended the international conference on Plastic Arts in New York and was assisted by the Program to visit art training institutions in metropolitan areas and Indian craft work in the Southwest during October-November 1963.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Steyn and their two children. Mr. Steyn, political correspondent of the CAPE ARGUS, was an Associate Nieman Fellow at Harvard. He received a Johnson Foundation Fellowship through the Program.

Dr. and Mrs. Derrick T. Vail, Jr. Dr. Vail is Professor of Ophthalmology and Director of the Department of Ophthalmology, Northwestern University Medical School, and Editor-in-Chief, AMERICAN JOURNAL OF OPHTHALMOLOGY. Dr. Vail lectured at universities and conferred with officers of the National Council of the Blind and industrialists interested in the prevention and treatment of eye diseases.

Professor and Mrs. P. A. Verhoef. Dr. Verhoef is Professor of Old Testament, Theological Seminary, Stellenbosch, executive editor of the theological quarterly of the Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Church) and a member of the Committee for the Revision of the Afrikaans Translation of the Bible. Professor Verhoef visited theological seminaries to study teaching methods and curricula.

Mr. Philip Woodyatt. Mr. Woodyatt, a member of a management consulting firm, was in South Africa from February to April 1963 for consultations with the Management Committee, former Exchangees and others closely interested in the Program to help plan the agenda for the joint meeting in July 1963 of the South African and U.S. members of the Management Committee.

Science Teachers and Professors

The National Science Foundation invited the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program to nominate South African participants for its Summer Institutes for science teachers and professors. Professor Laurence E. Strong, Chairman of the Department of Chemistry, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, Director of the Chemical Bond Approach Project of the National Science Foundation and a former leader exchangee, is American adviser on this Program. Professor S. S. Israelstam, Professor of Chemistry, University of the Witwatersrand, Dr. L. A. Prinsloo of the University of Pretoria and Professor C. B. van Wyk, Professor of Applied Mathematics, University of the Orange Free State, are advisers in South Africa.

The following South African science teachers and professors participated in the 1963 Summer Institutes:

Mr. J. W. Brommert, Senior Lecturer, Department of Physics, University of the Witwatersrand -- Rutgers University.

Mr. F. W. Louw, Inspector of Education, Department of Education, Bloemfontein -- Northeastern University.

Mr. R. N. Palm, Mathematics Teacher, Athlone High School, Athlone, Cape -- University of California at Santa Barbara.

Mr. S. W. Walters, Senior Science Master, Boys' High School, Paarl -- University of California, Berkeley.

The following participated in Academic Year Institutes:

Mr. G. de la Rey Nel, Senior Science Master, Kearsney College, Natal -- University of North Dakota.

Mr. N. C. H. Ferrandi, Headmaster and Senior Teacher of Mathematics, St. Andrew's School, Bloemfontein - San Diego State College.

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program supplemented the National Science Foundation grant covering tuition, living costs at the Summer Institutes and part of the international travel costs by contributions for international travel costs and arranging for each participant a two-week cultural tour of the United States. The National Science Foundation has invited the Program to nominate five South African science teachers and professors for its 1964 Summer Institutes and has also offered to make available to the Program two positions in the National Science Foundation Academic Year Institute activities.

Faculty Exchange Project

Fifteen professors in the social sciences and humanities are being exchanged over a three-year period for study tours of three to six months under a grant from The Ford Foundation in support of an exchange of academic personnel between American universities and universities in the Republic of South Africa.

1962 Exchangees

Professor and Mrs. Philip D. Curtin and their two children. Dr. Curtin, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin, lectured on African history at universities in South Africa from September 1962 to January 1963.

Professor and Mrs. T. R. H. Davenport and their two children. Dr. Davenport, Lecturer in the Department of History, University of Cape Town, and his family were in the United States for six months in 1962. Professor Davenport spent several months at the University of Rochester where he did research on French-Canadian Colonial nationalism and taught in the summer session. He attended the annual Conference of Canadian Historians at Hamilton, Ontario, and visited universities in Canada, New England and the South.

Professor and Mrs. J. C. de Wet. Professor de Wet of the Faculty of Law, Stellenbosch University, arrived with Mrs. de Wet in the United States in February 1962 for a three-month study tour focused on water law, Roman law, teaching methods and law school libraries. After visiting the University of Pennsylvania, Professor de Wet lectured at Tulane University, the University of Southern California and California Institute of Technology. Professor and Mrs. de Wet later visited Stanford and Berkeley, spent a week at the University of Chicago and stayed for six weeks at Harvard University. They also visited several other law schools in New England and the East.

Professor and Mrs. Desmond Hobart Houghton. Professor Houghton, Head of the Department of Economics, Rhodes University, and Mrs. Houghton arrived early in August 1962 and were in the United States until February 1963. Professor Houghton had three main interests: visiting African Studies Programs, conferring with economists specializing in economic development, doing research and finishing his book, SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY, just published by Oxford University Press, Inc. They participated in an Executive Seminar at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies and visited Midwest and West Coast university African Studies Programs. During the fall they were in Boston where Professor Houghton did research at Boston University, saw colleagues at M.I.T. and Harvard and lectured for two weeks at Smith College. Following a tour of the South, Professor Houghton lectured at the School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, and Howard University.

Professor and Mrs. W. M. Kgware. Mr. Kgware, Professor of Education, University College of the North, and Mrs. Kgware arrived in October 1962 for a four-month study of the organization and administration of secondary education. Professor and Mrs. Kgware spent a month at Earlham College with the Department of Secondary Education and observed in the Richmond, Indiana, elementary and secondary schools. Professor Kgware later spent a month in Washington lecturing at the School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, and Howard University and observing in the Washington public schools. They then toured the South and Midwest and completed their study tour in New England.

Professor and Mrs. J. C. G. Kotzé. Dr. Kotzé is Professor of Practical Theology, Theological Seminary, University of Stellenbosch. His major interests in the U.S. were clinical training, evangelism and youth work. The Kotzés attended the Sesquicentennial Institute at Princeton Theological Seminary in July 1962, visited the West Coast and participated for six weeks in the Clinical Training Program of the North Carolina Baptist Hospital, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. They concluded their visit with an extended stay at Boston University School of Theology in November and December.

Professor and Mrs. Otto Piper. Dr. Piper, Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis, Princeton Theological Seminary, and Mrs. Piper went to South Africa in December 1962 for two months under the auspices of the Theological Education Fund of the World Council of Churches to lecture to non-white theological students. The Program assisted Professor Piper to confer with theologians in Pretoria, Potchestroom, Stellenbosch and Grahamstown.

1963 Exchangees

Professor and Mrs. Wayne C. Booth. Dr. Booth, Pullman Professor of English at the University of Chicago, and Mrs. Booth were in Africa from July until November 1963. Dr. Booth made an intensive study of the teaching of English in all types of South African secondary schools and participated in a Conference on the Teaching of English sponsored by the Standing Committee of the Associated Church Schools, in conjunction with the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses and Rhodes University.

Professor and Mrs. William O. Brown. Dr. Brown, Director, African Studies Program, Boston University, and Mrs. Brown were in Africa in February 1963 for six months where Dr. Brown visited all of the Universities and new university colleges in South Africa as a consultant on African Studies Programs and later toured Middle Africa.

Professor and Mrs. Paul W. Bruton. Dr. Bruton, Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Pennsylvania, lectured at universities and conferred with members of the legal profession in South Africa from June to August 1963 and then spent two weeks in East Africa and Ethiopia.

Professor and Mrs. Philip Mayer. Professor Mayer, Head of the Department of African Studies, Rhodes University, arrived in February 1963 for three months of lectures and consultations in his field at U.C.L.A., Northwestern, Chicago, Indiana, Fisk, Howard, Johns Hopkins, Smith, Princeton and Yale, followed by two months as a Visiting Fellow with the Department of Social Relations at Harvard.

Professor Monica Wilson. Dr. Wilson, Professor of Social Anthropology, School of African Studies, University of Cape Town, taught from September to December 1963 at U.C.L.A. and then lectured in her field and conferred with colleagues at Duke, North Carolina, Chicago, Harvard and several liberal arts colleges until March 1964. She will visit universities in England and West Africa during April.

1964 Exchangees

Professor and Mrs. John C. Osgood and their two children. Dr. Osgood, Professor of Education and Psychology, Mount Holyoke College, is in South Africa from February to June 1964 studying Bantu education. In July and August he will visit schools and universities in East Africa.

Professor and Mrs. C. W. H. Schmidt. Dr. Schmidt, Professor of Constitutional, International and Criminal Law at the University of Pretoria, has been invited by Professor Bruton of the University of Pennsylvania Law School to spend several months early in 1965 as a Visiting Fellow for research and participation in seminars in his fields of major interest. The Program will finance part of the costs of this exchange. Mrs. Schmidt will accompany her husband.

Professor and Mrs. J. A. van Wyk. Dr. van Wyk teaches at the Stofberg Theological School, located near Pietersburg, for the training of African pastors and evangelists. Mr. and Mrs. van Wyk will be in the United States from December 1964 until April 1965 to do research on communications in missiology.

Members of the U.S. Selection Committee are:

Professor Gwendolen M. Carter, Smith College
Dr. C. W. de Kiewet, President Emeritus, University of Rochester
Dean Erwin Griswold, Law School of Harvard University
Professor Guy B. Johnson, University of North Carolina

Professor Vernon McKay, School of Advanced International Studies of The Johns Hopkins University
Professor Clinton L. Rossiter, Cornell University

The South African Selection Committee members are:

Dr. Simon Biesheuvel, formerly Director of the Institute of Personnel Research of the S.A. Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
Professor D. Hobart Houghton, Rhodes University
Professor J. H. Moolman, University of South Africa
Professor B. F. Nel, Pretoria University
Professor Monica Wilson, University of Cape Town
Professor James Yeats, University of Stellenbosch

Wingspread Conference

Twenty-two of the twenty-eight members attended the first joint meeting of the Management Committee, held at Wingspread, headquarters of The Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin, July 21 to 25, 1963:

Dr. and Mrs. George H. Bennett
Dr. William O. Brown
Dr. George W. Carpenter
Mr. and Mrs. Harry Goldberg
Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins
Rev. and Mrs. W. A. Landman
Dr. and Mrs. Frank S. Loescher
Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Professor N. J. J. Olivier
Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Paffrath
Mr. Alan Pifer
Mrs. William F. H. Purcell
Dr. and Mrs. Emory Ross
Mr. K. P. G. Schoeman
Professor W. G. Sutton
Professor and Mrs. H. B. Thom
Rev. and Mrs. Theodore L. Tucker
Dr. H. J. van Eck
Mr. F. J. van Wyk
Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Wassenaar
Dr. J. B. Webb
Mr. John H. Wheeler

After the conference five South African members -- Mr. and Mrs. Goldberg, Reverend and Mrs. Landman, Mr. Schoeman, Mr. van Wyk and Mr. and Mrs. Wassenaar -- were able to travel in the United States for several weeks to pursue interests of value to themselves and the Program.

The major purpose of the conference was to set goals for the next three to five years of the Program. These are the six major areas in which the Program intends to concentrate its efforts:

1. Techniques of Balanced Economic Growth

2. Problems of Rapid Urbanization

3. Progress in Educational Systems, Methods and Facilities

4. The Church in Rapid Social Change

5. Health and Medical Services

6. Artistic and Cultural Activities and Institutions

A full report of the joint meeting has been published and is available to interested readers.

Intervisitation among Members of the Management Committee

In addition to the Joint Meeting in the United States in 1963, several American members of the Management Committee have been in South Africa. Mr. Douglas went on business in 1962 and 1963 and both times conferred with South African members of the Management Committee. Mrs. Purcell was in South Africa in 1962 and 1963; Dr. Hoskins, who had been in Kenya on an educational mission, visited South Africa with Mrs. Hoskins for two weeks in 1963 in the interests of the Program. Dr. Munger spent the summer of 1963 in Southern Africa on a research project. Dr. Loescher, the General Secretary, who goes to South Africa regularly to confer with the South African members of the Management Committee and staff, was in South Africa in November-December 1962 and in February 1964. He saw many former South African Exchangees and discussed with future Exchangees their professional interests in coming to the United States.

Financial

The steady increase in the number of Exchangees has been made possible by a healthy broadening in the base of financial support. Especially valuable has been the indirect assistance rendered to the Program in both countries. These contributions which do not pass through the Program's accounts represent free transportation, paid leaves to Exchangees and foundation grants paid directly to persons recommended by the Program.

Since the inception of the Program Safmarine has given four free passages annually to the Program's Exchangees. Farrell Lines also gives the Program four free

passages. The Carnegie Corporation of New York on several occasions has given grants directly to Exchangees recommended by the Management Committee. The Johnson Foundation has given fellowships to four South African newspapermen who were Associate Nieman Fellows at Harvard University. Several American universities and colleges have provided hospitality or given honoraria to Exchangees for lectures and consultations. Universities and colleges in both countries have offered opportunities for our Exchangees to teach and several universities have given paid leaves to assist their faculty members. Newspapers have similarly assisted their staff. The National Science Foundation has made it possible for fifteen South African science teachers and professors to participate in the Summer Institutes which run for six to eight weeks and also has given two positions in their 1963-64 Academic Year Institutes to South Africans selected by U.S.-S.A.L.E.P. The Management Committee is also grateful to The Johnson Foundation for being host to the Joint Meeting of the Management Committee at its headquarters at Wingspread, Racine, Wisconsin.

The following foundations, corporations, individuals and institutions in the United States and South Africa have helped financially to make the Program possible:

Foundations

Abe Bailey Trust
American Metal Climax Foundation
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust
Carnegie Corporation
Chace Fund
Claremore Fund
Danforth Foundation
Division Fund
The Family Fund
The Ford Foundation
Hopkins Charitable Fund
The Johnson Foundation
J. M. Kaplan Fund
The Hans Merensky Trust
National Science Foundation
The New World Foundation
Norman Fund
Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust
Gustavus and Louise Pfeiffer Research Foundation
Phelps-Stokes Fund
Christopher Reynolds Foundation
Richardson Foundation
Rockefeller Foundation
Benj. Rosenthal Foundation
South Africa Association
Robert D. Stern Fund
Western Publishing Company Foundation
Weyerhaeuser Foundation
Wyomissing Foundation

Corporations

African Explosive and Chemical Industries, Ltd.
Allied Chemical Corporation
Anglo-American Corporation of S.A., Ltd.
Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investments Co., Ltd.
Argus Printing and Publishing Company, Ltd.
Brewers Institute of S.A., Ltd.
Bristol Myers Company
Bristol-Myers (Pty), Ltd.
Cape Times, Ltd.
Colgate-Palmolive, Ltd.
Courtaulds (Alabama), Ltd.
De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.
Engelhard Industries, Inc.
Engelhard Industries, Ltd.
Farrell Lines, Inc.
Federale Mynbou Bpk.
General Mining and Finance Corporation, Ltd.
Maggs Somerset (Pty), Ltd.
Model, Roland and Stone
The National Press
Newmont Mining Corporation
O'Okiep Copper Company, Ltd.
Otis Elevator Company, Ltd.
Pan American World Airways System
Rand Mines, Ltd.
Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation of S.A., Ltd.
Roberts Construction Co. (Pty), Ltd.
S.K.F. Laboratories (Pty), Ltd.
South African Marine Corporation Ltd.
South African Associated Newspapers, Ltd.
Stellenbosch Property Agency
Tsumeb Corporation, Ltd.
Twin Disc Clutch Company
Union Corporation, Ltd.
Vacuum Oil Company of S.A., Ltd.
Weyerhaeuser and Company

Individuals

Mrs. H. Clifford Allen
Dr. Eugene C. Blake
Mr. Morton Bodfish
Rev. John H. Burt
Mr. Roger Clapp
Miss Louise M. Clevenger
Mr. Kent G. Colwell
Dr. and Mrs. D. Crena de Iongh
Mr. Kingman Douglass
Mr. and Mrs. John A. Dreyfuss
Miss Gertrude Ely
Mr. I. S. Haggie
Mr. J. S. Harris
Mrs. Frances W. Hartwell
Mr. Harold K. Hochschild
Rev. and Mrs. Joseph A. Howell
Dr. and Mrs. Clark Kerr
Mrs. Darwin P. Kingsley, Jr.
Mrs. Daniel E. Koshland
Dr. Frank S. Loescher
Mrs. Francis B. McAllister
Mr. William L. Mellon, III
Mr. S. G. Menell
Dr. and Mrs. L. J. Milne
Dr. and Mrs. O. R. O'Neil
Mr. and Mrs. William F. H. Purcell
Mr. Francis Randolph
Mrs. Edward Bliss Reed
Mr. David Rockefeller
Mrs. Madeleine H. Russell
Mr. Karel Schoeman
Mr. Arnold Skromme
Mrs. Ruth C. Sloan
Mr. and Mrs. L. M. C. Smith
Mr. Gardner H. Stern
Mrs. S. Emlen Stokes
Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Sweezy
Mrs. Seth P. Taft
Mrs. Grace W. Waring
Mrs. George B. Wislocki
Mr. Philip Woodyatt

Others

African Affairs Society of America, Ltd.
African-American Institute
Cape Provincial Administration
De Pauw University
Dutch Reformed Church of the Transvaal
Dutch Reformed Mission Church of South Africa
Earlham College
Howard University
Indiana University
International Astronomical Union
Manchester College
Mount Holyoke College
Northwestern University
Rhodes University
Smithsonian Astrophysical Institution
University of Massachusetts
University of North Carolina
University of Rochester
University of Stellenbosch
Western College for Women
Yale University

(The auditor's report for the Program's fiscal year, July 1, 1962-June 30, 1963 is appended.)

The International Management Committee

An International Management Committee supervises the Program and selects leading citizens for exchange of three months to one year. The Management Committee encourages exchanges in both directions by people who have approved projects with definite sponsorship or at least with assured cooperation in the host country. The aim is to provide participants with a meaningful and broadening experience significant for their future life's work.

Three new members came on the Management Committee in 1963: Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk, The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Mr. Frank Coolbaugh, President, American Metal Climax, Inc., and Mr. W. D. Wilson, Managing Director, Anglo-American Corporation of S.A., Ltd.

Mr. Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc. and an original member of the Management Committee, retired from the Management Committee in 1963. Mr. Hochschild has been elected an Emeritus member of the Management Committee.

The Chairman of the Management Committee is Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director of the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Ltd.; the Vice Chairmen are the Rev. C. B. Brink, Mission Secretary of the Dutch Reformed

Church (N.G. Church) in the Northern Transvaal, and Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor of History, Earlham College; Prof. N. J. J. Olivier of Stellenbosch University is Secretary in South Africa and Dr. Frank S. Loescher is Program Director and General Secretary.

The other American members of the Management Committee are: Dr. George H. Bennett, International Affairs and Exhibits, New York World's Fair 1964-65 Corp.; Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University; Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, Division of World Mission and Evangelism, World Council of Churches; Lewis W. Douglas, formerly Ambassador to the Court of St. James; Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University; Dr. Edwin S. Munger, Professor, California Institute of Technology; Leslie Paffrath, President, The Johnson Foundation; Alan Pifer, Vice President, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Mrs. William F. H. Purcell, civic leader and school and college trustee; Dr. Emory Ross, missionary and consultant on Africa; Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches; John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina.

The following South Africans also serve on the Management Committee: H. Goldberg, Ellis Furnishers, Ltd.; Rev. W. A. Landman, Director of Information, Cape Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Church); Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Chairman, South African Tourist Corp.; K. P. G. Schoeman, Chairman, Bantu Investment Corp.; T. P. Stratten, Deputy Chairman and Managing Director, Union Corporation, Ltd.; Prof. W. G. Sutton, formerly Vice Chancellor and Principal, University of the Witwatersrand; Dr. H. B. Thom, Rector, Stellenbosch University; F. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations; A. D. Wassenaar, General Manager, Sanlam; Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of South Africa.

C O P Y

TOUCHE, ROSS, BAILEY & SMART
Certified Public Accountants

Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Bldg.
Philadelphia 9, Pennsylvania

Management Committee
United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

We have examined the statement of net assets of United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc., as of June 30, 1963, and the related statement of receipts and disbursements and changes in net assets for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances, except that it was impractical for us to extend our examination of contributions received beyond accounting for amounts so recorded.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly the financial position of United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. at June 30, 1963, and the results of its operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

/s/ TOUCHE, ROSS, BAILEY & SMART
Certified Public Accountants

July 21, 1963

* * * * * * * * * * *

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
STATEMENT OF NET ASSETS
JUNE 30, 1963

CURRENT ASSETS:		
Cash:		
Demand deposits		$ 14,132.47
Savings deposits		76,091.35
Office cash funds		37.93
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS		$ 90,261.75
LESS CURRENT LIABILITIES:		
Payroll taxes withheld from employees		95.39
NET CURRENT ASSETS		$ 90,166.36
EQUIPMENT - at cost:		
Furniture, fixtures and equipment	$2,070.10	
Automobile	2,803.00	
	$4,873.10	
Less, accumulated depreciation	1,071.12	3,801.98
NET ASSETS		$ 93,968.34

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
AND CHANGES IN NET ASSETS
YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1963

RECEIPTS:			
Contributions:			
Foundations		$ 64,335.26	
Corporations		38,920.13	
Individuals and others		26,840.09	
			$130,095.48
Interest on savings accounts			5,126.06
Other			90.15
			$135,311.69
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Programs:			
Grants to exchangees	$94,165.05		
Management meetings and consultation	22,430.15		
		$116,595.20	
General and administrative:			
Salaries and wages	$31,801.34		
Communications	1,280.33		
Rent and utilities	1,949.32		
Postage	1,083.28		
Staff travel	2,570.35		
Committee members' travel	4,070.88		
Payroll taxes	509.78		
Printing	1,972.71		
Supplies and equipment	1,875.60		
Periodicals	307.85		
Accounting and auditing	1,000.00		
Automobile expense	211.73		
Depreciation	767.60		
Other	1,601.11		
		51,001.88	
			167,597.08
EXCESS OF DISBURSEMENTS* OVER RECEIPTS			$ 32,285.39*
NET ASSETS, JULY 1, 1962			126,253.73
NET ASSETS, JUNE 30, 1963			$ 93,968.34

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

August 26, 1964

General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Secretary:
E. RAYMOND SILBERBAUER
P. O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Cable address: QUINTUS

Read 8/28/64

file
Frank Loescher

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I was telling John Wheeler that I want to have a talk with you about your going to South Africa for us and John said he would be seeing you soon and would be glad to discuss the idea with you.

Enclosed is our latest Newsletter and brochure. Separately I am mailing you our Fifth Annual Report.

Will you be in the East after Labor Day? I wish we could find the time in Philadelphia, New York or Washington for a good chat.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:jj

Encs.

CC: Mr. John H. Wheeler

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); E. C. BLAKE (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); F. COOLBAUGH (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—GENERAL SECRETARY); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.); W. D. WILSON (S.A.).

EXCHANGE

issued occasionally by the

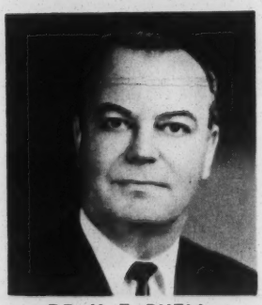
United States—South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA JUNE, 1964

Twenty-nine Americans, South Africans Participate in Leader Exchange Program

DR. I. M. STURGESS

ELIAS N. SEOPELA


DR. H. E. BUELL

NATHANIEL NAKASA

Twenty-nine professional, business and civic leaders are among the participants in the United States–South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc., during 1964 and 1965.

Included in the list of exchangees are an Associate Nieman Fellow, an editor of a science journal, a social case worker, a management consultant, members of the clergy, a psychologist, and numerous educators.

Organized in 1958 to strengthen the lines of communication between leaders of all races in the United States and South Africa, the Program is unique in the international field. A management committee of distinguished American and South African university, business, religious and civic leaders makes the policies and selects participants for study tours of three months to one year.

US–SALEP, a non-governmental Program, exchanges both American and South African leaders. American and South African foundations, corporations and individuals provide the financial support of the non-profit, voluntary organization.

To date, the following South Africans have been selected for exchange:

F. H. BADENHORST, Chief Inspector of Schools, Department of Coloured Affairs, will attend a Summer Institute of the National Science Foundation at DePauw University this summer;

DR. WALTER H. COHEN, Chairman, South African National Council for the Blind, will attend meetings of the World Council for the Welfare of the Blind in July and visit American institutions for the blind until September;

HEDLEY R. CORBETT, Headmaster, King Edward VII School, will participate in the National Science Foundation's Academic Year Institutes during the 1964-65 academic year;

KENNETH B. HARTSHORNE, Senior Inspector of Schools, Department of Bantu Education, will survey the teaching of English as a second language from February to May, 1965;

J. J. HUMAN, publisher, will study publishing in the United States from September to December;

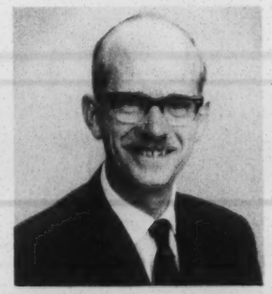
F. P. JOSHUA, Principal of Alexander Sinton High School, Cape Town, and Supervisor, Athlone Branch of Peninsula Technical College, will attend a Summer Institute of the National Science Foundation this summer;

J. MAARSCHALK, Editor-in-Chief, *Spectrum*, Journal for Teachers of Science and Mathematics, will attend a Summer Institute of the National Science Foundation this summer;

S. ALLEN BACON

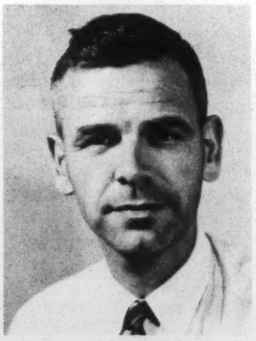
DR. S. M. NABRIT

DR. C. W. H. SCHMIDT


K. B. HARTSHORNE

DR. G. W. PEROLD

REV. DR. J. B. WEBB



DR. A. PAUL HARE

DR. BRIAN W. ROSE

DR. G. C. OOSTHUIZEN

J. C. M. MBATA, field officer, South African Institute of Race Relations, will study African Studies Programs at universities, adult education, and self-help programs among Negroes and American Indians in business and industry from September to December;

NATHANIEL NAKASA, assistant editor of *Drum* and founding editor of *The Classic*, Johannesburg literary quarterly, will be an Associate Nieman Fellow at Harvard University during the 1964-65 academic year;

DR. G. C. OOSTHUIZEN, Dean and Professor of the Faculty of Divinity, University College of Fort Hare, will continue his research on "Theological Training and the Social Witness of the Church in Africa" in the first few months of 1965;

G. L. D. PARISH, Lecturer in Mathematics, Natal Training College, will participate in an Academic Year Institute of the National Science Foundation at the University of Illinois in June;

DR. G. W. PEROLD, Professor of Organic Chemistry and Head of the Department of Chemistry, University of South Africa, will attend a Summer Institute of the National Science Foundation at Michigan State University this summer;

DR. BRIAN W. ROSE, Senior Lecturer in Educational Psychology, Johannesburg College of Education, will study the experience of American schools with teaching machines and the use of small groups for instructional purposes from January to April, 1965;

DR. C. W. H. SCHMIDT, Professor of Constitutional, Administrative and Criminal Law at the University of Pretoria, will visit The Law School of the University of Pennsylvania and other law centers and attend the annual meeting of the Association of American Law Schools from December, 1964, to May, 1965;

ELIAS N. SEOPELA, social case worker, Department of Non-European Affairs, Town Council of Benoni, and National Secretary of the South African Non-European Social Workers Association, is studying trends and techniques in family case work, industrial welfare work and juvenile delinquency and probation from May to August;

E. RAYMOND SILBERBAUER, management consultant and director of the African Wage and Productivity Association, will study personnel management developments from September to December;

DR. I. M. STURGESS, Vice Rector, Johannesburg College of Education, will attend a Summer Institute of the National Science Foundation this summer at Sonoma State College in California;

REV. S. S. TEMA, Assistant Moderator of the Dutch Reformed (N. G.) Mission Church and President of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, will study the administration of religious organizations in urban and rural areas from August to October;

S. THERON, Deputy Superintendent of Education of the Cape Province, is studying programs for the gifted child from February through May;

DR. J. A. VAN WYK, faculty member of the Stofberg Theological School, will do research on communications in missiology in 1965;

DR. H. J. VAN ZYL, Deputy Secretary for Bantu Education, is studying American patterns of school administration, programs to achieve school integration and quality education, and the production of school books from April to June;

J. MAARSCHALK

REV. S. S. TEMA

DR. WALTER H. COHEN

E. R. SILBERBAUER

REV. E. C. WILKINSON

F. H. BADENHORST

S. THERON

F. P. JOSHUA

DR. ROBERT T. PARSONS

REV. DR. J. B. WEBB, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of S. A., will preach in the Hennepin Avenue Methodist Church, Minneapolis, during the summer of 1965 and lecture at theological seminaries in the fall;

REV. E. C. WILKINSON, pastor, St. John's Methodist Church, Port Elizabeth, will exchange pulpits this summer with Dr. Harold E. Buell of Tampa, Florida.

Among the Americans to be exchanged in 1964 and 1965 are:

S. ALLEN BACON, Executive Director of the Germantown Settlement in Philadelphia, will study the teaching and practice of social work and community development from June to August;

DR. H. E. BUELL, pastor, Hyde Park Methodist Church, Tampa, Florida, will exchange pulpits during July and August with Rev. E. C. Wilkinson of St. John's Methodist Church, Port Elizabeth;

DR. A. PAUL HARE, Associate Professor of Sociology, Haverford College, will lecture during August and September, 1965, at the University of Cape Town and the University of Stellenbosch;

DR. S. M. NABRIT, zoologist and President of Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas, will confer with administrators and faculty committees of universities and university colleges on new approaches to raising the level of student achievement in June;

DR. JOHN C. OSGOOD, Assistant Professor, Department of Psychology and Education, Mount Holyoke College, is studying African elementary and secondary education from February to August;

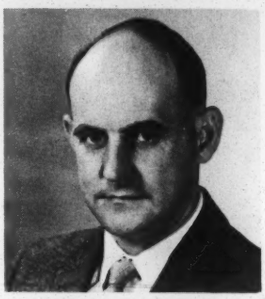
DR. ROBERT T. PARSONS, Professor of African Studies of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, will study the separatist church movement among African Christians from October, 1964, to June, 1965.

Most of the participants from South Africa and the United States will be accompanied by their wives.

The United States–South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc., is incorporated in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and contributions are tax-exempt in the United States and South Africa.

Those interested in meeting US–SALEP exchangees may contact Dr. Frank S. Loescher, General Secretary, in the United States or E. Raymond Silberbauer, Secretary for South Africa.

J. C. M. MBATA



G. L. D. PARISH

DR. JOHN C. OSGOOD

DR. H. J. VAN ZYL

Contributions may be made to and further information obtained from:

UNITED STATES–SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104
U. S. A.

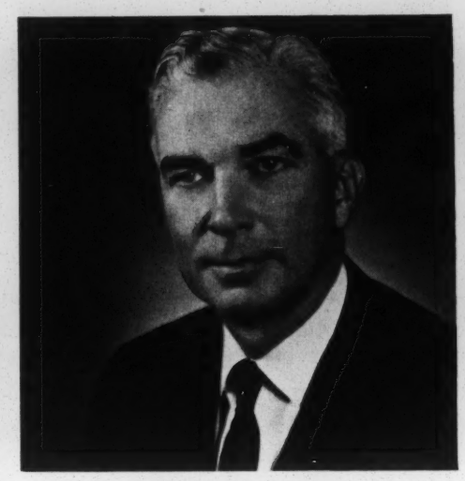
DR. FRANK S. LOESCHER, *General Secretary*

or

THE FUND FOR THE UNITED STATES–SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
P. O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Republic of South Africa

E. R. SILBERBAUER, *Secretary for South Africa*

REV. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE, D.D.



FRANK COOLBAUGH

W. D. WILSON

Three Named to Management Committee Posts; First Joint Meeting Held in Racine, Wisconsin

The first Joint Meeting of the International Management Committee was held in July, 1963, at Wingspread, headquarters of The Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin.

The five-day conference was attended by twenty-two of the twenty-eight committee members—ten from South Africa and twelve from the United States. The program planning, goal setting conference was the highlight of the US-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. 1963 schedule.

The major purpose of the conference was to set goals for the next three to five years of US-SALEP. Committee members outlined six major areas in which the Program intends to concentrate its efforts: 1. Techniques of Balanced Economic Growth; 2. Problems of Rapid Urbanization; 3. Progress in Educational Systems, Methods and Facilities; 4. The Church in Rapid Social Change; 5. Health and Medical Services; and 6. Artistic and Cultural Activities and Institutions.

Two of these areas have now been activated with the selection of two projects—Language Instruction, Literacy and Literature; and, Functions of Public Administration in Resolving Problems of Rapid Urbanization.

Chairman of the Management Committee is Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director of the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Ltd. Vice Chairmen are Rev. C. B. Brink, Mission Secretary of the Dutch Reformed (N.G.) Church in Northern Transvaal; and Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor of History, Earlham College. E. Raymond Silberbauer is Secretary for South Africa and Dr. Frank S. Loescher is General Secretary of the Program.

Other American members of the Management Committee are Dr. George H. Bennett, International Affairs and Exhibits, New York World's Fair 1964-65 Corp.; Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Studies Program, Boston University; Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, Division of World Mission and Evangelism, World Council of Churches; Lewis W. Douglas, formerly Ambassador to the Court of St. James; Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University; Dr. Edwin S. Munger, Professor, California Institute of Technology; Leslie Paffrath, President, The Johnson Foundation; Alan Pifer, Vice President, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Mrs. William F. H. Purcell, civic leader and school and college trustee; Dr. Emory Rose, missionary and consultant on Africa; Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches; and John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina.

South Africans serving on the Management Committee include H. Goldberg, Ellis Furnishers, Ltd.; Rev. W. A. Landman, Director of Information, Cape Dutch Reformed (N.G.) Church; Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Chairman, South African Tourist Corp.; Professor N. J. J. Olivier of Stellenbosch University; K. P. G. Schoeman, Chairman, Bantu Investment Corp.; T. P. Stratten, Deputy Chairman and Managing Director, Union Corporation, Ltd.; Professor W. G. Sutton, formerly Vice Chancellor and Principal, University of the Witwatersrand; Professor H. B. Thom, Rector, Stellenbosch University; F. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations; A. D. Wassenaar, General Manager, Sanlam; and Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of South Africa.

Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc., and a founding member of the Management Committee, retired from the Management Committee in 1963. Mr. Hochschild has been elected an Emeritus member of the Management Committee.

The International Management Committee supervises the Program and selects leading citizens for exchange of three months to one year. The committee encourages exchanges in both directions by people who have approved projects with definite sponsorship or at least with assured cooperation in the host country. The aim is to provide participants with a meaningful and broadening experience significant for their future life's work.

Two Americans and one South African have been named as members of the US-SALEP Management Committee.

The new members are Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D., Stated Clerk, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Frank Coolbaugh, President, American Metal Climax, Inc.; and W. D. Wilson, Managing Director, Anglo-American Corporation of S.A., Ltd.

A former President of the National Council of Churches, Dr. Blake has been an active participant in the affairs of the World Council of Churches which he currently serves as a member of the Central and Executive Committees. He also serves as trustee of several American institutions of higher education.

Frank Coolbaugh, a graduate of the Colorado School of Mines, is a member of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers and the Mining and Metallurgical Society of America. He also serves on the Materials Advisory Board of the National Academy of Sciences.

W. D. Wilson, a director of some twenty corporations, is a member of the Board of Governors of Michaelhouse School and of the Council of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Recommended Reading

Dr. Desmond Hobart Houghton, a member of the South African Selection Committee for the Faculty Exchange Program, and Dr. C. W. de Kiewiet, a member of the United States Selection Committee for the Faculty Exchange Program, have written on South African developments recently.

Dr. Houghton, Professor and Head of the Department of Economics, Rhodes University, has completed a book entitled *South African Economy*, published by Oxford University Press in 1964.

Dr. de Kiewiet, President of the University of Rochester from 1951 to 1961, has written "Loneliness in the Beloved Country," published in the April 1964 issue of *Foreign Affairs*. Formerly Professor of Modern European History at Cornell University, Dr. de Kiewiet is a member of the African Liaison Committee, American Council on Education.

A NEW BRIDGE OF UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION

A NEW BRIDGE OF UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION

Few Americans realize that the social, political and economic forces at work in Africa have the deepest significance to the United States in its role as a leader in the Western World. In particular, the expanding economy of the Republic of South Africa and the social problems it is facing resemble certain challenges Americans face in their own country. It is time the two nations began to learn about—and from—each other's experience.

South Africans, on the other hand, are increasingly conscious of the United States, but relatively few of them have a clear picture of life in America or the meaning of American policies and institutions.

This lack of mutual understanding is a matter of immediate concern. A new bridge of understanding and co-operation must be built through personal relationships between leading citizens of the two countries.

The United States—South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc., founded in 1958, is an effort to strengthen through private, nongovernmental means the lines of communication between professional, business and civic leaders of the United States and the Republic of South Africa.

The Program endeavors to ensure that positive and lasting benefits will accrue to both countries from this process of exchange.

With the financial assistance of individuals and business and philanthropic organizations in both countries the exchange program encourages, counsels and assists extended visits of South African and American leaders to each other's country.

The Program enables Americans to see South African life at first hand and gain better understanding of the efforts South Africans are making to solve their problems. It also enables South Africans to study America's way of life, see how Americans are trying to solve their problems and become acquainted with American conceptions of the crucial role that Africa is playing in world affairs.

An International Management Committee supervises U.S.-S.A.L.E.P. and selects the leaders for exchange. Three types of exchange fellowships have been planned:

★ *Exchanges of families:* The leader will actually work on the staff of an organization in the U. S. or South Africa in his specific field. Responsibility for hospitality, job placement, finding a home, schooling for children and travel arrangements are borne by the employing organization. The Management Committee can provide matching funds to the employing organization, as may be necessary. Examples might include librarians, journalists, clergymen, professors, school teachers, civil servants.

★ *Individual short-term projects:* This enables the individual leader to undertake a specific piece of work in his particular field and participate in conferences during a three month period. Provision is made for wives to accompany

husbands. (Faculty exchanges are often for six months.)

★ *Team programs:* Teams of four to six leaders may be selected to study intensively in the U. S. some particular problem, e.g. soil conservation, rural electrification, etc., facing South Africa in which the U. S. has knowledge and experience, and *vice versa.*

At a recent joint meeting the Management Committee recommended that the Program concentrate its efforts over the next 3 to 5 years in these major areas: Techniques of balanced economic growth; problems of rapid urbanization; progress in educational systems, methods and facilities; the church in rapid social change; health and medical services; artistic and cultural activities and institutions.

In the interests of the peoples of South Africa, of America's stake in Africa and of world peace itself, there is an urgent need to promote a greatly expanded program of exchanges between the Republic of South Africa and the United States. This is the objective of the United States—South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc.

MANAGEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES—SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

The program is supervised by a Management Committee of 20 Americans and 20 South Africans. The following members thus far have been appointed to the Management Committee:

American Members

Dr. George H. Bennett, International Affairs and Exhibits, New York World's Fair 1964-65 Corp.

Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D., Stated Clerk, United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Studies Program, Boston University.

Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, Division of World Mission and Evangelism, World Council of Churches.

Frank Coolbaugh, President, American Metal Climax, Inc.

Lewis W. Douglas, Formerly Ambassador to the Court of St. James's.

Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor, Earlham College.

Dr. Frank S. Loescher, General Secretary, U. S.—S. A. Leader Exchange Program.

Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University.

Dr. Edwin S. Munger, Professor, California Institute of Technology.

Leslie Paffrath, President, The Johnson Foundation.

Alan Pifer, Vice President, Carnegie Corporation of New York

Mrs. Elizabeth R. Purcell, School and College Trustee.

Dr. Emory Ross, Missionary and Consultant on Africa.

Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches.

John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank.

South African Members

Rev. C. B. Brink, Mission Secretary, Dutch Reformed Church ("N. G. Kerk"), Northern Transvaal.

H. Goldberg, Chairman, Ellis and Company.

Rev. W. A. Landman, Director of Information and Stated Clerk, Cape Dutch Reformed Church ("N. G. Kerk").

Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Chairman, South African Tourist Corporation.

Prof. N. J. J. Olivier, Professor, Stellenbosch University.

K. P. G. Schoeman, Chairman, Bantu Investment Corporation.

T. P. Stratten, Deputy Chairman and Managing Director, Union Corporation, Ltd.

Prof. W. G. Sutton, Formerly Vice Chancellor and Principal, University of the Witwatersrand.

Prof. H. B. Thom, Rector, University of Stellenbosch.

Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director, Industrial Development Corporation of S. A.

F. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations.

A. D. Wassenaar, General Manager, SANLAM.

Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of S. A.

W. D. Wilson, Managing Director, Anglo-American Corporation of S. A., Ltd.

OFFICERS

Dr. van Eck is Chairman of the Management Committee;

Rev. Brink and *Dr. Hoskins* are Vice-Chairmen;

Dr. Loescher is General Secretary;

E. Raymond Silberbauer is Secretary in South Africa.

The United States—South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. had 23 South African and American Exchangees, mostly couples, in 1963. Financial support is being sought for 25 couples per year during the next five years. Contributions to the Program are tax-exempt in the United States and South Africa.

Contributions may be made to and further information obtained from:

UNITED STATES—SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19104, U. S. A.

or

THE FUND FOR THE UNITED STATES—SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
P. O. 2543, Johannesburg
Republic of South Africa

Rev. 1964

File Loescher, Frank

September 4, 1964

Mr. Frank Loescher
General Secretary
U. S. - South Africa Leader
Exchange Program, Inc.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Your letter of August 26 brought a lot of varied feelings as I read it on the first day back from vacation. After a week of pondering, it still does.

I don't know what I can do.

I would very much like to talk with you. I am speaking at the NAIRO annual meeting in New York on the morning of October 8. The meeting runs this year from October 7-9, and I have not yet decided how much of it, in addition to my own chore, I shall attend. The planners of these things have, regrettably, scheduled a meeting of the Board of Directors (of which I am one) for October 6 at 4:00 p.m., and I suppose I should get up for it. If you could find some time in this vicinity, keeping clear of the late afternoon of the 6th and the morning of the 8th, I give carte blanche to set

an appointment either in New York or Philadelphia. If you are not going to be or have no wish to be in New York, maybe I could most conveniently stop off in Philadelphia early on the 6th.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File Loescher, Frank

September 22, 1964

Mr. Frank Loescher
General Secretary
U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange
Program, Inc.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I look forward to having dinner with you on October 8. I'll plan to catch either the 3:00 or 4:00 o'clock train from New York, and ought, therefore, to get to your office somewhere between 5:00 and 6:00. An unexpected thing has happened, and I may have to go back to New York on Friday. Much as I would like to take you up on the invitation to spend the night at your home, I think I shall take the train, after dinner with you, out to Swarthmore which would put me in a good position to visit with my daughter some the next morning.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Secretary:
E. RAYMOND SILBERBAUER
P. O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Cable address: QUINTUS

September 11, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter of September 4. I hope we can have a good talk while you are in the East.

I will be away on Tuesday, October 6th and I do not know if I will be at the NAIRO meetings on the 7th.

However, I must be in Philadelphia for a Chace Fund meeting on Thursday, October 8, from 2 to 5. Can you see me any time thereafter in Philadelphia? How about dinner with me at 5 or 6 or 7 or any time that suits you? I would be glad to have you spend the night at my home if you don't have to catch an evening plane to Atlanta.

I am marking my calendar for dinner with you on Thursday, October 8, and unless I hear from you, I will look for you at my office in the Hamilton Motor Court, 39th and Chestnut Streets (10 blocks from the Pennsy 30th Street Station), sometime after 5 o'clock. Trains take about an hour and forty minutes from New York and leave at 3, 4, 4:30, 5, 5:30, 5:45 and 6 p.m.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:tnh

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); E. C. BLAKE (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); F. COOLBAUGH (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—GENERAL SECRETARY); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.); W. D. WILSON (S.A.).

October 14, 1964

Mr. Frank Loescher
Program Director
U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange
Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Just a note of thanks for the good dinner and conversation. When I can collect my thoughts a bit more I will be writing to you again.

In Baltimore last Sunday I was interested to see the enclosed short report by Leo Marquard.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Rec'd 10/20/64

October 19, 1964

COPY

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
THE DAILY TIMES
308 Spring Street, S.W.
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

We are now putting together the itinerary for the Humans. I would appreciate hearing from you, by phone or telegram, if the suggestion we made for the Humans to spend from November 25 to 30 in Gainesville is acceptable.

If you prefer, we can have the Humans go to Atlanta on November 25 and see you in the course of their visit to Georgia; but, in any case, I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

I hope that the Humans can meet Leslie Dunbar and his wife during this period. Could you conveniently set up an appointment?

Many thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:h

cc: Leslie W. Dunbar

Williamsburg Lodge, Williamsburg, Virginia

Williamsburg Lodge, only a few steps from the Historic Area, offers visitors to Virginia's colonial capital comfortable and spacious accommodations, fine dining, and superb sports facilities. Adjacent to it is the Williamsburg Conference Center, a unique facility designed for educational, cultural, and executive meetings and seminars.

Dear Dr. Dumber,

My wife and I were most happy to be invited by you just to the party and then to your home. We enjoyed our short visit to Atlanta, the opportunity to talk to many people concerned with civil rights and to form some sort of image of what is happening in the South. We are most indebted to you and your wife. With kind regards, I was

Herman

Dr. Herbie Dumber,
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta
Georgia

Mirro-Krome ® Card by H. S. Crocker Co., Inc., San Francisco 1, Calif.

OFFICIAL COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG CARD

October 23, 1964

Mr. Frank Loescher
Program Director
U. S. - South Africa Leaders Exchange
Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Loescher:

We have received copies of your correspondence regarding Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Human's visit to Atlanta, and Mr. Dunbar wishes to let you know that he will be pleased to see them while they are here.

I notice in your letter to the Humans that you have made hotel reservations for them at the Peachtree Manor. May I suggest that we here at the Council have patronized the Peachtree Manor rather religiously because, among all of Atlanta's hotels, it was the first to integrate its facilities. We are, however, beginning now to seek accommodations for visitors at other of Atlanta's hotels, and I think I am correct in saying that all of our hotels are now serving persons of color, except the Heart

of Atlanta Motel. You might, in the future, wish to accommodate your visitors at some of our other hotels.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

October 21, 1964

COPY

Mrs. Eliza Paschall, Executive Director
Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Paschall:

We plan to have in Atlanta from Friday evening, November 27, until Monday morning, November 30, Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Human.

Mr. Human is a publisher and Mrs. Human is interested in literature and radio and TV programs for children. Enclosed are three copies of biographical information.

I hope that the Humans might be able to meet Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar or some member of Dr. Dunbar's staff.

I believe that Mr. and Mrs. Human would welcome the opportunity to attend Dr. Martin Luther King's church service on Sunday.

Time permitting, Mr. Human might like to meet the editor of the ATLANTA DAILY WORLD and have a tour of Atlanta University and environs.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:h
Enc.
cc: J. J. Human
L. W. Dunbar ✓

P.S.: I am asking Mr. Human to phone you soon after his arrival in Gainesville.

October 21, 1964

COPY

Holiday Inn
726 Broad Street, S.W.
Gainesville, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please reserve and confirm a room, minimum rate, for Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Human from Wednesday, November 25, to Friday, November 27.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:h
cc: Sylvan Meyer
J. J. Human

bcc: Leslie Dunbar✓
Blind P.S.: Dear Mr. Human:

Mr. & Mrs. Sylvan Meyer would like to have you in Gainesville from November 25 through 27. When you arrive please get in touch with Mr. Meyer. Sometime on Friday we suggest that you go to Atlanta for the weekend and stay at the Peachtree Manor Hotel. Enclosed is a copy of our letter requesting a reservation and also a copy of a letter to Mrs. Eliza Paschall. I suggest that you get in touch with Mrs. Paschall (phone 523-1581) upon arrival in Gainesville in regard to any plans she may make for you for Saturday, November 28 and Sunday, November 29.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

November 6, 1964

Mr. Frank Loescher
Program Director
U. S. - South Africa Leaders
Exchange Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I thought you might be interested in the letter from Bob Hughes. You may remember Bob. He used to be director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations until he was effectively driven out by the Methodist Conference of Alabama. First Alabama, then Southern Rhodesia.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.

Rec'd 11/10/64

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Penna. 19104

P.O. Box 2543
Johannesburg South Africa

file

THE NABRIT VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA

THE NABRIT VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA*

In the following report, no attempt has been made to cover in chronological sequence the events of our trip. It is, rather, an endeavor to set down observations and reactions.

A full itinerary appears at the end of the report, to serve both as a matter of record and, for us, a source of pleasant retrospect.

Excitement, anticipation, and some anxiety about a trip to South Africa began with the date of our being informed that we might be two of the chosen few. Anxiety and apprehension stemmed not so much from the thought that we might not be well received as from discouraging comments from friends. We have good reason to be grateful that we did not permit such comments to dim our enthusiasm.

We look back upon the unusual experience with somewhat of a feeling of unreality that much of what occurred did occur. And there is sometimes, too, the feeling that we are using poetic license in relating it.

It seemed quite impossible, for example, that the owner of a hotel in Johannesburg would be concerned about our not having visited the dining room during our first week in residence, or that he would greet us so warmly when we happened to meet him at the hotel of a friend of his in Durban. In fact, we had been assured by one representative of America that Negro officials of our Government would be admitted to hotels only if they agreed not to use the dining rooms. We did not find this to be the case in Johannesburg, Durban or Cape Town--in all of which cities we were comfortably housed and, like other guests, used breakfast rooms and dining rooms.

---

*Dr. S. M. Nabrit, zoologist and President of Texas Southern University, Houston, and Mrs. Nabrit visited South Africa from June 5 to July 4, 1964.

We were not surprised by an invitation to attend the Sunday morning service at Union Church in Johannesburg, but Mr. Nabrit was pleasantly surprised to be the guest of honor at an International Rotary luncheon in Durban. We know now that such things can happen in South Africa--because they happened to us.

Scientist's Reaction

Scientists are much the same anywhere. They meet and enjoy colleagues, exchange ideas, and solve problems. South Africa was not atypical.

In this connection, I think it well to quote from The Cape Town Argus a statement by Professor D. P. Inskip, Vice Principal of Cape Town University, to the graduating medical class of that institution; the exercises were held the afternoon of the day on which he and I had spent some morning hours and had lunch together:

> Reported attempts to divide scientific societies and cultural facilities on racial lines would prove futile.
>
> The true nature of art and science will bring the right and just solution in due course.
>
> We believe that art and science should be for all. Any attempts to restrict or limit their field or their influence must lead to an impoverishment of the soil and climate in which they flourish.
>
> Such attempts are based on a fundamental ignorance of the true nature and needs of art and science, of their purposes and of their destiny.

Science in South Africa is relatively new, particularly Experimental Zoology. This tends to narrow the range of interests and establish priorities in terms of time and talent.

Taxonomy, pests and ecology were the most general areas of concentration.

Bilharzia, locusts and pesticides were high on the list. Among the African students, taxonomy was a preference because it was compatible with the students' excellent memories and not incompatible with their language-conceptual relationships and their lack of a hypothesis-proof culture experience. The history of ideas is not so essential in taxonomy as in some of the more theoretical aspects of biology. The fish collection and its classification by Smith at Rhodes, climaxed by the coelacanth and the moon fish, topped all of the museums in Africa.

Universities

As one would expect, the older universities--Rhodes, Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Natal, and Witwatersrand--had more elaborate plants, full university curricula and stronger faculties. But the African, Indian and Coloured universities are newer and have modern equipment and nothing that is outmoded. The staffs are more than adequate for the students enrolled in both training and experience. The fact is that the students must develop to the point where they can fully utilize the faculties. Due to the low enrollments in the non-white colleges, the per capita expenditure is from R1,900 to R3,000, as compared to R300 in the older universities. This is reminiscent of the pre-1954 South in "paying through the nose" to stave off integration.

The spate of new universities and the drain on academic talent by America will probably lower the academic quality of all South African education.

The racial distribution of the faculties is a part of the overall lack of developed potential in the non-white groups. There are only two African

professors and some lecturers at Turfloop, only a small number at Fort Hare, none at all at the Coloured College of the West Cape; at the Indian colleges two professors and some instructors are Indians. The administration of all these colleges is in the hands of the Afrikaners, and there seems to be no immediate future time when this shall no longer be true. There is an insistence upon the teaching of Afrikaans and it is a prerequisite for entering most of the colleges for non-whites.

For medicine or dentistry or engineering, Coloureds and Indians are admitted to the established universities. The low-cost professions and vocational programs are taught in the restricted colleges.

Natal, which like Wits and Cape Town was integrated--although with some separate classes, still operates The McCord Medical School for non-whites. Though the medical school has experienced the pressure of racial politics, it is of high quality and has dedicated leadership. It gives an extra year of remedial matriculation work for the poorly prepared African students.

Because the support of all colleges is at the Federal level, there is less disparity in actual outlays than one finds in the elementary and secondary schools.

Matriculation completion in South Africa is taken seriously, and completion ranks the student at the level achieved only by our (America's) best preparatory schools.

The Public Schools

The provinces and cities partially support the public schools. The restricted townships are required to levy a weekly fee for schools, and this is matched by the city and/or province. There is never enough money--not even enough seats, and no laboratories in some of the African schools. And

little hope is evinced in some of them. Education is not compulsory.

The literacy rate among the Bantu is about 35 per cent. To have to learn in three languages is one problem. The schools prefer English; the government prefers Afrikaans; the pedagogues insist that beginning instruction must be in the tribal dialect--which does not provide, as does English, the economy of words for concept formation. Afrikaans also is a language with limited usefulness in a world which is international in ideas and concepts.

The Economy

The per capita income of South Africa is 50 per cent higher than that of the next highest African country and three times as high as the average for the rest of Africa.

South Africa is the industrial giant of Africa and it produces three times as much steel as all the rest of Africa combined. It doubles the electric generating capacity of the rest of Africa. It has 87 per cent of the coal reserves of the continent.

South Africa produces 64 per cent of the world's annual gold output, and has the largest plant in the world for producing oil from coal.

South Africa has more than half of the railway freight traffic of Africa and the largest network of electrical railroads outside Europe and the United States.

As a consumer South Africa receives more than one-third of the exports of the United States to the continent. It also has the largest American capital investment of any country in Africa.

The distribution of the economic goods and opportunities of the country reflect the discrimination according to race. A few corporations

indiscriminately pay qualified African workers. For the most part, however, job assignment and salary differentials indicate that a mere subsistence is all that the society assumes that an African deserves. Still the lot of the average African is better economically than that of Africans in other states of the continent.

Experience in capital formation and in the functions of money is almost lacking among the Africans in South Africa--all this despite the fact that 2,000 small business men organized into an African Chamber of Commerce this year.

In the townships and in the reservations like the Transkei, the Bantu Investment Corporation of the Federal government controls the capital flow, dictates the policies and holds the mortgages. It discourages the use of white private capital investments in these communities.

If industry is to develop outside of the Transkei and the Africans are merely to come out of the reservation and earn wages and return to the Transkei to live, it would appear that the added value of manufacture and taxes would accrue to the Federal government and the African worker would be no more than a miner for gold or diamonds living on a subsistence income.

Sixteen thousand square miles of land with only a small fraction of it arable would not support 3,000,000 Africans farming African style. A separate state which teaches the rudiments of self-government does not provide an equitable share of the nation's wealth for the African which coincides with the government's intent.

Harry Oppenheimer, the chief industrialist, in reporting to the stockholders of the Anglo-American Corporation, said that he reaffirmed his objection to the two foundation pillars of the Nationalist government: racial discrimination, because it was immoral; and the elimination of the African

(Bantu) from the economy which is impossible, because he is the backbone of the economy.

Housing

In the Republic, new modern housing is being constructed at the rate of fifty units a day. Soweto in Johannesburg is a model for all Africa--with flowers, yards, and flushing toilets. Nearby, however, in Pineville, is one of the worst slums that we have ever witnessed. Why these great contrasts?

One great problem for all Africa will be the control of migrants from the farms to the cities. Theoretically, a job card and a place of abode precede permission to leave a reservation to come into a city. The economy is booming--so much so that at present those who would control create slums inside some of the hostels for men simply because men are needed. Twelve men are put into a room designed for six.

Other migrants to the cities seek the unregulated slums in order to have access to families and women, since no planning has been made to meet these needs for migratory workers.

Coloureds and Indians are being uprooted from communities in which they previously lived and are being segregated by race classification. This is apartheid and facilitates control.

The Japanese have recently been given honorary European status. This, of course, is economic. It may be that the solution of race problems in South Africa may exist in the economy and not in morality, for the Chinese, not yet a highly industrialized nation, have no such honorary status.

South Africa--The Nature of Its Problem

History

Jan van Riebeck was sent to the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 to set up a supply station for passing ships.

The Dutch settlers were strengthened by French Huguenots who were seeking religious freedom. The two languages produced something like Flemish found in the Flanders of Belgium and persisted as the language called Afrikaans. The people became the Afrikaners.

In the 1730's a scouting and hunting party of the Boers encountered the first Bantu people in the North. By 1778 the contact had assumed such a vast scale that boundaries had to be established between the Boers and the Bantus near East London near the present Transkei.

Much of the decimation of the Bantu people came from internecine tribal wars and from some of their own superstitions.

During the Napoleonic wars the Cape was taken over by Britain and the Dutch, French and German settlers were joined by the British.

In the 1830's the Afrikaners moved northward on the high veld and formed the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republics, the northern provinces of the present South Africa.

In 1870 diamonds were discovered in Kimberley, and in 1886 gold was discovered in the Boer republic of Transvaal.

The Anglo-Boer War of 1898-1902 resulted in the defeat of the Boers in battle, but in politics the Boers finally conquered in 1948.

In reality there is some doubt as to "who is on first" in South Africa. There is no doubt that both tribes, the Afrikaner and the Bantu, have been there a long time. Certainly the Afrikaner, the dominant tribe, does not

plan to leave. He reasons that his stake is as valid as the American one is over the Indian and has existed almost as long.

The Afrikaner is basically agrarian; he loves the land and in part resisted industrialization. He sincerely believes that South Africa is his and he has the right to fence it off as if it were a farm, and to separate everyone else from it. It is a deep feeling, quite understandable even if it is an unacceptable one.

He is now motivated by a fear that the Afrikaans culture will become extinct and that he will ultimately lose that for which he has so desperately fought. It has really been only in the last ten years that he has emerged from the farm to challenge the English in corporations, banks and industry.

How, then, does the Afrikaner, the dominant African tribe, hold his gains against eleven million Bantu, 1,500,000 Coloureds, 487,000 formerly indentured Asians--when he numbers only 1,502,900?

He hopes to parcel out that which is less desirable, but capable of maintaining a subsistence level of life, to all groups that will accept it; to use the bulk of the wealth to develop the power necessary to continue to subjugate all others. This is so natural a device with which to buy time that the Afrikaner deceives himself that he is solving the problem through this delaying action.

With his military might he can buy some time, but even the Afrikaner when discussing these questions, indicates that he doubts if he can have the time to prove the point that separate development is the best solution to racial and ethnic conflicts.

We were surprised that the clergy of the English churches, the English language newspapers, writers, speakers and others could speak out against governmental policies and practices.

Coloured people and Indians had free access to the columns of the newspapers and could challenge public policies as well as motives.

Some Africans were staff writers for Johannesburg dailies, but, while brilliant in their writing, they were at the same time restrained. Nowhere in fact was there an African who did not fear that a "big brother" was watching over his every act. This was largely justified by the wholesale arrests of African leadership in the Johannesburg area while we were en route home.

Luthuli, the African Nationalist, is confined to his reservation, and Sobukwe, the Pan African leader, is on Robben's Island and has been since 1960. The lesser leaders are under 90-day detention without indictment and trial.

We were in Pretoria during the hearing on mitigation of the sentence in the Rivonia trial. Alan Paton was permitted to make a strong plea for mitigation, even though the prosecution launched a personal attack upon him. Here was an example in which the rule of law was followed and the justices appeared to be independent of the executive branch of government. The defendants were found guilty as charged by admission. The question in the minds of the world was whether they (the defendants) were justified in striking back at the State, since no avenues are open to disagree with the State's position without intimidation and arrest.

South Africans were curious about the American attitude toward the Republic. They hoped that a Goldwater win would mean a softening of world opinion toward the country.

I was somewhat surprised that I was often asked whether I identified with the African or the Coloured. My questioners were surprised by my answer that I sympathized with them, but identified with Americans.

Somehow--perhaps by providing a guarantee that he will not be driven

out of the only country in which he has roots--the world community must find a way to relieve the Afrikaner of his perfectly natural fear; it may involve providing one vote for each person in the Coloured and Indian communities, and voting the African reservations as communes with direct and indigenous representation in a government in which he (the African) will have at least a balance of power in choosing the rulers. Ultimately, with education and good will, we would hope that each man would represent himself according to his ability to understand the complexities of his government.

To find a transition level that will be acceptable will largely be determined by the degree of bitterness engendered in the majority during the present practice of ruthless subjugation and apartheid.

A Word of Appreciation

To the members of the Committee of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program the Nabrits will be always grateful for the opportunity of visiting South Africa. From the beginning, the possibility of making such a trip was tempting and intriguing. There were, of course, periods of doubt--from the comments of friends, and from reading printed material on the attitudes of South Africa; of frustration--from the fact that the passports were so long in reaching us; of haste--because the departure date followed so closely on the heels of commencement activities, and the fact that another deadline to be met in Houston would limit our time and might limit our opportunities.

In brief response to the question of "How was your trip?", we say "Wonderful--and most informative," which in truth it was. Even with meeting so many new persons and so many new situations, we felt perfectly at ease.

Persons were kind and considerate, and made everything so easy for us. Never have we felt more at home in enjoying the courtesies of new acquaintances. And we felt their genuine interest in making us feel at home and in doing all that they could to make us feel at ease and to help us see and do the many things that we did see and do in such a short space of time.

Grahamstown--where we had the privilege of living in the homes of Professor and Mrs. Houghton (in Grahamstown and in Hogsback)--was most enjoyable. Everything was "natural"--from having available iron and ironing board and drying line over the bath tub, to daily meals and pleasant, informal dinners.

Surely, we often remarked to each other, the Exchange Program is doing a great job of bringing together persons who otherwise would not have had the opportunity of meeting and knowing one another. It made us enthusiastic about the opportunity of returning some of these courtesies to those exchangees who may find their way to distant Texas.

We moved about the universities without problems. We were protected from taxis and buses by being provided private transportation. We were courtesouly treated in the cities' stores, as apparently were the Africans in the large cities. There were buildings and areas in public places where blacks were not allowed--even the downtown air terminal in Johannesburg. (This last we entered, as American citizens, and received polite treatment.)

It was a touching experience for us to witness a tri-tribal church service held in the educational building of the Union Church in Johannesburg. With a leader in only one tribal dialect present, the spirits of these people crossed language barriers in seeking a common God.

Even quarantine in Cairo was an experience -- and a not too unenjoyable one. There we met interesting Americans and persons of other races, and we were drawn together by our common plight of the-nurses'-failure-to-enter-on-

the-health-card-an-important-inoculation or our failure-to-have-had-a-booster-shot sufficiently in advance of the required number of days. (No one seemed to mind the fact that, in our free mingling, we might be exposing companions to the very germs for which we were being "quarantined.")

We regretted that our stay had to be so short. At times we doubted that we could possibly hold up to another day's engagements. But it was fun--fun and learning, of people, places, and situations.

The Nabrits will not soon forget the summer of 1964. Nor will they forget the Exchange Program that made possible such an enjoyable, pleasant and helpful experience. We are grateful.

APPENDIX

	Activities	Persons Met
JOHANNESBURG		
June 5	1. Met at Jan Smuts Airport	Professor William A. Sutton Mr. Fred van Wyk
	2. Visit at Criterion Hotel	Mr. Raymond Silberbauer
June 6	1. Visit at Criterion Hotel	Mr. George Moir
	2. Driven by Mr. Harry Goldberg to his Home; lunch with Mr. and Mrs. Goldberg	Children: Barbara and Peter Grandson: Anthony
	3. Visit to SANTA (taken by Mr. Goldberg) Tea with Mr. and Mrs. Forster	Mr. and Mrs. Marteous Forster
June 7	1. Taken to services at Union Church by Mr. and Mrs. Moir	The Reverend Griffith, Minister Several members of congregation
	2. Lunch at home of Mr. and Mrs. Moir	Children: 2 daughters, 1 son Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Pearce
	3. Tea at home of Professor and Mrs. William A. Sutton	
June 8	1. Visit to Witwatersrand University (Taken by Professor Sutton)	Principal MacCrome Professor B. I. Balinsky Mr. K. Andrews
	2. Tea with Principal MacCrome	
	3. Visits at Hotel	a. Mr. Harry Mashabela Has been offered scholarship to Princeton University. Had been asked to talk with SMN by Dr. Tressider
		b. Mr. and Mrs. John Osgood, of Mt. Holyoke Participants in Exchange Program

	Activities	Persons Met
PIETERSBURG		
June 9	1. Driven to Pietersburg by Professor W. M. Kgware and student driver	Mrs. Kgware and Kgware children
	2. Lunch with Professor and Mrs. Kgware	
	3. Supper with Mr. and Mrs. Kgware	
	4. Talked with students of College following evening meal	
	5. Group of faculty members at Kgware home	H. W. E. Ntsanwiso - Bantu Languages P. K. Kopane - Assistant, Bantu Languages L. A. Conius - Lecturer, Psychology Professor van Dyk - Psychology
	6. Spent night at Kgware home	
June 10	1. Breakfast at Kgware home	
	2. Visited University faculty and buildings (tea)	J. C. Rhenoster - Asst. to Professor Kgware V. D. Berg - Lecturer, Zoology and Biology S. P. Mansha - Assistant Librarian CCN, accompanied by Mrs. Kgware, met and talked with dietitians and kitchen staff
	3. Returned to Johannesburg hotel in Kgware automobile by Professor Kgware's son and two students	

	Activities	Persons Met
JOHANNESBURG		
June 11	1. Visit to Johannesburg Townships and tour by Native Affairs Department (Professor Sutton)	Mr. Luyt, leader of tour Dr. Dory (on leave from Connecticut College, teaching at Kampalo)
	a. Sheltered Employment	Mrs. Wilmer
	b. Vocational Training Center	Mr. Peynton
	c. Townships: Orlando Dube Jabarkiv Meraka	
	d. Visit to Oppenheim Memorial	
	e. Visit to Morris Isaacson Secondary School	
	2. Taken by Mr. van Wyk to South African Institute of Race Relations	Father Collins (who drove to Institute) Mr. Quintin Whyte, Director Mrs. Honeywell, Publications Mr. J. C. Mbata, Field Officer Mr. Patrick MacKenzie (drove back to Hotel)
June 12	1. Driven by Mr. C. N. Phatudi, Deputy Inspector of Bantu Education	
	a. Visit to Pineville Township	
	b. Visit to Musi High School Tea Numbers by 2 student choruses	Mr. Segorne, Headmaster Staff members 4 groups of students
	c. Visit to Nicholans High School	
	d. Visit to Morris Isaacson Secondary School	Mr. Mathabathe, Assistant Headmaster Howard Phatudi, member of finishing class Bus load of University students visiting school
	e. Drive through Meadowlands Township	
	f. Drive through industrial section (buffer area between Africans and Whites)	

		Activities	Persons Met
JOHANNESBURG			
June 12	2.	Drive to Pretoria	Miss H. Pim (member of Serviceable Sisters)
PRETORIA			
June 12	1.	In home of Dr. and Mrs. Argus Tressider	Daughter
	2.	Dinner	Professor Pistorius - University of Pretoria Professor and Mrs. Poerold Dr. and Mrs. Pillay Dr. and Mrs. Ribiero Francis Swart
June 13	1.	Breakfast at Tressider home	Reverend and Mrs. Tema
JOHANNESBURG			
June 13	1.	Returned to Johannesburg in car driven by son of Mr. George Moir	
	2.	Meeting with Management Committee of Exchange Program	
	3.	Dinner with Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Pearce and guests	Daughter Mr. J. S. Lesalong Dr. William N'Komo Mr. Victor Pearce Mr. N. Marino
June 14	1.	Tea with Mr. and Mrs. van Wyk	4 children (daughters)
	2.	Lunch with Mr. and Mrs. Silberbauer	Daughter (high school teacher)
DURBAN			
June 15	1.	Driven to airport by Mr. Silberbauer	

	Activities	Persons Met
DURBAN		
June 15	2. Met at Durban airport and taken to Edward Hotel	Professor S. P. Olivier, Principal, University College for Indians Mr. and Mrs. Jack Naido (He is Vice Principal of M. L. Sultan Technical College)
	3. Tea with Principal and Mrs. Olivier and members of faculty	
	4. Tour of campus, and visits with senior members of staff	Mr. C. M. Lakhi, lecturer in History of Art
	5. CCN driven to visit Nelly Thompson Home and hostelries at YWCA	Miss Cowell, General Secretary of YWCA Mrs. Brown, member of YW staff
	6. Drive to Valley of One Thousand Hills (Mr. Lakhi)	
	7. Tea at home of sister-in-law of Mr. Lakhi	Mrs. K. M. Seedat Daughter of Mrs. Seedat (who lectures in law at Natal University)
	8. Visit to Lakhi home	Mrs. Lakhi and two young daughters
June 16	1. Visit to L. M. Sultan Technical College Tea with Principal and members of Staff	Principal Fittendich
	2. Tour of College plant (SMN laboratories; CCN Home Ec. departments)	
	3. SMN to lunch with Principal Fittendich at Rotary Club CCN to lunch at Indian Club with Mr. and Mrs. Naido and Mrs. Fittendich	 Mrs. Fittendich
	4. CCN to hairdresser	

		Activities	Persons Met
DURBAN			
June 16	5.	Driven by Mr. Alan Paton to home of Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Lazarus for cocktails and conversation (group of 12)	Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Lazarus Mr. and Mrs. Alan Paton Miss Pauline Morel and Others
June 17	1.	Visit to Natal University and to Medical School (SMN)	Professor E. G. Malherbe, Principal Professor I. Gordon, Dean of Medical School Mr. Patrick, Public Relations
	2.	SMN talked with Secretary of African Teachers' Association	
	3.	SMN talked with Mr. _____ at Race Relations Office	
	4.	Supper with members of Salisbury Club and others SMN spoke to group	Mr. Asop Kajee Mr. Ismail Kajee Mr. A. H. Kajee Mr. Yusuf Randeree (Principal and Mrs. Olivier, Principal and Mrs. Fittendich, Mr. and Mrs. Lazarus, Miss Morel, Mr. Lakhi, and others were present.)
June 18	1.	Driven to airport by Principal Olivier	
	2.	Met at Port Elizabeth by Professor D. H. Houghton and driven to his home in Grahamstown	
GRAHAMSTOWN (Fort Hare, Hogsback)			
	3.	Lunch with Professor and Mrs. Houghton	
	4.	Dinner at Houghton home	Dr. and Mrs. Hyslop (Vice-Chancellor, Rhodes) Mr. and Mrs. Morton (Dean of Faculty of Education)
June 19	1.	SMN visited Rhodes University - Zoology Department	Professor Allanson (Professor of Zoology)

	Activities	Persons Met
GRAHAMSTOWN (Fort Hare, Hogsback)		
June 19	2. Lunch with Professor and Mrs. Allanson	Professor and Mrs. Whitehead Professor and Mrs. van Hille Teacher of Biology in secondary school (woman)
	3. Dinner at Houghton home	Professor and Mrs. Gledhill (Physics) Professor and Mrs. Butler (English)
June 20	1. Driven by Professor and Mrs. Houghton to Fort Hare (school closed for vacation)	
	2. Tea with members of Staff	Professor Oosthuizen - Divinity Mr. van Dyk Professor Seboni Professor Green Mr. Makhanya - Assistant Librarian Mr. DuPreez - Registrar Professor Meiring - Head of Zoology Mr. C. M. C. Ndamse - Soc. Anthrop. & Pub. Rel.
	3. Visited plant, including Library, Khosa Museum, Physics laboratory	Mr. Davidson, Head of Physics Department Mr. Sciello, assistant to Mr. Davidson
	4. Driven by Mrs. Oosthuizen to home of Dr. and Mrs. Kerr (past principal of Fort Hare)	Dr. and Mrs. Kerr
	5. Lunch with Professor and Mrs. Oosthuizen	Professor (Anthropology) and Mrs. (medical practitioner) Raum Professor Davidson Dr. Cundill (woman)
	6. Visit to Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa	The Reverend J. S. Summers

	Activities	Persons Met
GRAHAMSTOWN (Fort Hare, Hogsback)		
June 20	7. Tea at home of the Reverend and Mrs. Summers	The Reverend P. A. Myrick The Reverend T. S. N. Gqubule The Reverend S. H. Russell The Rev. Fr. M. Tweedy Mr. Wright, Registrar Miss Imes (secretary)
	8. Driven by Professor Oosthuizen (and 3 sons) to Houghton home in Hogsback (spent night)	
June 21	1. Breakfast, and tour of Houghton grounds, of surrounding countryside, and of estate of Professor Monica Wilson (of Cape Town University)	
	2. Return drive to Grahamstown (through the Ciskei - Middlerift, Keiskammahoek, King Williamstown)	
	3. Cocktails with Professor J. J. Gerber and sister, Mrs. Wakeford	
	4. Supper at Houghton home (spent night)	
June 22	1. Driven by Mrs. Sutton (warden of women's hostel at Rhodes) to Port Elizabeth - where she was meeting her visiting son, wife and grandchild	
	2. Coffee at home of Mrs. Burns, wife of American Consul in Port Elizabeth	
	3. Driven by Mrs. Burns and consulate assistant to airport	

	Activities	Persons Met
CAPE TOWN		
June 22	4. Met at airport, and driven to Mount Nelson Hotel by Mr. and Mrs. Scholtz	Mr. and Mrs. J. J. J. Scholtz Die Burger Mr. Bill Living (Vice Consul, American Consulate) Mr. Lochner
	5. Dinner at Mount Nelson Hotel	Mr. and Mrs. Scholtz Mr. Cillie Mr. and Mrs. Pienaar
June 23	1. Visit to University College of the Western Province	Mr. John Lochner of SANLAM (in charge of visit in absence of Mr. Olivier)
	2. Tea with, and remarks by, Rector in Rector's office	Professor J. G. Meiring, Rector
	3. SMN taken to visit laboratories	
	4. Lunch at Mount Nelson Hotel	Mr. Lochner Mr. and Mrs. Munger Mr. and Mrs. Philander (P. J.) Mr. Greyling (Coloured Development Corp.) Dr. and Mrs. Lanesberg (Financial editor, Cape Times)
	5. Reception at Tembane House	The American Consul and Mrs. G. E. Clark Professor Monica Wilson Other invited guests
June 24	1. Auto visit to mountains and tour of City	
	2. Visit to SANLAM Building with Mr. Lochner Tea	
	3. Went up mountain in cable car	
	4. Sightseeing tour with Mr. and Mrs. Philander Tea at Philander home	Two youngest Philander sons

	Activities	Persons Met
CAPE TOWN		
June 24	5. Dinner at home of Mr. and Mrs. A. Kaptein (Driven to home by Mr. Kaptein and returned to Hotel by Mr. and Mrs. Kaptein)	Miss Goodwin (singer) Mr. Jordann (singer and musician) Other invited guests
June 25	1. Visit to University of Cape Town Tea	Public Relations Officer Professor J. P. Duminy, Principal
	2. SMN visited laboratories, while CCN went on tour of Townships with	Mrs. Davie (wife of former Principal) Mrs. Grieve - President of the National Council of Women Mrs. Clear - Housing manager Professor D. P. Inskip
	3. Lunch at University, with Vice Principal and group of Staff and wives	
	4. CCN to hairdresser, and to tea at home of Mrs. Brown in Welton - taken by Mrs. Philander	Four of Mrs. Brown's neighbors
	5. Dinner - group of Staff of University of Cape Town and wives - Mount Nelson Hotel	Vice Principal Inskip and wife Professor W. H. Hutt and wife Professor C. H. O. Day and wife
June 26	1. SMN and Mr. Lochner to University of Stellenbosch	J. S. Gericke, Vice-Chancellor J. F. A. Swartz, Dean of School of Education Dr. S. Theron, Deputy Superintendent of Schools, Cape
	2. Tea at home of Dr. Swartz	
	3. Lunch at home of Vice-Chancellor Gericke	
	4. Tea with Superintendent and all assistants (on Superintendent's last day in office)	Mr. Theron

	Activities	Persons Met
CAPE TOWN		
June 26	5. Mrs. Euralee Stott, member of City Council, took SMN to see housing situation (good and bad) in Cape Town	
	6. SMN went with Dr. van der Ross to see District 6 for Coloureds and Malays	
	7. SMN spoke to Secondary School Teachers Association	
	8. Nabrits hosts to dinner group at Mount Nelson Hotel (with Mr. Lochner)	Dr. and Mrs. Munger Professor and Mrs. Sadie Dr. and Mrs. Wicus Badenhorst Dr. and Mrs. Andre van der Merwe One other couple
June 27	1. To Johannesburg - 8:30 a.m. (Mr. Lochner drove to airport; American Consul representative joined us)	
	2. Met in Johannesburg by Mr. Goldberg; driven to his home	
	3. Joined by Professor Sutton, for discussion of trip	
	4. Lunch - with Mrs. Jacobson, sister of Mrs. Goldberg, serving as hostess	
	5. Coffee - during which Mr. and Mrs. Silberbauer arrived	
	6. Driven to airport by Mr. and Mrs. Goldberg, who remained with us until a few minutes before plane took off	

	Activities	Persons Met
June 27	7. Mr. Goldberg presented us with copy of "Shaka Zulu" and of "News on South Africa and Africa Check"	
	8. Arrived Nairobi, and registered at Hotel Norfolk (11:25 p.m.)	
June 28	1. Walked through shopping district and to Stanley Hotel	
	2. Bus tour through Royal Nairobi National Park, meeting three persons from America who were en route to Rhodesia to work	
June 29	1. Left Nairobi (3:15 p.m.), arriving Cairo about 11:30 p.m.	
	2. Spent night in Quarantine	
June 30	Quarantine - Cairo	
July 1	Quarantine - Cairo	
July 2	Left on KLM for Amsterdam (approximately 12:30 a.m.)	
July 3	1. Amsterdam (at Apollo Hotel)	
	2. Took Schphol Tour of Canals	
	3. Shopped	
	4. Left on KLM for New York (5:20 p.m.)	
	5. Left New York 11:35 p.m. for Houston	
July 4	Arrived Houston 1:35 a.m.	

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SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT

of the

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

1963-1964

This report includes an audited financial statement for the Program's fiscal year, July 1, 1963 to June 30, 1964

Box 2543
Johannesburg

101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Penna.
November 1964

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SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT

1963-1964

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. was organized in 1958 to develop through non-governmental means a mutual basis of cooperation between professional, business, community and religious leaders of all races in the United States and South Africa. The Program is incorporated in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and contributions are tax-exempt in the United States and South Africa.

This voluntary, nonprofit organization is unique in the international field. A Management Committee of distinguished South Africans and Americans makes the policies and selects the Exchangees. The Program exchanges both American and South African leaders. American and South African foundations, corporations and individuals provide the financial support.

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS

1. The highlight of 1964 was Dr. and Mrs. S. M. Nabrit's visit to South Africa in June. Dr. Nabrit, zoologist and President of Texas Southern University, conferred with administrators and professors of English, Afrikaans, African, Coloured and Indian institutions of higher education on new approaches to accelerating the achievement levels of university students. Dr. and Mrs. Nabrit received a warm welcome everywhere, stayed at the best hotels in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town and met a broad cross-section of South Africa's population.
2. Twenty-three exchanges are taking place in 1964 as in 1963, seventeen South Africans and six Americans. Wives of fourteen Exchangees accompanied their husbands; two couples were able to have their children share the experience.

3. Five South African science teachers and professors came to the United States in 1964 to participate in the Summer Institutes of the National Science Foundation through the cooperation of the Foundation. Two other South Africans, one with his wife and two children, are now attending Academic Year Institutes. This was the fourth year of the science education project.

4. The Faculty Exchange project between South African and American institutions of higher education, made possible by a grant from The Ford Foundation, had its third year of operation.

5. Indirect assistance to the Program, in the form of free transportation, grants from foundations directly to Exchangees and compensation by universities for teaching or lecturing by Exchangees, was a substantial factor in 1964 as in previous years. These contributions, valued at $10,000, do not show in the audited financial statement; without such help the Program would have had fewer exchanges.

6. Pursuant to the decisions of the first Joint Meeting of the Management Committee in 1963, four functional projects have been defined as areas of emphasis for exchange during 1965 and 1966:

   (a) Language Instruction, Literacy and Literature

   (b) Functions of Public Administration in Resolving Problems of Rapid Urbanization

   (c) Training for Christian Citizenship

   (d) Assistance to Small Traders in Community and Economic Development

LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

The leader exchange program, which exchanges couples in the fields of journalism, religion, government service and education for three months to one year, had the following exchanges in 1963 and 1964:

1963 Leader Exchangees

Dr. J. Adendorff. Dr. Adendorff, General Manager of the Bantu Investment Corporation, studied race relations in urban areas and on the Indian reservations with emphasis on economic problems and small business opportunities.

Dr. and Mrs. A. P. Blignault. Dr. Blignault is a psychiatrist and Editor of the journals of the Medical Association of South Africa. Mrs. Blignault is a well-known Afrikaans essayist and a member of the editorial staff of the Afrikaans woman's magazine, SARIE MARAIS. During a three-month study tour Dr. Blignault attended the annual meetings of the American Psychiatric and Psychoanalytic Associations and conferred with the editors of the JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION. Mrs. Blignault met many American writers in her study of modern American literature.

Dr. and Mrs. John de Villiers. Dr. de Villiers is Assistant Director in charge of all Regional Offices of the Geological Survey. Mrs. de Villiers is a librarian at the University of South Africa. With the advice and assistance of the U.S. Geological Survey, the U.S. Bureau of Mines and officers of mining companies Dr. de Villiers studied the roles of government and private industry in the production of minerals.

Dr. and Mrs. Joseph S. Manca. Dr. Manca, an accountant in the City Treasurer's Department, Cape Town, is Conductor and Musical Director of the Cape Town Light Opera Company, Musical Director of the Eoan Group (an organization established for the Coloured Community) and of Pinelands (St. Stephen's) Repertory Society. Dr. and Mrs. Manca studied choral and operatic music in major cities of the United States.

Mr. and Mrs. John R. May. Mr. May, Executive Director of the San Francisco Foundation, and Mrs. May conferred with South African leaders in the field of social welfare and philanthropy.

Mr. and Mrs. C. N. Phatudi. Mr. Phatudi, an African educator and author, is Sub-Inspector of Bantu Education in the Transvaal and President of the Federation of Sub-Inspectors and Supervisors of Bantu Education. Mr. and Mrs. Phatudi studied the organization and administration of public education in northern and southern cities.

Mr. and Mrs. J. J. J. Scholtz. Mr. Scholtz, Foreign Editor of the BURGER, studied American race relations and attended an Executive Seminar at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies. The Carnegie Corporation awarded Mr. Scholtz a travel grant.

Mr. Cecil Skotnes. Mr. Skotnes, a painter employed by the Johannesburg Municipality as Cultural Organizer for Non-Europeans, attended the international conference on Plastic Arts in New York and was assisted by the Program to visit art training institutions in metropolitan areas and Indian craft work in the Southwest during October-November 1963.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Steyn and their two children. Mr. Steyn, political correspondent of the CAPE ARGUS, was an Associate Nieman Fellow at Harvard. He received a Johnson Foundation Fellowship through the Program.

Dr. and Mrs. Derrick T. Vail, Jr. Dr. Vail is Professor of Ophthalmology and Director of the Department of Ophthalmology, Northwestern University Medical School, and Editor-in-Chief, AMERICAN JOURNAL OF OPHTHALMOLOGY. Dr. Vail lectured at universities and conferred with officers of the National Council of the Blind and industrialists interested in the prevention and treatment of eye diseases.

Professor and Mrs. P. A. Verhoef. Dr. Verhoef is Professor of Old Testament, Theological Seminary, Stellenbosch, executive editor of the theological quarterly of the Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Church) and a member of the Committee for the Revision of the Afrikaans Translation of the Bible. Professor Verhoef visited theological seminaries to study teaching methods and curricula.

Mr. Philip Woodyatt. Mr. Woodyatt, a member of a management consulting firm, was in South Africa from February to April 1963 for consultations with the Management Committee, former Exchangees and others closely interested in the Program to help plan the agenda for the joint meeting in July 1963 of the South African and U.S. members of the Management Committee.

1964 Leader Exchangees

Mr. and Mrs. S. Allen Bacon. Mr. Bacon, Executive Director of the Germantown Settlement in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, studied the teaching and practice of social work and community development; Mrs. Bacon, a writer, met with authors and newspaper feature writers.

Dr. and Mrs. H. E. Buell and three sons. Dr. Buell, pastor, Hyde Park Methodist Church, Tampa, Florida, exchanged pulpits with Rev. E. C. Wilkinson of St. John's Methodist Church, Port Elizabeth.

Dr. and Mrs. Walter H. Cohen. Dr. Cohen, Chairman, South African National Council for the Blind, attended the meetings of the World Council for the Welfare of the Blind where he was elected Chairman of the World Braille Council. Dr. and Mrs. Cohen then visited institutions for the rehabilitation of the blind in New England, the Midwest and the South.

Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Human. Mr. Human, a publisher, studied the book trade in general and the running of subsidized, nonprofitmaking university presses in the U.S. Mrs. Human explored the field of children's literature and met with people in the field of children's programs on TV and radio.

Dr. and Mrs. S. M. Nabrit. Dr. Nabrit, zoologist and President of Texas Southern University, conferred with administrators and faculty committees of universities and university colleges on new approaches to raising the level of student achievement.

Dr. Robert T. Parsons, Professor of African Studies of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, is studying the separatist church movement among African Christians.

Mr. Elias N. Seopela, social case worker, Department of Non-European Affairs, Town Council of Benoni, and National Secretary of the South African Non-European Social Workers Association, studied trends and techniques in family case work and juvenile delinquency and probation.

Mr. and Mrs. E. Raymond Silberbauer. Mr. Silberbauer, personnel consultant and Director of the African Wage and Productivity Association, studied personnel management developments in universities and industries; Mrs. Silberbauer observed the teaching of the new mathematics in secondary schools.

Dr. Laurence E. Strong, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Chemistry, Earlham College and Director of the Chemical Bond Approach Project, sponsored by the National Science Foundation, for the development of a new high school chemistry curriculum, is conferring with the Program's South African Science Advisory Committee and former participants in the Science Education Project in December.

Rev. and Mrs. S. S. Tema. Pastor Tema, Assistant Moderator of the Dutch Reformed (N.G.) Mission Church and President of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, studied the administration of religious organizations in urban and rural areas; Mrs. Tema observed the teaching of domestic science and attended conferences of the United Church Women.

Mr. and Mrs. S. Theron. Mr. Theron, Deputy Superintendent of Education of the Cape Province, studied administration of urban school systems and programs for the gifted child.

Dr. and Mrs. H. J. van Zyl. Dr. van Zyl, Deputy Secretary for Bantu Education, observed American patterns of school administration, programs to achieve school integration and quality education and the production of school books.

Rev. and Mrs. C. Edgar Wilkinson. Pastor Wilkinson of the St. John's Methodist Church, Port Elizabeth, exchanged pulpits with Dr. Harold E. Buell of Tampa, Florida.

SCIENCE EDUCATION PROJECT

The National Science Foundation again invited the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program to nominate South African participants for its Summer Institutes for science teachers and professors. Professor Laurence E. Strong, Chairman of the Department of Chemistry, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, Director of the Chemical Bond Approach Project of the National Science Foundation and a former

leader exchangee, is American adviser on this Program. Professor S. S. Israelstam, Professor of Chemistry, University of the Witwatersrand, Dr. L. A. Prinsloo of the University of Pretoria and Professor C. B. van Wyk, Professor of Applied Mathematics, University of the Orange Free State, are advisers in South Africa.

The following South African science teachers and professors participated in the 1964 Summer Institutes:

Mr. F. H. Badenhorst, Chief Inspector of Schools, Department of Coloured Affairs -- De Pauw University

Mr. F. P. Joshua, Principal of Alexander Sinton High School, Cape Town -- Earlham College

Mr. J. Maarschalk, Editor-in-Chief, SPECTRUM, Journal for Teachers of Science and Mathematics -- Sacramento State College

Dr. G. W. Perold, Professor of Organic Chemistry and Head of the Department of Chemistry, University of South Africa -- Michigan State University

Dr. I. M. Sturgess, Vice Rector, Johannesburg College of Education -- Sonoma State College

The following are participating in Academic Year Institutes:

Mr. Hedley R. Corbett, Headmaster, King Edward VII School -- Temple University

Mr. G. L. D. Parish, Lecturer in Mathematics, Natal Training College, with Mrs. Parish and their children -- University of Illinois

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, supplementing the National Science Foundation grant covering tuition, living costs at the Institutes and part of the international travel costs, contributed to the international travel costs and arranged for each Summer Institute participant a two-week cultural tour of the United States. The National Science Foundation has invited the Program to nominate five South African science teachers and professors for its 1965 Summer Institutes and has also offered to make available to the Program two positions in the Academic Year Institute activities.

FACULTY EXCHANGE PROJECT

Fifteen professors in the social sciences and humanities are being exchanged over a three-year period for study tours of three to six months under a grant from The Ford Foundation in support of an exchange of academic personnel between American universities and universities in the Republic of South Africa.

1963 Faculty Exchangees

Professor and Mrs. Wayne C. Booth. Dr. Booth, Pullman Professor of English at the University of Chicago, and Mrs. Booth were in Africa from July until November 1963. Dr. Booth made an intensive study of the teaching of English in all types of South African secondary schools and participated in a Conference on the Teaching of English sponsored by the Standing Committee of the Associated Church Schools, in conjunction with the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses and Rhodes University.

Professor and Mrs. William O. Brown. Dr. Brown, Director of the African Studies Program, Boston University, and Mrs. Brown were in Africa for six months. Dr. Brown visited all of the Universities and new university colleges in South Africa as a consultant on African Studies Programs. Dr. and Mrs. Brown later toured Middle Africa.

Professor and Mrs. Paul W. Bruton. Dr. Bruton, Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Pennsylvania, lectured at universities and conferred with members of the legal profession in South Africa from June to August 1963 and then spent two weeks in East Africa and Ethiopia.

Professor and Mrs. Philip Mayer. Professor Mayer, Head of the Department of African Studies, Rhodes University, arrived in February 1963 for three months of lectures and consultations in his field at U.C.L.A., Northwestern, Chicago, Indiana, Fisk, Howard, Johns Hopkins, Smith, Princeton and Yale, followed by two months as a Visiting Fellow with the Department of Social Relations at Harvard.

Professor Monica Wilson. Dr. Wilson, Professor of Social Anthropology, School of African Studies, University of Cape Town, taught from September to December 1963 at U.C.L.A. and then lectured in her field and conferred with colleagues at Duke, North Carolina, Chicago, Harvard and several liberal arts colleges until March 1964. She also visited universities in England and West Africa.

1964 Faculty Exchangees

Professor and Mrs. John C. Osgood and their two children. Dr. Osgood, Professor of Education and Psychology, Mount Holyoke College, was in South Africa

from February through June studying Bantu education. In July and August he visited schools and universities in East Africa.

Professor and Mrs. C. W. H. Schmidt. Dr. Schmidt, Professor of Constitutional, International and Criminal Law at the University of Pretoria, has been invited by the University of Pennsylvania Law School to spend several months, beginning late 1964, as a visiting scholar for research and participation in seminars in his fields of major interest. The Program is financing part of the costs of this exchange. Mrs. Schmidt is accompanying her husband.

Professor and Mrs. J. A. van Wyk. Professor van Wyk teaches at the Stofberg Theological School, located near Pietersburg, for the training of African pastors and evangelists. Mr. and Mrs. van Wyk will be in the United States from December 1964 until April 1965 to do research on communications in missiology.

Members of the U.S. Selection Committee are:

Professor Gwendolen M. Carter, Northwestern University
Dr. C. W. de Kiewet, President Emeritus, University of Rochester
Dean Erwin Griswold, Law School of Harvard University
Professor Guy B. Johnson, University of North Carolina
Professor Vernon McKay, School of Advanced International Studies of The Johns Hopkins University
Professor Clinton L. Rossiter, Cornell University

The South African Selection Committee members are:

Dr. Simon Biesheuvel, formerly Director of the Institute of Personnel Research of the S.A. Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
Professor D. Hobart Houghton, Rhodes University
Professor J. H. Moolman, University of South Africa
Professor B. F. Nel, Pretoria University
Professor Monica Wilson, University of Cape Town
Professor James Yeats, University of Stellenbosch

FUNCTIONAL PROJECTS

Twenty-two of the twenty-eight members attended the first Joint Meeting of the Management Committee, held at Wingspread, headquarters of The Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin, July 21 to 25, 1963. The major purpose of the conference was to set goals for the next three to five years of the Program.

The decisions made and the goals set for the Program are being implemented. Exchanges in the following functional projects will begin in 1965:

(a) Language Instruction, Literacy and Literature

(b) Functions of Public Administration in Resolving Problems of Rapid Urbanization

(c) Training for Christian Citizenship

(d) Assistance to Small Traders in Community and Economic Development

In each project at least three specialists, two South Africans and one American, will be exchanged.

FINANCIAL

The steady increase in the number of Exchangees has been made possible by a healthy broadening in the base of financial support. Especially valuable has been the indirect assistance rendered to the Program in both countries. These contributions, valued at $10,000, which do not pass through the Program's accounts, represent free transportation, paid leaves to Exchangees, compensation for teaching or lecturing by Exchangees and foundation grants paid directly to persons recommended by the Program.

Since the inception of the Program, Safmarine has given four free passages annually to the Program's Exchangees. Farrell Lines gives the Program four free passages. The Carnegie Corporation of New York on several occasions has given grants directly to Exchangees recommended by the Management Committee. The Johnson Foundation has given fellowships to South African newspapermen who were Associate Nieman Fellows at Harvard University. Several American universities and colleges have provided hospitality or given honoraria to Exchangees for lectures and consultations. Universities and colleges in both countries have offered opportunities for our Exchangees to teach and several universities have given paid leaves to assist their faculty members. Newspapers have similarly assisted their staff. The National Science Foundation has made it possible for twenty South African science

teachers and professors to participate in Summer Institutes and also given places to four teachers in Academic Year Institutes.

CUMULATIVE LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

The following foundations, corporations, individuals and institutions in the United States and South Africa have helped financially since 1958 to make the Program possible:

Foundations

Abe Bailey Trust
American Metal Climax Foundation
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust
Carnegie Corporation
Chace Fund
Claremore Fund
Danforth Foundation
Division Fund
The Family Fund
The Ford Foundation
Hopkins Charitable Fund
The Johnson Foundation
J. M. Kaplan Fund
The Hans Merensky Trust
National Science Foundation
The New World Foundation
Norman Fund
Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust
Gustavus and Louise Pfeiffer Research Foundation
Phelps-Stokes Fund
Christopher Reynolds Foundation
Richardson Foundation
Rockefeller Foundation
Benj. Rosenthal Foundation
South Africa Association
Robert D. Stern Fund
Western Publishing Company Foundation
Weyerhaeuser Foundation
Wyomissing Foundation

Corporations

African Explosive and Chemical Industries, Ltd.
Allied Chemical Corporation
Anglo-American Corporation of S.A., Ltd.
Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investments Co., Ltd.
Argus Printing and Publishing Company, Ltd.
Brewers Institute of S.A., Ltd.
Bristol Myers Company
Bristol-Myers (Pty), Ltd.
Cape Times, Ltd.
Colgate-Palmolive, Ltd.
Courtaulds (Alabama), Ltd.
De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.
Engelhard Industries, Inc.
Engelhard Industries, Ltd.
Farrell Lines, Inc.
Federale Mynbou Bpk.
General Mining and Finance Corporation, Ltd.
Maggs Somerset (Pty), Ltd.
Model, Roland and Stone
The National Press
Newmont Mining Corporation
O'Okiep Copper Company, Ltd.
Otis Elevator Company, Ltd.
Pan American World Airways System
Rand Mines, Ltd.
Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation of S.A., Ltd.
Roberts Construction Co. (Pty), Ltd.
S.K.F. Laboratories (Pty), Ltd.

Corporations (continued)

South African Marine Corporation, Ltd.
South African Associated Newspapers, Ltd.
Stellenbosch Property Agency (Pty), Ltd.
Tsumeb Corporation, Ltd.
Twin Disc Clutch Company
Union Corporation, Ltd.
Vacuum Oil Company of S.A., Ltd.
Weyerhaeuser and Company

Individuals

Mrs. H. Clifford Allen
Mr. Barney Balaban
Dr. Eugene C. Blake
Mr. Morton Bodfish
Rev. John H. Burt
Mr. Roger Clapp
Miss Louise M. Clevenger
Mr. Kent G. Colwell
Dr. and Mrs. D. Crena de Iongh
Mr. Kingman Douglass
Mr. and Mrs. John A. Dreyfuss
Mrs. Walter B. Driscoll
Miss Gertrude Ely
Mr. I. S. Haggie
Mr. J. S. Harris
Mrs. Frances W. Hartwell
Mr. Harold K. Hochschild
Rev. and Mrs. Joseph A. Howell
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Mr. S. G. Menell
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Mr. and Mrs. William F. H. Purcell
Mr. Francis Randolph
Mrs. Edward Bliss Reed
Mr. David Rockefeller
Mrs. Madeleine H. Russell
Mr. Karel Schoeman
Mr. Arnold Skromme
Mrs. Ruth C. Sloan
Mr. and Mrs. L. M. C. Smith
Mr. Gardner H. Stern
Mrs. S. Emlen Stokes
Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Sweezy
Mrs. Seth P. Taft
Mrs. Grace W. Waring
Mrs. George B. Wislocki
Mr. Philip Woodyatt

Others

African Affairs Society of America, Ltd.
African-American Institute
Cape Provincial Administration
De Pauw University
Dutch Reformed Church of the Transvaal
Dutch Reformed Mission Church of South Africa
Earlham College
Howard University
Indiana University
International Astronomical Union
Manchester College
Mount Holyoke College
Northwestern University
Rhodes University
Smithsonian Astrophysical Institution
University of Massachusetts
University of North Carolina
University of Rochester
University of Stellenbosch
Western College for Women
Yale University

(An audited financial statement for the Program's fiscal year, July 1, 1963 - June 30, 1964 is appended.)

THE INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

An International Management Committee supervises the Program and selects leading citizens for exchange of three months to one year. The Management Committee encourages exchanges in both directions by people who have approved projects with definite sponsorship or at least with assured cooperation in the host country. The aim is to provide participants with a meaningful and broadening experience significant for their future life's work.

The Chairman of the Management Committee is Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director of the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Ltd.; the Vice Chairmen are the Rev. C. B. Brink, Mission Secretary of the Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Church) in the Northern Transvaal, and Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor of History, Earlham College; Mr. W. G. C. Moir of Stakesby Lewis and Lewis, Secretaries, is Administrator in South Africa and Dr. Frank S. Loescher is General Secretary.

The other American members of the Management Committee are: Dr. George H. Bennett, International Affairs and Exhibits, New York World's Fair 1964-65 Corp.; Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk, The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University; Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, Division of World Mission and Evangelism, World Council of Churches; Frank Coolbaugh, President, American Metal Climax, Inc.; Lewis W. Douglas, formerly Ambassador to the Court of St. James; Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University; Dr. Edwin S. Munger, Professor, California Institute of Technology; Leslie Paffrath, President, The Johnson Foundation; Alan Pifer, Vice President, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Mrs. William F. H. Purcell, civic leader and school and college trustee; Dr. Emory Ross, missionary and consultant on Africa; Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa

Committee, National Council of Churches; John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina.

The following South Africans also serve on the Management Committee: H. Goldberg, Ellis Furnishers, Ltd.; Rev. W. A. Landman, Director of Information, Cape Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Church); Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Chairman, South African Tourist Corp.; Professor N. J. J. Olivier, University of Stellenbosch; K. P. G. Schoeman, Chairman, Bantu Investment Corp.; T. P. Stratten, Deputy Chairman and Managing Director, Union Corporation, Ltd.; Professor W. G. Sutton, formerly Vice Chancellor and Principal, University of the Witwatersrand; Dr. H. B. Thom, Rector, University of Stellenbosch; F. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations; A. D. Wassenaar, General Manager, Sanlam; Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of South Africa. Mr. W. D. Wilson, Managing Director, Anglo-American Corporation of S.A., Ltd., resigned from the Management Committee in August 1964 because of a change in residence.

AUDITED FINANCIAL STATEMENT

C O P Y

TOUCHE, ROSS, BAILEY & SMART

Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Building
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19109

Management Committee
United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

We have examined the statement of net assets of United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc., as of June 30, 1964, and the related statement of receipts and disbursements and changes in net assets for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances, except that it was impractical for us to extend our examination of contributions received beyond accounting for amounts so recorded.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly the financial position of United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. at June 30, 1964, and the results of its operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

/s/ TOUCHE, ROSS, BAILEY & SMART
Certified Public Accountants

August 13, 1964

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UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
STATEMENT OF NET ASSETS
JUNE 30, 1964

CURRENT ASSETS:		
Cash:		
Demand deposits		$ 10,421.65
Savings deposits		100,800.37
Office cash funds		14.41
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS		$111,236.43
EQUIPMENT - at cost:		
Furniture, fixtures and equipment	$2,070.10	
Automobiles	2,803.00	
	$4,873.10	
Less: Accumulated depreciation	1,838.72	
		3,034.38
NET ASSETS		$114,270.81

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
AND CHANGES IN NET ASSETS
YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1964

RECEIPTS:			
Contributions:			
Foundations		$108,268.00	
Corporations		17,270.00	
Individuals and others		26,570.76	
			$152,108.76
Interest on savings accounts			3,849.18
			$155,957.94
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Programs:			
Grants to exchangees	$75,448.49		
Management meetings and consultation	13,073.85		
		$ 88,522.34	
General and administrative:			
Salaries and wages	$30,712.27		
Communications	1,771.68		
Rent and utilities	2,101.19		
Postage	890.89		
Staff travel	2,132.95		
Committee members' travel	1,783.70		
Payroll taxes	506.91		
Printing	2,662.57		
Supplies and equipment	1,275.09		
Periodicals	432.15		
Accounting and auditing	750.00		
Automobile expense	207.08		
Depreciation	767.60		
Other	1,139.05		
		47,133.13	
			135,655.47
EXCESS OF RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS			$ 20,302.47
NET ASSETS, JULY 1, 1963			93,968.34
NET ASSETS, JUNE 30, 1964			$114,270.81

December 2, 1964

Mr. Frank Loescher
Program Director
U. S. - South Africa Leaders
Exchange Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I think we would like to be thought of for the exchange program. A period during the first half of 1966 would suit us best; I do not believe we could go earlier. It would seem to us that three months would be about right, and would probably want our son (who would by then be 16) to accompany us. So let me know what next.

I do, however, have several questions:

1. I remain skeptical about the willingness of the South African government to let me in.

2. I am more interested in the forest than the trees, but I would nevertheless feel better looking at at least a sapling pretty closely. I am too uninformed to know what that might feasibly be, and would be, therefore, grateful for a suggestion. Perhaps by the time I can get through all the books you lent me, I can pick a special interest for special scrutiny, but would still value your suggestions.

3. I assume there would be no objection if I chose to (and were able to) tack on either before or after South Africa a European visit under auspices.

4. At the present, I do not see my way clear to contribute the $840. Perhaps through honoraria I could, or you may have other suggestions.

5. If you do select me, when would that decision be made and when, if it is possible for you to estimate, would word be received regarding a visa?

You are forcing me to do something I hadn't done for years; i.e., put together a full vita. It will be along in a few days.

We very much enjoyed the Human's.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
cc: John H. Wheeler

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Secretary:
E. RAYMOND SILBERBAUER
P. O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Cable address: QUINTUS

December 8, 1964

File

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter of December 2. I am delighted to know of your interest because you were nominated by the U.S. members on December 2.

The South African members will be acting on your nomination December 12 and as soon as I hear from them, I will be in touch with you and go into the five points you raise.

You would have blushed if you could have eavesdropped on John Wheeler's seconding speech!

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL/tnh
cc: Mr. John H. Wheeler

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); E. C. BLAKE (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); F. COOLBAUGH (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—GENERAL SECRETARY); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.); W. D. WILSON (S.A.).

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Penna. 19104

P.O. Box 2543
Johannesburg, South Africa

Visit to the United States, September 28 - December 20, 1964

by J. J. Human*

Our visit to the U.S. had as its main purpose to enable myself to learn as much as possible about the book trade and my wife to learn more about the production of radio and TV programs, especially in the field of children's programs (including educational matter), with a side emphasis on women's programs.

THE BOOK TRADE

The most cursory examination of history will show that the writing, production and distribution of books has (as a single, unified process) been of the utmost importance in the development of ideas and the dissemination of knowledge in any thinkable sphere of human endeavour. It is today the only branch of publication in which freedom of the press has any significant and practical meaning. It is, in practice, almost impossible to start a new newspaper; yet a number of very important new publishing firms (big and small) have been founded in the U.S. during the last decade, ranging from Atheneum to Hill & Wang. A newspaper article containing new and revolutionary ideas is highly unlikely to be published, and if published, to exert any lasting influence, because of the ephemeral character of newspapers and magazines (and often the fact that newspapers are highly regional in circulation, especially in a country the size of the U.S.). On the other hand, any, but almost any, idea could be formulated in a book of some scope and it will almost invariably prove possible to find a publisher for it; and even if that proved impossible, it is relatively simple to have a book printed privately, whereas it is completely impossible in the field of the periodical publication. Books, in effect, are the last resort of minority opinion, of utterly new opinion: American publishers can, and often do, think in terms of a maximum readership of 500 or 750; but it would be suicidal for newspaper and magazine editors to do so. Freedom of the press, a fairly realistic cynic remarked, in practice amounts to the freedom of C. L. Sulzberger, Walter Lippmann and a few others to say what they think. But as applied to book publishing, it allows for the freedom of anyone, no matter how left or how right, whether it be a leader of the Socialist Party or of the John Birch Society, to express in writing his ideas on all and sundry.

This preamble was necessary for various reasons, of which I shall list only a few: Many people (perhaps even the majority) think that the daily or weekly press is more important in moulding public opinion -- but in my opinion this is a fallacy; also, while in South Africa it may still be possible to start opinion magazines, the whole movement in the U.S. (also in terms of equipment and distribution) has been towards greater size and bigger quantities -- it is really today practically impossible to produce a periodical publication on a shoestring budget; furthermore, newspapers tend to concentrate on the matter in hand -- not to think too much about the future, not to point out complexities.

This report will deal with three main topics: the structure of the book-trade

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*Mr. Human is a partner in the publishing firm, Human and Rousseau, Pretoria, South Africa.

in the U.S.; a comparison, book-wise, between the U.S. and S.A.; and, finally, the role and position of the American book in S.A.

THE BOOK TRADE IN THE U.S.

A. ORGANIZATIONS

Because the existing book trade organizations readily show the various branches of the business, it may be better to treat them now rather than at the end of the report. The two main organizations are the American Book Publisher's Council and the American Booksellers' Association. Affiliated with the A.B.P.C., but completely independent, are the American Textbook Publishers' Institute and the Association of American University Presses, and, on top of that, the American Children's Book Council, Inc. The latter is not a trade organization in the usual sense of the word. The vast majority of legitimate publishers and booksellers belong to one or more of the above mentioned organizations, according to their activities. The organizations have no power but act on the instruction of their members to achieve certain ad-hoc results, which may vary from presenting the case of the trade at some government committee to conducting a survey. Other specialized functions, including professional advice, are also performed. Some of the activities of the councils are in a certain sense public, in that they are published in its broadest sense; others are confidential and available only to members. Membership fees are determined in accordance with volume of business. The activities of the Children's Book Council are largely promotional. Conventions of the various organizations are generally held at the same time in the same city so that a lot of consultation on matters of mutual interest is possible. This is also the practice in South Africa.

B. PUBLISHING

The major divisions of book publishing are: hardbound trade books, paperback trade books, textbooks, and university press books.

(1) Hardbound trade books

These books are intended to be sold to the general public and are not specialised, e.g. fiction, biography, history, art, etc. Emphasis is on non-fiction and two topics in particular inspire a variety of books, ranging from excellent to trite: President Kennedy's assassination and the racial problem. Authors normally receive 10% royalties, usually on a sliding scale going up to 15%. The bulk of the books published, however, do not sell in enormous quantities and many publishers rely heavily on subsidiary rights as a source of income, especially reprint rights (paperbacks and book club selections). Some people believe that the increasing costs of manufacturing and distribution, the emphasis in machine design being on high-speed equipment, will tend to eliminate the marginal book but I disagree: (a) a publisher can never tell whether a book is going to be marginal or enormously successful, and somewhere somebody will be willing to take that risk and have his failures paid for by the successes (the ratio must of course be sound!); (b) experience has shown that there will always be new, smaller publishers to undertake marginal risks, with less overhead expenses. Nevertheless, most publishers accept that an annual volume of $500,000 is required for the break-even point, which is more than five times the figure necessary in South Africa. This figure will certainly rise, but so will population figures, and with it (and at a higher rate) education, and readership. And in spite of the rate of mortality, the birth rate of new publishers is also high, which is the best insurance against stagnancy.

American publishers are, on the whole, more imaginative than their British and European counterparts: far more books are being commissioned than elsewhere; and far greater care is exercised in the editing of manuscripts.

(2) Paperback books

This is really the realm of the explosion, one could almost say revolution, in American book production. To understand properly the impact that this revolution has had, and the problems involved in launching a successful paperback publishing house, it is necessary to know about the distribution of paperback books. These books are not books, for marketing purposes, in the normal sense; rather they are a form of merchandise to which the potential buyer must be exposed as often as possible. This means that sales outlets have to be found over and above the normal retail book trade. This means, on the one hand, that one cannot tackle this undertaking in any small or diffident scale (the major problem in South Africa), but also that outlets make little differentiation between the titles that they carry. This last observation is most important for this means that excellent books will stand side by side with indifferent ones on a shelf, and many people who would normally never purchase such titles, now do so: either because they want to "learn something" or because they don't realise what the book is about; nevertheless, they purchase it and often read it; and this is one of the most significant things to have happened in publishing: a new market for quality productions is being opened, new book readers are being created; and this definitely happens and is borne out by circulation figures over a considerable period. There may, after all, be some advantage in outrageous cover illustrations for paper editions of serious books! The paperbook industry is in effect limited to only a few vast houses who are backed by enormous capital resources. The majority are serious and dedicated publishers who do not issue rubbish. Some initiate important work, e.g. New American Library's new Shakespeare series which was received with considerable acclaim by scholars here and in England. This is true especially in the field of non-fiction. Fiction usually is reprinted: it is wise to avoid paperback originals in fiction. Payments made by paperback publishers for reprint rights of bestselling books can run up to considerable sums: N.A.L. paid $250,000 as an advance for the rights in "The Group." First editions are usually 100,000 copies, reprints from existing plates can be economical at quantities of as low as 5,000.

Apart from the large scale operations there are numerous more scholarly and serious series of paperbooks, often published by trade companies, who will sell rights in popular books to one of the big firms and restrict its own list to what are usually called "quality paperbacks." This has been one of the most important developments in the American book trade and is bound to influence to an ever increasing degree publishing practices abroad. These series have made possible the reprinting of hundreds of out of print titles which normally would never have been reissued, and in addition the production of numerous books on any imaginable topic, used by students, etc. This is the answer to those who expect the demise of marginal titles. And for South Africa this is of great importance: if ever we are to have an indigenous paperbook industry, it is more likely to be on these lines than on those of, say, N.A.L.

(3) Textbook publishing

In this field tremendous advances have been made and will be made in view of the so-called explosion in education. In contrast to South Africa, where publishers usually issue separate textbooks for the various provinces, U.S. publishers tend to publish books which can be adopted as widely as possible, and often in this

way force teachers to conform to a more universal curriculum. "Regional" textbooks, such as those dealing with state history, are normally published by a local publisher. In many cases a sort of co-operation exists between publishers and authorities in that publishers may produce books in anticipation of new programs, and may even inspire new programs or techniques. On the whole, U.S. educational publishers are infinitely more courageous than their S.A. counterparts, who tend to adhere strictly to the curriculum as published. In the field of college and university textbooks, the large number of students and the variety of courses, and the tendency of teachers to adopt and recommend a variety of books, enable publishers constantly to seek new titles, to think of new approaches -- and this often means that the general public benefits because many of these books can also be read by the non-student. This, in particular, is the field in which new, enterprising young publishers excel, such as Chandler Inc. of Chicago, a small firm which started five years ago and today has a fairly impressive list in the humanities. Often the people who start new firms are former representatives who know the market inside out and have become acquainted with many prospective authors.

(4) University Presses

This is a peculiarly American phenomenon: in other countries, university presses (if they exist at all) engage in general publishing and use their profits to finance expensive scholarly books. In the U.S., university presses are extremely conscious of their particular field and will not touch a trade book. They are usually financed by the universities, but directors tend to seek support for specific projects from other sources. In general, the ideal is that the press must be able to pay its operating costs (printing, etc.) out of income, while the universities pay salaries and provide accommodation. Sometimes the director has the status of a professor, but this is not general. Big presses, like Harvard, are financially completely independent of their universities apart from the salary of the director. Publishing policy and the actual acceptance or rejection of manuscripts are controlled by the university through an editorial committee which obviously works in very close harmony with the executives of the press. Frankly, I find the attitude of the university presses (with which some disagree) difficult to understand when it comes to refusal to compete with commercial publishers: universities need more and more money, and find it difficult to finance young presses sufficiently to allow them to make their mark; commercial publishers are encroaching on the field of university presses, especially in the field of technical publications, and often in the humanities as a gesture to authors; moreover, in practice university presses often participate in commercial publishing, voluntarily by issuing regional textbooks (University of North Carolina Press has a few) or involuntarily, in that books published decades ago as specialised titles have become generally adopted textbooks. Some university presses are vexed at this mutual agreement, notably Dr. Armstrong (Northwestern University Press) and will probably launch "commercial" ventures in time to come.

C. DISTRIBUTION

Books are distributed either through independent agents (such as bookshops), or by the publishers themselves. The major difference with South Africa is the fact that there is no agreement on maintaining retail prices. The bigger bookstores will stick to list price, but discount stores, book clubs, etc. offer books at reduced prices, while there is a lot of competition in discounts to institutional buyers. The result has been that bookstores do virtually no library business, and often the bestseller is so underpriced in discount stores that they may lose much of that business. A most interesting development has been that of paperbook stores:

paperback books, because of their relatively low prices, their large numbers, etc. pose different problems: the obvious method of selling such books is in something akin to a supermarket. The basement of Kroch's and Brentano's in Chicago is in fact called the Super Bookmart. It is a self service in which the public shops and the only function of staff is to receive payment, check stocks and reorder -- a tremendous job. But the interesting thing about this is that few people walk into a paperbook store looking for a particular book; in general they go "book shopping" and often wind up with a number of books they would normally never have thought of. This seldom happens in a regular bookstore. Moreover, regular bookstores find it increasingly difficult to handle paperbooks in a way which can compete with specialised stores. Distribution of very popular paperbooks to other outlets, such as drugstores, is undertaken either by the publisher or by a wholesaler. Books are dumped on stands and unsold copies collected (not returned) every few weeks. Several large publishers have returned copies of fiction destroyed -- it is easier administratively, and solves many problems of inventory. Because the advance payment on royalty is usually higher than anticipated actual earnings, destruction of copies does not affect that. Non-fiction is generally returned and if necessary, rebound.

Three other phenomena in book distribution are mail-order, book clubs and subscription sales. Most publishers have their mail-order departments and they not only send material to their mailing lists but also advertise (a gentleman's agreement with booksellers makes them state in such advertisements that books are also available from the local dealer -- many publishers give their own name as a "last resort" -- if there is no bookseller). Book clubs are individual companies although a firm like Doubleday owns one. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Doubleday books will automatically be issued by their own clubs: apart from author's rights, various departments of such big firms usually are jealous of their independence and will decide only after considering all possibilities. Book Clubs play a most important role in the U.S. -- the majority of book buyers have belonged to at least one book club at least once, generally more often. The term "club" has become part of the vocabulary and the public expect certain features, so that the Kiplinger Book Service (Washington, D.C.), which issues specialised books on a club basis, had to change its name from club to service because they could not and would not operate in the way expected of a book club; the moment they changed their name, their membership increased! Subscription books are expensive sets of books (encyclopedias, etc.) sold by the publisher's salesman on an individual basis from door to door. This is big business (Grolier Inc., Field Enterprises, etc.) but outside the regular book trade.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES

There are many differences between the trade in South Africa and that in the United States. The most obvious one is of course the difference in size which affects a large number of things, including remuneration of authors which has a direct bearing on the quality and quantity of works of non-fiction. However, it would be more fruitful to look at differences which can, if necessary, be eliminated. The major feature of publishing in the U.S. is its imaginativeness. In this it differs from most of the world. The number of popular non-fiction books on almost any topic is simply amazing, and publishers play a most important role in the creation of these books: very few are written on a speculative basis and offered unsolicited. Here, South Africa publishers can certainly learn a lot by devoting far more attention to backroom work: thinking of themes, having regular discussions with advisers, commissioning books, devoting more time to editorial revisions, etc. A second main difference is price maintenance. It is extremely difficult to decide

whether the existence of discount houses and book clubs, both of which offer popular current books at reduced prices, inhibits or stimulates the trade as a whole. Booksellers disagree: some take the view that any stimulation of interest is bound to stimulate sales: a person who buys a book and likes it, is bound to talk about it and perhaps even to buy additional copies as presents; selection of a book for a book club in itself can have considerable advertising power. As regards discount stores, these people believe that customers who buy a popular novel at Korvette's, for example, are not regular bookbuyers anyway and therefore do not constitute loss of trade since the purchases are incidental. But such people may become used to the idea of buying books and walk into a regular shop one day. Other booksellers, again, hold that they can only carry large stocks and perform the necessary specialised functions and services if they have a regular sale of best sellers, which flow out of the shop with very little administrative demands. They say this provides the foundation for the less profitable activities demanded of a legitimate bookshop. I am inclined to accept the first view, that the main thing is to sell books under all possible circumstances and thus to create a book buying public. In South Africa, as in Britain, bookshops are often exclusive and not extremely inviting to anyone who is not an addict: people are often scared to go into a bookshop and browse. Unless this resistance is broken down, there can never be a major break-through.

There are, of course, numerous technical details of differences between South African and United States practice, such as capitalisation of royalty, amortisation of plates, mark-ups, terms of authors' agreements, etc. Notes on these will be drawn up in South Africa for the organisations there and copies will be sent to the Program in due course.

THE AMERICAN BOOK IN SOUTH AFRICA

Until now, most American books have reached South Africa via Britain, which normally bought Commonwealth rights. In addition, there has been greater resistance to American books than in other Commonwealth countries, probably because of political reasons which caused English readers to identify themselves more closely with British interests than even the Australians do. This, however, is changing: not only the attitude of South African booksellers, but also the availability of American books, and this applies in particular to the quality paperbacks, which are becoming increasingly popular in South Africa and are generally not affected by agreements with British publishers. The increased marketing of American books will obviously make a major contribution to greater knowledge and understanding of the United States in South Africa, the importance of which has really been brought home to me during this visit.

GENERAL

We visited a number of cities: Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, Pasadena, Grand Canyon, Albuquerque, New Orleans, Atlanta, Gainesville, Ga., Columbia, S.C., Chapel Hill, N.C., Williamsburg, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. Apart from professional meetings, we met a large number of private individuals who received us with infinite hospitality and with whom we had opportunities to discuss many aspects of American life and politics, and to talk about South Africa. We are most grateful to the U.S.-S.A. Exchange Program for the wonderful opportunity.

LIST OF PEOPLE SEEN

Philadelphia

Mr. Walter Kahoe) Educational Division, J. B. Lippincott Co.,
Mr. John Maxson, Jr.) 227 South 6th Street
Miss Martha A. Gable, Director, Educational TV, Board of Public Education, Administration Building (Room 230), Benjamin Franklin Parkway at 21st Street
Mrs. Phoebe Patterson)
Mrs. Ann Rosenberg (Fellowship Commission, 260 South 15th Street
Mr. Maurice B. Fagan)
Dr. and Mrs. John J. Berg, 207 Walnut Avenue, Wayne, Pa.
Allen and Margaret Bacon, 372 E. Gowen Avenue

New York

Mr. Walter Barra) American Book Publishers' Council, Inc., 58 West
Mr. Karil Schabert) 40th Street
Mr. Dana Pratt, American Association of University Presses, 20 West 43rd St.
Mr. Joseph A. Duffy, American Booksellers Association, 175 Fifth Avenue
Miss Elizabeth A. Geyser) R. R. Bowker, Co., 1180 Avenue of the Americas
Mr. Sal Vicidomini) ("Publishers to the Book Trade")
Mr. Storer B. Lunt, W. W. Norton Company, 55 Fifth Avenue
Mr. Louis Wolfe, New American Library, 501 Madison Avenue
Mr. Warren Lynch)
Mr. Ralph Thompson (Book of the Month Club, 345 Hudson Street
Mr. Charles Corrigan)
Mr. Lawrence Hill, Hill & Wang, Inc., 141 Fifth Avenue
Mr. George Tetzel, Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc., 34 W. 33rd Street
Mr. Devin A. Garrity, Devin-Adair Company, 23 East 26th Street
Miss Hilde Lebrecht, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 757 Third Avenue
Mr. Robert Banker, Doubleday & Co., 575 Madison Avenue
Mr. Walter Howard, Time-Life Books, Time & Life Bldg., Rockefeller Center
Mr. G. H. Wolfson, Artists & Writers Press, Inc., 850 Third Avenue (Assistant to Mr. Leventhal)

Boston

Mr. John Freeman, Houghton Mifflin, 2 Park Street
Mrs. Ruth H. Viguers, Horn Book Company, 585 Boylston Street
Mr. Mark Carroll, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
Dr. William Brown, Boston University
Mr. Lyons, Cambridge, Mass.

Chicago

Mr. Henry Regnery, Henry Regnery Company, 114 West Illinois Avenue
Mr. Armstrong, Northwestern University Press, University Avenue, Evanston
Mr. Muldof, Great Books Foundation, 5th & S. Wabash Streets
Mr. A. W. Naleid (and others), Western Publishing Company, Racine, Wisc.
Mr. O'Reilly, Chicago Tribune
Dr. and Mrs. Derrick Vail

San Francisco

Mr. Lloyd G. Lyman, University of California Press, Berkeley
W. H. Freeman & Co., 660 Market Street (several officers)
Mr. John F. Boucher, Determined Productions, Inc., 605 Washington Street
Mr. Howard Chandler, Chandler Publishing Company, 604 Mission Street
Mr. Paul Elder, Paul Elder's Bookshops

Pasadena

Professor Edwin S. Munger and a number of his colleagues

Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Mr. Bond (S.N.C.C.)
The Editor, Atlanta Daily World
Mrs. Dorothy Gibson

Gainesville, Ga.

Mr. and Mrs. Sylvan Meyer

Columbia, S.C.

Mrs. Alice Spearman and friends
Mrs. Louise Dubose, University of South Carolina Press

Chapel Hill, N.C.

Miss Anne Queen
Dr. Bodman, Department of History
Dr. Fleming, Department of Political Science
Mr. Lambert Davis, University of North Carolina Press
Mr. Frank Spearman, Department of Journalism
Dr. Guy Johnson

Washington, D.C.

Mr. Wayne Fredericks, U.S. State Department
Mr. Robert Frase, Book Publishers' Council, 1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Mr. Thomas Lloyd, Kiplinger Book Service, 1729 H Street, N.W.

January 12, 1965

Mr. Frank Loescher
Program Director
U. S. - South Africa Leaders
Exchange Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Thank you for your letters of December 29 and December 30. I may take you up on your offer of the Zulu and Xhosa records; but my commitment is not yet that deep.

Of course I am glad to receive the news.

In the interim before a full response to your letter of December 30, I am sending the requested twelve copies of my vitae.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures - 12.

Rec'd 12/31/64

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104
EVergreen 2-7830

December 29, 1964

South African Secretary:
E. RAYMOND SILBERBAUER
P. O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Cable address: QUINTUS

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

We have sets of modern phonograph records for self-instruction in Afrikaans, Zulu and Xhosa.

If you or your wife like languages, name your brand and we will send you a set.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:jj

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); E. C. BLAKE (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); F. COOLBAUGH (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—GENERAL SECRETARY); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.); W. D. WILSON (S.A.).

SOUTH AFRICAN

Rec'd 2/8/65

SUMMARY

Director — Otto Adendorff
Public Affairs Officer — Eschel Rhoodie
Editor — Dirk Rezelman

655 Madison Ave., New York 21, N.Y., TE 8-1700

Vol. 4, No. 6
Feb. 5, 1965

PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA DO NOT FORM ONE NATION

Replying to the question raised by the South African Opposition in Parliament whether the Government was prepared to abandon White leadership in some parts of South Africa, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M.C. Botha, said the Government did not accept the idea that all the people living in South Africa "had to form one nation". There are a number of separate nations in the country: a number of Bantu (black) peoples, Whites, Coloureds and Indians.

It is the policy of the Government that in its own territory White South Africa should have full political control for all time to come. What the White people claimed for themselves, however, they were also prepared to grant others. It is the policy of the Government that each people should have its own homeland where they should eventually have control.

In this sense therefore, the Government is prepared to abandon White leadership, which only meant White supremacy, in those parts of the country designated as homelands for other nations.

Separate entities

The greatest achievement of recent years was the acceptance by the different nations that they were separate entities and should develop as such. It is now accepted that the Bantu's presence in the White areas is only justified by their labor. Great progress had also been made with the geographical formation of Bantu homelands.

Another thing the Government could be proud of was that it had succeeded in bringing about complete and total political separation between Bantu and White. The political development of the Bantu peoples could be speeded up now as economic opportunities were being created for them in their own areas. Industries on the borders of the Bantu homelands had also been created and facilities for the training and education of the Bantu had been vastly increased.

BIG PROFIT FOR S.A. AIRWAYS: In spite of increased operating costs on the forced "round the bulge" route to Europe, South African Airways made a profit of R1.2 million ($1.6 million) on its scheduled service -- domestic, regional and international -- from April to October, last year.

INDEPENDENCE FOR BANTU HOMELANDS DANGEROUS -- OPPOSITION: While the Opposition accepted increasing local self-government for the Bantu homelands, it felt that ultimate independence should not be promised to them or that they should be developed in that direction, Sir de Villiers Graaff, Leader of the Opposition, said in the Assembly last week. Sir de Villiers said the establishment of independent black states within the borders of the Republic would constitute a danger to the country and the security of its "white civilization" built up over the past 300 years.

SOUTH AFRICAN SUMMARY is published weekly to keep Americans up-to-date with news events in the Republic of South Africa. All inquiries, including subscription requests, should be addressed to: SUMMARY, Information Service of South Africa, 655 Madison Ave., New York 21, N.Y. All material may be reprinted with or without acknowledgement.

This material is filed with the Department of Justice where the required registration statement, in terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, of the I.S.S.A., as an agency of the Republic of South Africa, is available for inspection. Registration does not indicate approval of the United States Government.

UNIVERSITY OF S.A. DEGREES FOR FOREIGNERS: Among the 435 degrees, diplomas and certificates to be conferred by the University of South Africa at its graduation ceremony in April, will be several for students abroad. This university is the only recognized university in the world to undertake the education of external students as its main task.

Professor W.R. Martin, at present a lecturer at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, will receive a degree of Doctor in Literature. Students from Switzerland, England, Australia, Zambia, the Congo, Southern Rhodesia, Basutoland and Bechuanaland will also receive degrees.

NEW TRAINING COLLEGE FOR NON-WHITES: A new training college and high school is to be erected in Windhoek by the South West Africa Administration. This new college will replace the present training college of Augustineum at Okahandja which last year again achieved the distinction of obtaining the highest proportional results of any non-White establishment in South West Africa and South Africa.

FRENCH TRACKING STATION NEAR PRETORIA: Sixteen plates thrusting towards the sky from the bare veld near Pretoria will pinpoint French satellites in their polar orbits from this year on. "We will be using an improved version of the minitracking technique," says Mr. Jean Pares, the French engineer in charge of the construction. This station will be one of four in Africa.

The station will be ready for tracking by about the end of April. French technicians will operate it for at least a year after completion and will also train South African personnel.

WHITE RHINOS GALORE: "Operation Rhino", which focussed world opinion on the game reserve of Zululand, now moves into top gear as some hundred white rhinos must be caught.

Ideal conditions created within the Umfolozi Game Reserve in recent years led to prolific breeding and there is now not enough room for these animals which, a few years ago came close to extinction. The Natal Parks Board is anxious that the rhinos should be distributed as widely as possible throughout the world to ensure that this does not occur again and the nations of the world are queueing up to receive the valuable animals. The rhinos are sold to overseas purchasers at a fraction of their true value.

MODERN HOSPITAL FOR BANTU HOMELAND: The biggest Bantu hospital in a Bantu homeland will be built near Mafeking in the Northern Cape Province, it has been announced by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

The hospital, which will accommodate 1320 patients, will provide for a psychiatric section, a tuberculosis section and a general section. It will also serve as a training center for nurses and medical personnel.

GRAND SOUTH AFRICAN FESTIVAL PLANNED: A festival is being planned to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Republic of South Africa next year, the Deputy Minister of the Interior, Mr. M. Viljoen, said in the Assembly last week. All nationalities in the Republic would be given an opportunity to take part in the celebrations.

A large central festival at Pretoria is envisaged with semi-official festivals in the provincial capitals. The non-White population groups will participate in their own celebrations.

HIT SHOW TO TOUR S.A.: The French hit revue, "Zizi", starring Jeanmaire, the ballerina film actress wife of Roland Petit, will arrive in South Africa this month for a seven week tour of the Republic.

The company, which is 25-strong, plus six musicians and technicians, recently returned to Paris after a big success at the Broadway Theatre, New York.

SOUTH AFRICAN

Rec'd 2/23/65

SUMMARY

Director — Otto Adendorff
Public Affairs Officer — Eschel Rhoodie
Editor — Dirk Rezelman

655 Madison Ave., New York 21, N.Y., TE 8-1700

Vol. 4, No. 8
Feb. 19, 1965

IMMIGRANTS HAVE CONFIDENCE IN S.A.

The South African Government was fully aware it was not possible to maintain White political supremacy over the Bantu for an indefinite period, Senator A.E. Trollip, Minister of Labor and Immigration, said in Durban last week. "Consequently, the future for the Whites and Blacks in South Africa must be built on the basis of separate freedom for both. Political separation is the basis of our policy." In spite of what the prophets of doom say, South Africa was the most peaceful and prosperous country on the African continent.

In a brief reference to the manpower shortage, he said "my problem is not finding jobs for men, but finding men for the jobs." The economic upsurge was based on the confidence of the South Africans in their Government. Apart from economic reasons, good climate and low taxes, immigrants flocked to South Africa because of their "great confidence" in the Government of the country.

SOUTH AFRICA: LOWEST COST OF LIVING IN THE WORLD: A scientific survey carried out recently by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, had shown that the cost of living in South Africa is the lowest in the world and that the actual annual increase in the gross national product of the Republic was head and shoulders above that of other countries. The Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. N. Diederichs, said in the Assembly last week that the London Financial Times had also found the cost of living in Johannesburg to be among the lowest in the world.

SOUTH AFRICA GETS EXTRA CREDIT: Extra credit facilities of $84 million with the International Monetary Fund, American and German banks, bringing the total to more than $250 million, were announced by the Minister of Finance, Dr. T.E. Dönges, in the Assembly this week. This, he said, was to ensure the continuation of the country's prosperity.

Replying to the second reading debate on the Part Appropriation Bill, he said it had been decided to increase South Africa's quota with the International Monetary Fund from $150 million to $200 million which would mean an extra credit of $50 million, or R35 million, which could be drawn at any moment.

The Government had also increased South Africa's revolving credit with American banks from $20 million to $40 million. It had further increased its arrangement with German banks by R14 million ($19.6 million).

TSWANAS WILL DEFEND SOUTH AFRICA: If it ever becomes necessary to defend South Africa, the Tswanas will stand shoulder to shoulder with the Whites, said Chief Lucas Mangope, vice-chairman of the Tswana Territorial Authority. Mr. Mangope was addressing a gathering at the official opening of the Authority's fourth session at Mafeking.

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Referring to the purchase of Buccaneer aircraft and the supply of arms to South Africa by Britain, Chief Mangope said that these weapons were certainly not going to be used against the non-Whites. He said some people alleged that Bantu self-government would provide a breeding ground for Communism. The Government had not taught the Bantu to hate Communism. "We have seen Communism for ourselves and have come to our own conclusions," Mr. Mangope said.

The Tswana Territorial Authority represents a nation of more than one million people who will achieve autonomy in the near future under the separate development program.

NEW AIRCRAFT FACTORY NEAR JAN SMUTS AIRPORT: The Atlas Aircraft Corporation of South Africa Ltd., announced that its factory will adjoin Jan Smuts Airport on a 490 acres site.

The initial manufacturing program will cover the production of the "Impala 11" aircraft, based on overseas designs for the airframe and engines. In terms of the contractual arrangements between the State and the corporation, jet aircraft for the S.A. Air Force would be manufactured.

U.S. CATTLE JUDGE FOR RAND SHOW: International judges from four countries will judge cattle at the Rand Easter Show April 3 - 19. The judges are from the United States, Australia, Britain and France.

Entries in the cattle section total 1,777 which is above the yearly average of approximately 1,600.

FORT HARE GRADUATE NOW AT OXFORD: A young Johannesburg Bantu, Mr. Motsie Edward Mafethe, is at present connected to the physics department of the Oxford University, London, where he is studying nuclear physics.

Mr. Mafethe received a B. Sc. (Honors) degree at Fort Hare University which serves the Xhosa people in 1962. After a few months as temporary lecturer, he was awarded the William Brogden Scholarship for study at Oxford.

DEPARTMENT OF ASTRONOMY AT O.F.S. UNIVERSITY: With the institution of a department of astronomy at the University of the Orange Free State, the university will share the Boyden Observatory near Bloemfontein with American, German, Irish, Belgian and Swedish astronomers. Students will be able to study astronomy as from next year.

RARE PENGUINS TO SUNNY SOUTH AFRICA: Six rare Emperor penguins were recently brought to Cape Town in the South African research ship, R.S.A., from the Antarctic. They left for the Pretoria Zoo in a special aircraft last week.

CABLEWAY PLANNED FOR HIGHEST MOUNTAIN PEAK IN S.A.: A cableway from the 9,000 ft. level of Mont aux Sources, to the top of the 10,882 ft. high Sentinel, the highest point in South Africa, is one of the major tourist attractions planned for the near future in this area. Mont aux Sources and the Sentinel are both part of the Drakensberg range in the Royal Natal National Park.

UNDER-WATER NOISES RECORDED: A young Pretoria scientist, Mr. Dan Groenewald, has developed a hydrophone, an under-water microphone of extreme sensitivity which can record under-water sounds and the noises made by fish.

Mr. Groenewald recently made what he believed to be the first tape recording of sounds made by fish and underwater life in South Africa. The recording contains a grunting noise made by a grouper, the crackling noises of barnacles opening and closing and the soft hissing sound of an angel fish.

SOUTH AFRICAN

SUMMARY

Recd 3/1/65

Director — Otto Adendorff
Public Affairs Officer — Eschel Rhoodie
Editor — Dirk Rezelman

655 Madison Ave., New York 21, N.Y., TE 8-1700

Vol. 4, No. 9
Feb. 26, 1965

UNIVERSITY COURSE IN WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT

A new course in wildlife management has been started by the University of Pretoria and will be run by the eminent American wildlife scientist, Professor George Petrides.

The course, which is for one year only and intended as a post-graduate course, will eventually be extended to create a new generation of game rangers with master's and doctor's degrees. Professor Petrides, author of many wildlife management books, is the head of the faculty of wildlife management at Michigan State University.

NUCLEAR RESEARCH IN S.A.: South Africa is believed by experts in Washington to be among those countries which have the technical capacity to develop a nuclear weapon if they chose to do so, it was reported from Washington last week.

The United States' hope is that the major powers can, in the reasonably near future, agree on a non-proliferation agreement which will give the present non-nuclear powers sufficient confidence to decide not to try to join the "club."

Following the Washington report the Deputy Director General of the South African Atomic Energy Board, Dr. W.L. Grant, said that it had been indicated on several occasions that although the country had the technical ability to develop nuclear weapons, practical and economic considerations ruled out the feasibility thereof. "In keeping with the policy of developing peaceful applications of atomic energy, the Atomic Energy Board is not doing any research in the direction of nuclear weapons."

(South Africa's first reactor, Safari I, will be operational by August this year. The country is already established as one of the free world's major uranium producers).

U.S. ROCKET MEN FOR RAND SHOW: Three American rocket men are the top arena attraction at this year's Rand Easter Show, opening on April 10. The men belong to the Bell Rocket Belt team and will give demonstrations of controlled force flight using solo rockets strapped to their backs. These demonstrations were a crowd drawing success at the Worlds Fair in New York.

S.A.'s STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE TO THE WEST: The Minister of Defence, Mr. J.J. Fouche, said in the Assembly yesterday that he agreed with members that South Africa's strategic value to the West in case of war had not disappeared as a result of modern weapons. In many ways, under present conditions, military power had shifted from Europe to the area east of the Suez Canal.

If the Suez Canal were closed South Africa's hospitality would be of the utmost importance to the countries of the West. They would not only need the hospitality of Simonstown because South Africa's northernmost harbour in the Indian Ocean (Durban) would be of even greater importance than Simonstown. Modern history had proved that the country which had controlled the seas had won all the recent wars and he believed

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that this would also be the case in future. If a country wanted to control the seas the hospitality of South Africa was essential.

BOYCOTTS HAVE HAD LITTLE EFFECT: "Barclays Bank Review" last week forecast continued prosperity in South Africa and said that the continued boycotting of South African goods by some countries has had little effect so far.

The monthly review said 1964 was one of the most prosperous years in the history of South Africa. The expansionary phase has lasted over 3 years now and there was every indication that the momentum would be carried over into 1965 which should be another good year for South Africa although growth may perhaps be on a less impressive scale.

ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME UNIQUE: The 3.3 million Whites in South Africa are implementing a development programme which is unique in the world, says Mr. D.H. Hofmeyer, Director of the Netherlands Immigration Service. Elsewhere in the world there was also "apartheid" but nobody spoke about it. Here the Government was criticised for its honesty. "The Government will not provide so many universities, hospitals, and other facilities for the Bantu merely to deceive the outside world."

Immigrants with whom he had spoken had faith in the future. The few who had returned had done so for other reasons than the policy of "apartheid". More Hollanders were emigrating to South Africa every year, in spite of unfavourable reports about the country.

S.A. INVENTION TO REDUCE TRACTOR ACCIDENTS: Provisional patent rights have been granted to Mr. A.P. Steenkamp, a Klerksdorp businessman, for an invention to prevent tractors from capsizing. The gadget, electrically operated, weighs less than six pounds. When tractors slant to an unsafe degree the instrument cuts off the fuel in the case of oil driven machines and the electricity in the case of gasoline driven machines --- bringing the machine to an immediate stop.

PRETORIA ENTERTAINS IMMIGRANTS: Immigrants of 14 different nationalities attended a social function in Pretoria last week arranged by the Immigrants Reception Committee and attended by about one thousand people.

Welcoming the new South Africans, the Mayor of Pretoria, Professor P.J. van der Walt, said people overseas were given an untruthful picture of the country. He hoped they would be pleasantly surprised by the way of life in their new country.

(South Africa gained more than 40,000 immigrants during 1964).

NEW SCHOOLS FOR SONS OF CHIEFS: Two new schools for the sons of Bantu chiefs and headmen will be opened this year, it was announced by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. One of the schools will be at Taung in the northern Cape, and the other will be at Nongoma in Zululand.

The schools will be run on similar lines to the Jongilizwe school at Tsolo in the Transkei for sons of Transkeian chiefs and headmen. A fourth school will be established at Arabie in Sekukuniland.

"The aims of the schools are to equip future chiefs, headmen and councillors for their tasks and functions as leaders in progressive Bantu communities," states the journal.

LIBRARIES FOR NON-WHITES: There are 11 non-white libraries in Johannesburg with another 4 in various planning stages. This is the reply of Miss Anna Smit, Johannesburg's librarian, to complaints recently about the shortage of library facilities for the city's non-Whites.

Miss Smit also said that a Government inter-Departmental committee on the provision of libraries for non-Whites would tour Johannesburg townships this week to see present library and recreation facilities.

February 22, 1965

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Program Director
United States - South Africa Leader
Exchange Program, Inc.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

My Executive Committee met last week, and approved a leave of absence for me in 1966. However, the Committee thought I should not be away more than, at the most, three months. Its motion of approval reads "for a period of approximately two months but not to exceed three."

I really cannot disagree with the soundness of this restriction.

Now I must ask you where this leaves me - and you.

For my own part, I grow more and more keen about the trip.

I have your note about Dr. and Mrs. Rose. We shall be glad to see them, and also the Kingsley's and Buitendag's when they come.

Either late this month or early next month I shall be going to New York. Perhaps on the way we could get together for a talk in Philadelphia to iron out the all-too-many wrinkles.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
cc: John Wheeler

Recd 1/4/65

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Secretary:
E. RAYMOND SILBERBAUER
P. O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Cable address: QUINTUS

December 30, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Leslie:

The South African members of our Management Committee, at their December 12 meeting, approved your nomination by the U.S. members.

As for the questions in your letter of December 2:

1. Sam Nabrit got a visa; I believe you could get one. We can only try, but it might take as long as three months.

2. We should begin to think of the focus of your 1966 visit. We have a project, "Functions of Public Administration in Resolving Problems of Rapid Urbanization," and the Managers of Non-European Affairs in Pretoria and Germiston will be coming over early in March for three months. I should like them to spend some time with you in Atlanta, especially if this should be the focus of your visit. Enclosed is biographical information about Mr. and Mrs. Kingsley and Mr. and Mrs. Buitendag.

Gus Saron, Executive Director of the South African Board of Jewish Deputies, wants an American who can meet with government officials as well as private agency people on how to change attitudes. There is interest in government. You and I could discuss this possibility.

3. A European visit before or after the time in South Africa is entirely up to you. Enclosed is a copy of our Guide to Exchangees, outlining our policies.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); E. C. BLAKE (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); F. COOLBAUGH (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—GENERAL SECRETARY); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.); W. D. WILSON (S.A.).

4. I hope you can contribute $840 yourself or find a source that will make the contribution for you. I doubt that honoraria in South Africa are a likely source. However, we might, if we have sufficient time, get you a teaching position at one of the universities. Why don't you talk to Guy Johnson, who went out for us and taught at Rhodes University?

5. You have already been selected. We could start at any time on seeing how quickly we can get you a visa.

Teaching would provide a very good focus. What courses would you offer? I could explore the possibility if you are interested. It would give you an experience in depth. In any case, I should have a dozen copies of your curriculum vitae.

The academic year begins the last week of February. The first semester runs until the end of June. The second semester runs from August 1 until November. The first semester is the better time. I would have to find out if there would be any teaching opportunities for a shorter period than a full semester.

I hope this is helpful. I look forward to hearing from you.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:h
Encs.
cc: John H. Wheeler

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Penna. 19104

(Mailing Addresses)

P.O. Box 2543
Johannesburg

GUIDE FOR EXCHANGEES

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. was organized in 1958 to strengthen the lines of communication between professional, business and civic leaders of the United States and the Republic of South Africa. With the financial assistance of business and philanthropic organizations in both countries the Exchange Program encourages, counsels, and assists extended visits of South African and American leaders to each other's country.

This private, non-governmental Program enables Americans to see South African life at first hand and gain understanding of the efforts South Africans are making to solve their problems. It also enables South Africans to study America's way of life, see how Americans are trying to solve their problems and become acquainted with American conceptions of the crucial role that Africa is playing in relations between East and West.

An International Management Committee supervises the program and selects the leaders for exchange. Three types of exchange fellowships have been planned:

One-year exchanges of families: The leader will actually work on the staff of an organization in the U.S. or South Africa in his specific field. Responsibility for hospitality, job placement, finding a home, schooling for children and travel arrangements will be borne by the employing organization. The Management Committee can provide matching funds to the employing organization, as may be necessary. Examples might include librarians, journalists, clergymen, professors, school teachers, civil servants.

Individual short-term projects: This will enable the individual leader to undertake a specific piece of work in his particular field and participate in conferences.

Team programs: Teams of four to six leaders may be selected to study intensively in the U.S. some particular problem, e.g. soil conservation, rural electrification, etc., facing South Africa in which the U.S. has knowledge and experience, and *vice versa*.

Science education program: A special memorandum covers this program.

1. INDIVIDUAL SHORT TERM PROJECTS (90 DAYS)

The Program will provide transportation for husband and wife between the United States and South Africa by ship or by air (economy class), a per diem sufficient to provide non-luxury hotel accommodations, a sum for domestic travel, a week-end visit to another country in West or East Africa plus insurance.

The per diem in the United States is $18 for an individual; $27 for a couple.

The per diem in South Africa is $14 for an individual; $23 for a couple.

The per diem will not enable Exchangees to stay at luxury hotels in large cities. Should this type of accommodation be preferred, it is suggested that grantees bring along some extra funds. Furthermore, since the cost of taxis puts a strain on the budget, it is suggested that Exchangees take time to become familiar with public transportation facilities.

For domestic travel in the United States a sum of up to $400 is provided for an individual and up to $800 for a couple.

For domestic travel in South Africa a sum of up to $300 is provided for an individual and up to $600 for a couple.

For a week-end or 3-day visit to a West or East African country the sum of $50 is provided for an individual; $100 for a couple.

It is the desire of the South African and American members of the Management Committee that all exchangees spend a few days or longer visiting one of the countries in West Africa or East Africa going or returning, thus gaining the benefit of observing another social system.

For purchase of books and other publications $25 is provided for an individual, $50 for a couple on presentation of receipts.

2. MODE OF TRAVEL

It is recommended that Exchangees arrange their travel plans, so that, in addition to the ninety days spent in the United States or South Africa, they may travel at least part of the way by ship, preferably after completion of the study tour. Experience has shown that several days at sea provide an excellent opportunity to assimilate one's impressions and experiences. When proceeding to South Africa or the United States by ship, please notify the Program of scheduled port of entry, date of arrival and name of ship and steamship line.

3. FLYING TO THE UNITED STATES

South African Exchangees coming to the United States by air should have their travel agents make reservations from Jan Smuts to Philadelphia. Note: There are direct jet flights to Philadelphia from London and Paris by Pan American Airlines. From June to September there are non-stop flights to Philadelphia from London and Paris. (See #16 and #17.)

4. CONTRIBUTION BY EXCHANGEE

An individual participating in a short term project (three months) is expected to contribute to the Program in cash prior to departure R500 or $700; a couple R600 or $840.

5. PRESS, RADIO AND TV INTERVIEWS

It is suggested that Exchangees ask the advice of Mr. Silberbauer or Dr. Loescher about interviews. Exchangees have been advised in the past to confine themselves to their subject or their country or to impressions of the States or South Africa but to decline politely but firmly to comment on the political or race situation either in the States or South Africa as (a) outside the scope of their project, and (b) as matters requiring time for reflection before passing comment,

perhaps saying "as one of the objectives of the Program is to seek closer contact with all sections in the two countries and to build up better relations on the basis of mutual understanding, it is the definite policy of the Program to refrain from any comment on controversial matters, particularly politics and race relations during a visit."

6. LITERATURE AND PLANNING OF STUDY TOUR

Exchangees should prepare for their study tours well in advance of departure by requesting literature and a reading list from the Program office in their country. On arrival in either the United States or South Africa Exchangees will be given a kit of maps, guide books and other pertinent information.

Exchangees are encouraged to correspond months in advance with both Mr. Silberbauer and Dr. Loescher about their study tour interests. They should also feel free to write about their interests to specialists in their field in the host country.

Exchangees should obtain from the Johannesburg or Philadelphia office a list of their countrymen who have participated in the Program and confer with some of these former Exchangees.

7. MEDICAL REPORT

The Program requires a medical report by the Exchangee's family physician as to his fitness for travel. The report of the medical examination should be sent to the Philadelphia Office.

8. INSURANCE

The Program also requires that Exchangees under the auspices of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. be insured and will provide this coverage. The Program will pay the premium of a policy administered by the National City Company and underwritten by the Consolidated Mutual Insurance Company. The benefits provided are: (a) Event of death from injuries or sickness actual charges for mortician services and transportation not to exceed $1,500; (b) Specific accident losses up to $3,000; (c) Basic medical expense - accident and sickness (pays expense incurred within 52 weeks of date of accident or commencement of sickness, less $10 deductible, up to $1,000). Personal effects, i.e. baggage, clothing, cameras, etc.: coverage is the responsibility of the Exchangee and is <u>not</u> provided by the Program.

9. INCOME TAX CLEARANCE

South Africans who are in the United States <u>90 days or longer</u> are required to take their tickets and passport to the Office of the Alien Tax Collector, 484 Lexington Avenue, New York (between 46th and 47th Streets), or Internal Revenue Service, 401 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa., before leaving the United States to obtain income tax clearance on the per diem and travel allowance. Consult the Philadelphia Office during Orientation concerning this.

10. PHOTOGRAPHS

South African Exchangees are requested to send in advance of their arrival three glossy prints suitable for publicity to Dr. Loescher; American Exchangees should send photographs to Mr. Silberbauer and one copy to Dr. Loescher.

11. WRITTEN REPORT

U.S.-S.A.L.E.P. requests that Exchangees prepare a draft of an informal 4-5 page Report about their visit two weeks before completing their study tour, including impressions, suggestions and recommendations, plus a list of persons seen and institutions visited. Reports of Exchangees are duplicated and sent to members of the Management Committee and other persons interested in the Program. After returning home the Exchangee may wish to submit a more formal report. This is not required, but it will be appreciated. Further thoughts on the experience in the U.S. or South Africa will be welcome at any time.

12. MEETINGS

Shortly after arrival in the U.S. or South Africa a meeting will be arranged with staff or some of the members of the Management Committee to make suggestions for the itinerary. Shortly before leaving there will be a half-day session with staff or some members of the Management Committee for a discussion of the study tour.

13. ESTABLISHING CONTACTS AND FURTHERING GOOD RELATIONS

Contacts made during a visit may be of lasting value to the Exchangee, and of value to his country in furthering good relations between the United States and South Africa. Considerateness toward one's hosts and appreciation of their hospitality are therefore important. This means fulfilling commitments organized by the Program. It does not mean gifts, but it certainly does mean thank-you notes or phone calls which are only too often delayed and then forgotten in the rush of the rest of one's program.

14. CONTACTS WITH EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES

South Africans should visit the South African Consulate in New York at 655 Madison Avenue (phone TEmpleton 8-1700). There they can pick up slides or films to accompany talks they may be invited to give during their study tour.

Both South Africans and Americans are urged to visit their respective Embassies (Pretoria or Cape Town and Washington) in the course of their tour.

Americans are urged to seek an opportunity to pay a courtesy call on the South African Ambassador in Washington before going to South Africa; South Africans should visit the American Ambassador in Pretoria or Cape Town before going to the United States.

15. PASSPORTS AND VISAS

Exchangees should allow ample time to obtain passports and visas. Three to four months should be sufficient.

16. DIRECT AND NON-STOP FLIGHTS TO PHILADELPHIA

The most desirable way for South Africans is via London or Paris because any week of the year they can take a Pan American flight direct to Philadelphia: from London on Tuesday or Thursday on PA 107, leaving 10:00 a.m. and arriving in Philadelphia at 2:10 p.m.; from Paris on Sunday or Friday on PA 117, leaving at 11:00 a.m. and arriving in Philadelphia at 3:35 p.m. These flights require no change of

plane. During the U.S. summer months (June to September) there are these non-stop flights from London and Paris to Philadelphia:

From May 30 to October 1 from London to Philadelphia:

Pan Am Flight 107 on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, Saturdays
Leaving 1:45 p.m.; arriving 4:30 p.m.

From May 29 to October 1 from Paris to Philadelphia:

Pan Am Flight 117 on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays
Leaving 1:15 p.m.; arriving 4:30 p.m.

There are advantages to the Exchangees as well as to the staff in Philadelphia if Exchangees will take any of the above Pan American flights. South Africans get through customs more quickly in Philadelphia. They do not have to wait several hours at the New York airport for a plane to Philadelphia. They reach their hotel in the early afternoon.

Philadelphia staff cannot easily meet Exchangees in New York, but they will meet Exchangees at the Philadelphia airport if given adequate advance notice of an Exchangee's travel plans. (See #17.)

17. ARRIVAL PLANS

Mr. Silberbauer and Dr. Loescher should be informed of arrival plans. Exchangees traveling by ship are requested to give full details; those coming by air should state name of carriers, flight numbers and exact times of departure as well as arrival at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg, or International Airport, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and notify:

THE PROGRAM DIRECTOR AND GENERAL SECRETARY
UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 South 39th Street, Philadelphia, Penna. 19104

Office Phone: EVergreen 2-7830
Home Phone: SHerwood 7-0277

and

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY
UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
P.O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
(Street address: Union Castle Building, Loveday Street, Johannesburg)
Republic of South Africa

Phone: 834-6961
Cable address: QUINTUS

Revised May 1964

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

file

Dear Leslie Feb. 24, 1965
Great. Give me a call soon.
Let's get together.
All the best
Frank

February 22, 1965

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Program Director
United States - South African Leader
Exchange Program, Inc.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Excuse the rude reply. I am swamped.

Dear Frank:

My Executive Committee met last week, and approved a leave of absence for me in 1966. However, the Committee thought I should not be away more than, at the most, three months. Its motion of approval reads "for a period of approximately two months but not to exceed three."

I really cannot disagree with the soundness of this restriction.

Now I must ask you where this leaves me - and you.

For my own part, I grow more and more keen about the trip.

I have your note about Dr. and Mrs. Rose. We shall be glad to see them, and also the Kingsley's and Buitendag's when they come.

Either late this month or early next month I shall be going to New York. Perhaps on the way we could get together for a talk in Philadelphia to iron out the all-too-many wrinkles.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
cc: John Wheeler

SOUTH AFRICAN

Recd 3/8/65

SUMMARY

Director — Otto Adendorff
Public Affairs Officer — Eschel Rhoodie
Editor — Dirk Rezelman

655 Madison Ave., New York 21, N.Y., TE 8-1700

Vol. 4, No. 10
March 5, 1965

FAMOUS BABOON MISSING

Probably the only baboon in the world trained to be a full time herder is missing. Ahla, well known baboon of Okahandja, South West Africa, was trained by Mrs. Hedwig Aston to herd her goats. She did not only take the goats out but distinguished herself by sorting the kids at night in such a way that each kid would find his mother. In this she was better than any human herder.

Several scientific and other magazines published Ahla's achievements and a journalist from Paris once came to take several hundred photographs of this unique baboon. It is believed that Ahla was attacked and killed by dogs.

AMERICAN JOURNALISTS VISITING SOUTH AFRICA: Sixteen senior American journalists are at present on an extensive tour of South Africa. They will have interviews and discussions with top people in commerce, education and agriculture and with the leaders of various political parties including black politicians in the Transkei, the first self-governing black state in South Africa.

PRIVATE NATURE RESERVES NOW THE FASHION: Landowners in the Transvaal (province of South Africa) are becoming so enthusiastic about the preservation of wild life on their farms that there are at present 275 nature reserves in a total area of approximately 2,750 square miles. Dr. R. Bigalke, information officer of the Transvaal Division of Nature Conservation last week announced the proclamation of 37 private nature reserves with a combined area of 439 square miles.

OVAMBOS SUPPORT S.A. GOVERNMENT'S POLICY: The Chiefs and Headmen of Ovamboland (largest Bantu national group in South West Africa) have petitioned the South African Prime Minister, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, saying that they accepted the Government's decisions for the implementation of the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission (a Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa) as being in the best interests of their country and their people.

The petition said: "We have taken note of the decision of the Government of South Africa with much gratitude and accept them as being in the best interests of our country and our people.

"We also greatly appreciate the considerable financial provision made by the Government of the Republic for the further development of our country and its people. We express the hope that the large and important task being undertaken will be crowned with success. Hereby then we also wish to promise our wholehearted support and cooperation now and in the future."

A request to visit the Republic of South Africa has been granted to a group of 78 Headmen and Chiefs. Their itinerary will be released later.

SOUTH AFRICAN SUMMARY is published weekly to keep Americans up-to-date with news events in the Republic of South Africa. All inquiries, including subscription requests, should be addressed to: SUMMARY, Information Service of South Africa, 655 Madison Ave., New York 21, N.Y. All material may be reprinted with or without acknowledgement.

This material is filed with the Department of Justice where the required registration statement, in terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, of the I.S.S.A., as an agency of the Republic of South Africa, is available for inspection. Registration does not indicate approval of the United States Government.

Political observers said that the contents of the petition to the South African Prime Minister must be regarded as evidence that the natives of the territory seek their salvation with South Africa. The outside world should take notice of the desire of the largest Bantu national group in South West Africa to live in peace and cooperation with the Republic, observers said, reports Die Vaderland, a Johannesburg daily paper.

S.A. LARGEST PRODUCER OF ELECTRICITY IN AFRICA: South Africa generated 75 per cent of the total electrical power in the African continent, the President of the Institute of Electrical Engineers, Mr. Gericke, announced last week.

He added that the goldmining industry alone was responsible for the consumption of a quarter of the total. The total cost of electrical power and equipment in the Republic's mining industry was nearly R60 million ($84 million) a year.

RODIN SCULPTURES FOR RAND EASTER SHOW: Works by the French sculptor August Rodin will be one of the features of this year's Rand Easter Show. A unique collection of Rodin sculptures is being brought to South Africa by a leading tobacco company.

They will form part of a collection known as Master of Sculpture, featuring also works by Degas, Maillol and Despaiu. The Rodin works will include "Walking Man" and "Head of Balzac".

NEW YORK DIAMOND ANOTHER FEATURE: For the diamond industry section of the show one of the most valuable exhibits will be a 104 carat diamond worth $540,000 which is to be flown from New York to Johannesburg.

Known as the Great Chrysanthemum, it was found in South Africa in 1963 and now belongs to a New York jeweler, Mr. Julius Cohen.

HIGH PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY AMONG BANTU: Eighty per cent of the Bantu population in South Africa could read and write, Dr. J. Adendorff, manager of the Bantu Investment Corporation, said last week when he opened the Bantu Trade Fair at Ga-Rankuwa near Pretoria.

There are at present, 1,008,000 Bantu at school. In 1925 there were 209,000 Bantu at school and in 1952 about 814,000. In 1952 only 21.8 per cent of all Bantu in the country could read and write, he said.

Today there were more than 30,000 Bantu teachers while 2,000 were qualifying annually. More than 6,000 Bantu were enrolled at South African universities and 120 Bantu doctors were registered with the Medical and Dental Council.

HONOR FOR S.A. SCIENTIST: With the election of Dr. G.H. Findlay of Pretoria as vice-president of the International Photobiology Society, an organization of long standing with members throughout the world, great confidence was shown in South African research work in this field.

Dr. Findlay is the Director of the Photobiology Research Group of the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (C.S.I.R.). The South African Photobiological Society was only formed in 1963.

LUXURY LINER TOUCHES AT DURBAN: The 34,000 ton luxury cruiser, Caronia, berthed at the Durban ocean terminal last week with less than half the number of passengers on board than when the vessel docked at Cape Town a week earlier. About 300 passengers - mainly Americans - left the ship in Cape Town and traveled over land to Durban. They rejoined the vessel over the weekend when she sailed for Suez.

APRIL 3, 1965

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

4/8/65 file

April 1, 1965

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
General Secretary
U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

What about April 22 in Philadelphia? I could be there most anytime of the day; perhaps the afternoon would be best.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

April 3, 1965

Dear Les

I am leaving tomorrow for a week of fundraising in California. As for April 22, I am holding that for the New York luncheon, but I should know in a week if the luncheon is on. Tentatively, let's plan to get together 5 o'clock April 22. I will let you know by April 15 if the luncheon is off and we can meet earlier.

all the best Frank

April 1, 1965

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
General Secretary
U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange
Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

What about April 22 in Philadelphia? I could be there most anytime of the day; perhaps the afternoon would be best.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

4/22

General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104
EVergreen 2-7830

wrote re sub 4/12 on 4/19

move - 13 bed night 19 " PM 20 "

South African Program Director:
W. G. C. MOIR
P. O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Cable address: QUINTUS

March 3, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter of February 22nd. I am delighted that you can go.

We must discuss the focus of your visit. See my letter of December 30. Should it be "Functions of Public Administration...", then perhaps you should see a good deal of Buitendag and Kingsley. (Presently I have plans for only the Buitendags to be in Atlanta from March 24 to 29.)

If you would like to have a more academic focus, for example, lecturing for a period in public administration at the University of Pretoria which would like to have an American, I would have only the Buitendags go to Atlanta.

There may also be an opportunity to give some lectures in the new American Studies Program at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Can you phone me? We can fix a date to confer in the near future. I have to be in Washington on March 18th and 19th and perhaps the 17th for the annual conference of COSERV. If you are not coming as far north as Philadelphia soon, we might arrange to meet there!

All the best.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher
jj

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:jj

CC: Mr. John H. Wheeler
Dictated but not signed
due to departure

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: ~~G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.);~~ E. C. BLAKE (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); F. COOLBAUGH (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); V. A. EAGLE (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); H. C. KOCH (S.A.); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—GENERAL SECRETARY); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); S. M. NABRIT (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

Rec'd 3/12/65

Sheraton-Chicago Hotel Chicago, Illinois

11th March 1965

File

Dear Dr Dunbar,

I have a copy of Dr Roeschen's letter to you mentioning the visit that Mrs Rose & I hope to make to Atlanta from March 24 - 27: all too short, of course! As the time is approaching, I thought I'd write ahead and say that I am greatly looking forward to meeting you, and I shall much appreciate not only the opportunity of acquainting myself with some of your publications, but also of discussing intelligently the problems — many of which, with small adaptations, are common to your country & my own.

Yours sincerely,

Brian Rose

SOUTH AFRICAN

SUMMARY

Director — Otto Adendorff
Public Affairs Officer — Eschel Rhoodie
Editor — Dirk Rezelman

655 Madison Ave., New York 21, N.Y., TE 8-1700

Vol. 4, No. 11
March 12, 1965

THE SEVEN WONDERS OF SOUTH AFRICA

The seven engineering wonders of South Africa were listed recently. Following this, The Star (Johannesburg) asked what the seven natural wonders of the country were and suggested the following: Table Mountain and her looming table cloth; the Aughrabies Falls; the Cango Caves near Oudtshoorn, the Namib Desert; the Golden Gate, a weird rock formation in the Orange Free State; the Blyde River Canyon, and the Kruger National Park.

U.S. INVESTMENTS IN S.A. TOTAL $450 MILLION: South Africa was helping the United States in its balance of payments problems by importing far more from America than it was selling to her. South Africa was also a lucrative field for U.S. investments which now totalled $450 million, the return on which was 13 per cent and with re-invested profits, totalled 17 per cent, Mr. H.L.T. Taswell, South Africa's new Ambassador to the United States, said in a speech prepared for delivery to the Commonwealth Club of California.

"In South Africa there is prosperity, stability and hope for all peoples of all races. What is more, South Africa stands as a guardian of the strategic tip of Southern Africa," Mr. Taswell added.

He also contrasted South Africa's friendliness towards the United States with recent anti-American attacks in other countries. "I am sure you will have noticed that none of these anti-American demonstrations have taken place in my country, the Republic of South Africa. We in South Africa remain friendly and well disposed towards the United States and anxious to strengthen the natural bonds of friendship we have with you," he added.

S.A.B.C. TO BROADCAST IN 8 LANGUAGES: Four radio transmitters of 250 kilowatt each will soon be erected in South Africa to transmit programs in 8 languages mainly directed at Europe, Africa and the United States. The first transmitting station is expected to be in operation in October this year.

The languages in which the transmissions will be done are Afrikaans, English, French, Portuguese, Swahili, Dutch, Spanish and German.

Speaking in the Assembly last week, the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Dr. Albert Hertzog, said the purpose of the erection of these transmitters was to portray conditions in South Africa objectively and true to fact.

At present South African programs were beamed to Africa and elsewhere over comparatively weak transmitters, but in spite of these weak transmitters, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (S.A.B.C.) receives letters of thanks from many parts in Africa for its objective and well balanced programs.

SOUTH AFRICAN SUMMARY is published weekly to keep Americans up-to-date with news events in the Republic of South Africa. All inquiries, including subscription requests, should be addressed to: SUMMARY, Information Service of South Africa, 655 Madison Ave., New York 21, N.Y. All material may be reprinted with or without acknowledgement.

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The S.A.B.C.'s transcription service was also put at the disposal of overseas radio stations. It was to the credit of the standard of these services that no fewer than 630 stations in many countries had applied to have them.

U.S. OFFICIAL PRAISES S.A. WATER CONTROL: "Water pollution controls in South Africa that are far advanced over methods in this country" were described recently by Mr. H.W. Poston, regional U.S. Public Health Service official, reports The Cleveland Press.

According to the report, Mr. Poston, speaking to 120 engineers in the Cleveland Engineering Center, told of plants in South Africa he had visited which give more complete waste treatment "than any major plant I know of in this country."

Mr. Poston said: "This gives you an idea of how we can clean up pollution, if we have to." With six other speakers he took part in a pollution seminar sponsored by the Consulting Engineers Association and the Society of Professional Engineers.

S.A. WILL SIDE WITH WEST: South Africa would be on the side of the West in a general conflagration and would not allow the infiltration of subversive forces into its territory, the Minister of Defence, Mr. J.J. Fouche, said in a recent newspaper interview published in Mozambique.

He added that South Africa had the necessary mobility to defend itself against any aggression and to face any threats.

Referring to the purchase of new military equipment, he said South Africa's main objective was to equip its ground, air and sea forces with modern armaments in order to make the South African forces capable of siding effectively with the Western powers to form a barrier against the Communists. The arms boycott did not affect in any way the preparation necessary to maintain the internal order, he added.

Mr. Fouche also said that South Africa would have an important role in the protection of the maritime route to the Cape, the importance of which was not necessary to stress.

RAILWAYS TO MEET RECORD TRAFFIC DEMANDS: Altogether 200 electric locomotives were on order, 65 diesel-electric locomotives were being acquired and provision was made for a further 225 electric locomotives, the Minister of Transport, Mr. B.J. Schoeman, said in the Assembly last week when he announced extensive plans for increasing the carrying capacity of the Railways and for the provision of more facilities at harbors. Mr. Schoeman said the volume of traffic offered for conveyance by rail, road and air during 1964 surpassed all previous records and fully justified the heavy expenditure incurred during recent years in modernizing and expanding railway equipment and facilities.

The economic outlook, the Minister said, augured well for the future and the sustained activity in the industrial and commercial sectors bore testimony to unwavering confidence in the country's economic future.

BECHUANALAND - S.A. TRADE WILL CONTINUE: Bechuanaland would continue to trade with South Africa despite differences in matters of internal policies, Mr. Seretse Khama, Bechuanaland's first Prime Minister, said at Gabarones last week. "We do not have to approve of policies of a particular country we happen to be dealing with," he said. "After all, we are not so naive." Mr. Khama said he saw no reason why other independent African countries should object to his trading with the Republic of South Africa. He would also encourage South African investment in Bechuanaland. "How do you develop a poor country except with outside capital," he added.

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Program Director:
W. G. C. MOIR
P. O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Cable address: QUINTUS

April 13, 1965

Recd 4/15/65 wj

Loescher, Frank

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Will you bring along two glossy prints, preferably 5" by 7", for our next issue of EXCHANGE?

I look forward to seeing you on Thursday, April 22, at 11 o'clock.

Want to start making reservations? wj

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:jj

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); E. C. BLAKE (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); F. COOLBAUGH (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); V. A. EAGLE (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); H. C. KOCH (S.A.); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—GENERAL SECRETARY); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); S. M. NABRIT (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

Loescher, Frank.

Read 4/29/65

file

April 27, 1965

Dr. Edwin S. Munger
California Institute of Technology
Pasadena, California

Dear Ned:

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta 3, Georgia, and his wife and son are planning to go to South Africa for us in January. Leslie, vita enclosed, would like to read your American Universities Field Staff report on Communism in South Africa. Can you lend him a copy? If not, do you know if the Emory University library would have it?

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:jj

CC: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

COPY

File — Loescher, Frank.

via air mail

June 22, 1965

Mr. Frank Loescher
Executive Secretary
U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange
Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

This is not easy for me to say to you, but I cannot go to South Africa, at least not next year, as planned. Rather suddenly, and altogether unexpectedly, I have been asked to assume the direction of the Field Foundation. (Max Hahn is retiring.) I have accepted, and will be leaving here for New York at the end of September. It would not be appropriate to attempt to take off from a new job as soon as I would have to in order to keep the plans you and I have made.

I didn't call you when we were up at Swarthmore because, quite frankly, everything was so unsettled that I did not want to talk.

I do want sometime, however, to have a good conversation with you; maybe we could plan for the future.

All good wishes, and my deepest appreciation.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

file

April 28, 1965

Mr. Frank Loescher
Executive Secretary
U. S. - South Africa Leaders
Exchange Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I am sending you under separate cover one copy each of Ben Muse, Ten Years of Prelude, and James McBride Dabbs, Who Speaks for the South. Let these be a gift from the Council for old and new times sake.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

May 11, 1965

Mr. Frank Loescher
General Secretary
U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Loescher:

Enclosed is Mr. Dunbar's glossy. May I ask that it be returned when you have made use of it; we only have a limited supply of these.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

May 5, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Can you send me a glossy print, preferably 5" by 7", for our newsletter? We go to press the first week of June, so we need it before the end of May.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:jj

COPY

May 6

X My publicity gal tells me she needs your glossy by May 18!

Frank

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104
EVergreen 2-7830

Recd 5/7/65

South African Program Director:
W. G. C. MOIR
P. O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Cable address: QUINTUS

May 5, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Can you send me a glossy print, preferably 5" by 7", for our newsletter? We go to press the first week of June, so we need it before the end of May.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:jj

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); E. C. BLAKE (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); F. COOLBAUGH (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); V. A. EAGLE (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); H. C. KOCH (S.A.); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—GENERAL SECRETARY); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); S. M. NABRIT (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

MAY 5 1965

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104
EVergreen 2-7830

South African Program Director:
W. G. C. MOIR
P. O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Cable address: QUINTUS

April 27, 1965

Dr. Edwin S. Munger
California Institute of Technology
Pasadena, California

Dear Ned:

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta 3, Georgia, and his wife and son are planning to go to South Africa for us in January. Leslie, vita enclosed, would like to read your American Universities Field Staff report on Communism in South Africa. Can you lend him a copy? If not, do you know if the Emory University library would have it?

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:jj

CC: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

Monday

Frank—I don't have a copy of the separate article. There are 8 copies of the book left which I only want to sell to libraries—$26.00 published price although it sold for $32.00 at a London auction. The AUFS may have separate copies of the article. Emory might or might not have the AUFS back that far...they had a subscription to AUFS at one stage.... Best Ned

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); E. C. BLAKE (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); F. COOLBAUGH (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); V. A. EAGLE (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); H. C. KOCH (S.A.); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—GENERAL SECRETARY); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); S. M. NABRIT (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.); L. PAPPRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

Rec'd 6/28/65

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
101 SOUTH 39th STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104
EVergreen 2-7830

June 24, 1965

South African Program Director:
W. G. C. MOIR
P. O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Cable address: QUINTUS

file - Loescher, Frank

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter of June 22.

Hearty Congratulations!

My admiration for the Field Foundation is higher than ever.

We are sorry that we cannot have you as one of our Exchangee next year, but we are giving you a certified rain check which entitles you to go any time.

Let's keep in touch.

Every good wish.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:jj

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); E. C. BLAKE (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); F. COOLBAUGH (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); V. A. EAGLE (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); H. C. KOCH (S.A.); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—GENERAL SECRETARY); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); S. M. NABRIT (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.).

file Loescher, Frank

L W D

EXCHANGE

My file

issued occasionally by the

United States—South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. AUGUST, 1965 JOHANNESBURG, TVL.

Thirty-Six Americans and South Africans Participate in Leader Exchange Program

W. H. BOSHOFF

REV. B. H. M. BROWN

F. W. C. BUITENDAG

R. L. CHARLES

Expansion is the keynote of the United States — South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. in 1965 and 1966.

Thirty-six professional, business and civic leaders are already listed for exchange during 1965 and the first part of 1966. To maintain the quality of programming, a Program Director in the United States will be joining the US-SALEP staff in August of 1965. Implementation of the goals set by the International Management Committee at a recent joint meeting is under way. And the number of participants in the National Science Foundation Institutes has increased.

Included in the list of Exchangees for 1965 and the first part of 1966 are a U. S. Circuit Judge, Third Judicial Circuit; an Associate Nieman Fellow; a philosopher; a playwright; a newspaper editor; businessmen; members of the clergy and numerous educators and scientists.

Most of the Exchangees from South Africa and the United States will be accompanied by their wives. Three couples in 1965 are paying guests.

Organized in 1958 to strengthen the lines of communication between leaders of all races in the United States and South Africa, US-SALEP is unique in the international field. A Management Committee of distinguished American and South African university, business, religious and civic leaders makes the policies and selects participants for study tours of three months to one year. To date, 96 South African and 35 American exchanges, mostly couples, have taken place.

US-SALEP, a private, non-governmental Program, exchanges both American and South African leaders. American and South African foundations, corporations and individuals provide the financial support of the non-profit, voluntary organization.

To date, the following are among the South Africans selected for exchange in 1965 and the first part of 1966:

W. H. BOSHOFF, Senior Lecturer, Division of Science and Pharmacy, Pretoria Technical College, is attending a National Science Foundation Summer Institute at Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois.

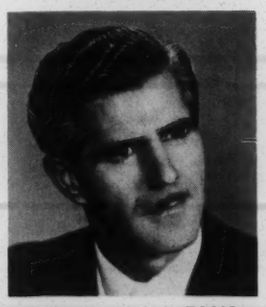
REV. BASIL H. M. BROWN, Secretary, Christian Council of South Africa, Cape Town, will study the work of the church in urban areas from September 14 to December, 1965.

(Continued on Page Two)

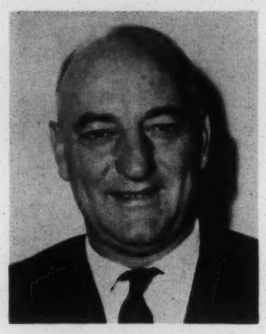
C. P. CURREY

W. A. DE KLERK

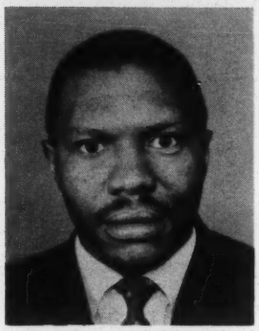
REV. DR. D. W. DE VILLIERS



REV. J. P. DU PLESSIS

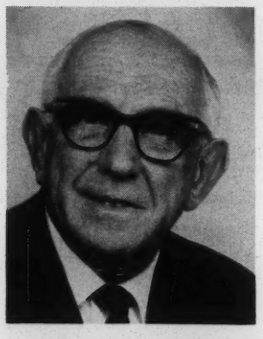


S. F. KINGSLEY



S. P. KUTUMELA

WILLIAM LENNOX



PROF. C. B. LINDER

S. B. T. MKWALO

F. W. C. BUITENDAG, Manager, Department of Non-European Administration, Germiston City Council, was in the United States this spring under a special project, "Functions of Public Administration in Resolving Problems of Rapid Urbanization."

R. L. CHARLES, Science and Mathematics Lecturer, M. L. Sultan Technical College, Stanger, Natal, is participating in a National Science Foundation Summer Institute at Knox College.

C. P. CURREY, Teacher of Physics and Mathematics, Diocesan College, Rondebosch, Cape, is now in New Jersey for a National Science Foundation Summer Institute at Montclair State College.

W. A. DE KLERK, novelist, playwright and wine farmer, Huguenot, Cape Province, studied theological and sociological trends in the United States from April to July, 1965.

REV. DR. D. W. DE VILLIERS, minister of a Dutch Reformed (N. G.) Church, Pretoria; Lecturer at the Dorothea Mission School and Chairman, Commission for Evangelization of the Dutch Reformed (N. G.) Synod of Northern Transvaal, will study pastoral counseling, methods of training church leaders, and the church's use of modern methods of communication from February to May, 1966.

REV. J. P. DU PLESSIS, Sunday School Secretary, Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa, Bloemfontein, will study the production and use of Christian literature under a special project, "Family Life and Youth" from March to June, 1966.

S. F. KINGSLEY, Manager, Non-European Affairs Department, City Council of Pretoria, was in the United States this spring under a special project, "Functions of Public Administration in Resolving Problems of Rapid Urbanization."

S. P. KUTUMELA, a businessman in Pretoria, will be in the United States under a special project, "The Role of Small Business in Economic and Community Development," from August to November, 1965.

WILLIAM LENNOX, Principal Teacher of Mathematics, Wynberg Boys' High School, is attending a National Science Foundation Summer Institute at the University of Illinois.

PROF. C. B. LINDER, Rector, Johannesburg College of Education, this spring studied teacher training institutions in the United States and Canada.

S. B. T. MKWALO, teacher, St. Peter's Secondary School, Rosettenville, Johannesburg, is now in Nashville, Tennessee, for a National Science Foundation Summer Institute at George Peabody College for Teachers.

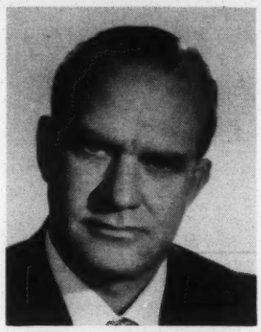
F. S. M. MNCUBE, a businessman in Orlando, Johannesburg, will be in the United States under a special project, "The Role of Small Business in Economic and Community Development," from August to November, 1965.

DR. F. B. MULLER, Senior Lecturer in Teaching Methods of Science and Mathematics, University of Stellenbosch, is attending a National Science Foundation Summer Institute at the Illinois Institute of Technology.

WINSOME MUNRO, Director, Christian Education Movement, will be in the United States during 1966 under a special project, "Family Life and Youth," to study leadership training.

TERTIUS MYBURGH, Political Correspondent, THE STAR, Johannesburg, will be an Associate Nieman Fellow at Harvard University during the 1965-66 academic year.

F. S. M. MNCUBE



DR. F. B. MULLER

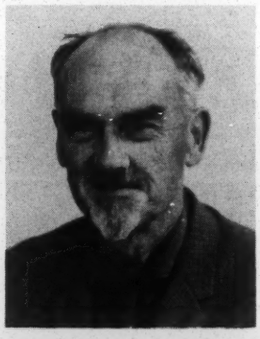
WINSOME MUNRO

TERTIUS MYBURGH

H. W. E. NTSANWISI

J. N. PAPENFUS

A. E. SANDERSON



DR. MARTIN VERSFELD

MRS. MAIDA WHYTE

PROF. C. L. WICHT

H. W. E. NTSANWISI, Senior Lecturer, Department of Bantu Languages, University College of the North, will be in the United States during 1966 under a special project, "Language Instruction, Literacy and Literature."

J. N. PAPENFUS, Lecturer in Biology, Goudstad College of Education, Johannesburg, is participating in a National Science Foundation Summer Institute at Boston University.

A. E. SANDERSON, Teacher of Mathematics and Physics, St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, is attending a National Science Foundation Summer Institute at Loyola University in New Orleans.

DR. MARTIN VERSFELD, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, University of Cape Town, will teach at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, during 1966. The Johnson Foundation is helping to make possible this year-long exchange of Dr. Versfeld and his family.

MRS. MAIDA WHYTE, Honorary Director of Technical Work, Bureau of Literacy and Literature, Johannesburg, will be in the United States under a special project, "Language Instruction, Literacy and Literature," from March to June, 1966.

PROF. C. L. WICHT, Consultant on Hydrological Research, State Department of Forestry and Professor of Silviculture, Faculty of Forestry, University of Stellenbosch, will be assisted by USSALEP to study forestry training at various research centers and universities in September after attending an international symposium on forest hydrology at Pennsylvania State University on a grant from the National Science Foundation.

Among the Americans to be exchanged in 1965 and the first part of 1966 are:

PROF. JOHN BRIGHT, Cyrus H. McCormick Professor of Hebrew and Interpretation of the Old Testament, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, will lecture during 1966 at South African theological seminaries.

DR. R. H. EDWIN ESPY, General Secretary, National Council of Churches, New York City, conferred with church leaders in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban in January and February.

HAROLD C. FLEMING, Executive Vice President, The Potomac Institute, Washington, D. C., will be in South Africa under a special project, "Functions of Public Administration in Resolving Problems of Rapid Urbanization," during the first part of 1966.

THOMAS B. HARVEY of the Harvey Leather Company conferred with businessmen and leaders in health and welfare in January and February.

J. J. JEHRING, Director, Center for Productivity Motivation, School of Commerce, University of Wisconsin, will study the role of education in relation to productivity motivation from February to May, 1966.

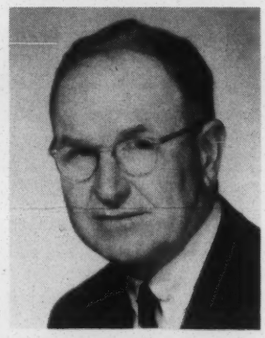
HON. ALBERT B. MARIS, U. S. Circuit Judge, Third Judicial Circuit, will visit South African law schools and confer with members of the judiciary from February to May, 1966.

SYLVAN MEYER, Editor, THE DAILY TIMES, Gainesville, Georgia, will study community development, natural resources and conservation and public communications from March to May, 1966.

PROF. JOHN BRIGHT

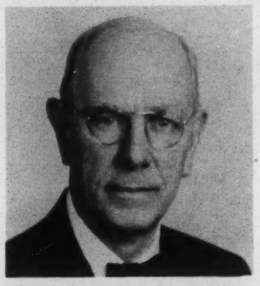
DR. R. H. E. ESPY

HAROLD C. FLEMING



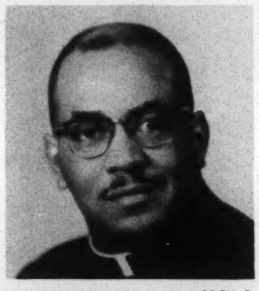
THOMAS B. HARVEY

J. J. JEHRING

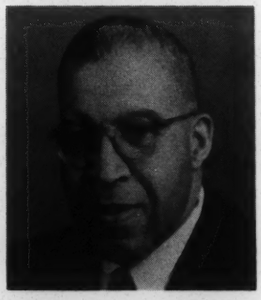


HON. ALBERT B. MARIS

SYLVAN MEYER



REV. HENRY H. NICHOLS



PROF. C. H. PARRISH

REV. HENRY H. NICHOLS, Janes Memorial Methodist Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, will attend the Annual Methodist Conference in Pretoria and visit church leaders in Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Johannesburg during October and November, 1965.

PROF. C. H. PARRISH, Professor and Head, Department of Sociology, University of Louisville, is lecturing on urbanization and social psychology at South African universities during July and August, 1965.

DR. GILBERT L. RUTMAN, Department of Economics, University of Arizona, is associated with the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, as a Visiting Fellow until January, 1966, while doing research on "Economic Development of the Bantu Areas with Special Reference to the Transkei."

ROBERT D. STERN, Executive Vice President, The United States Shoe Corporation, Cincinnati, Ohio, conferred with South African businessmen and leaders in health and welfare in January and February.

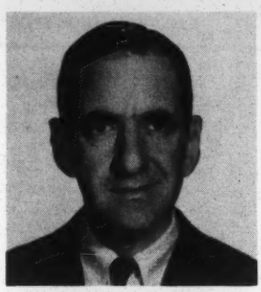
REV. LEONARD VERDUIN of Calvin Theological Seminary, Grand Rapids, Michigan, will lecture at South African theological seminaries from February to June, 1966.

JOHN H. WHEELER, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, will visit South Africa under a special project, "The Role of Small Business in Economic and Community Development," in November and December, 1965.

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. is incorporated in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and contributions are tax-exempt in the United States and South Africa.

Those interested in meeting US-SALEP Exchangees may contact Dr. Frank S. Loescher, General Secretary, in the United States; or, W. G. C. Moir, Program Director for South Africa.

DR. GILBERT L. RUTMAN



ROBERT D. STERN

REV. LEONARD VERDUIN

JOHN H. WHEELER

Contributions may be made to and further information obtained from:

UNITED STATES — SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104 U.S.A.

DR. FRANK S. LOESCHER, *General Secretary*

OR

P.O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Republic of South Africa

W. G. C. Moir, *Program Director for South Africa*

Science Education Project Continues to Expand

During the past four years, US-SALEP has brought to the United States twenty-four outstanding South African science teachers and professors for the Summer and Academic Year Institutes of the National Science Foundation. Eight more are in the United States this summer.

This Science Education Project developed from Professor Laurence E. Strong's service in 1960 as consultant to South African private and government secondary schools and as participant in a conference on the teaching of science in South African church schools.

In December of 1964, Dr. Strong, Professor of Chemistry at Earlham College and Director of the Chemical Bond Approach of the National Science Foundation, made his second visit for US-SALEP to consult with the Program's Science Selection Committee and to evaluate the Science Education Project.

Dr. Strong visited with science teachers who have participated in the Program; met with the Selection Committee; talked with university faculty and secondary school science teachers; and conferred with education officials in government. He reports that each Exchangee expressed the conclusion that participation in the Program had been most stimulating; and, many have been actively engaged in work to strengthen the teaching of science and mathematics in South Africa.

"This program is making a significant and worthwhile contribution to South African society, and to the relations between South Africa and the United States," Dr. Strong concludes.

The Institutes sponsored by the National Science Foundation are designed to help teachers, lecturers and professors of science and mathematics to improve their knowledge of subject matter.

Wingspread Conference Goals Implemented

Implementation of the goals set by the International Management Committee at its first joint meeting in 1963 at Wingspread, headquarters of The Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin, has begun.

At that conference, ten South African and twelve American members of the Committee outlined several major areas in which the program intended to concentrate its efforts.

Four of these areas have now been activated with the selection of Exchangees in the following projects: Functions of Public Administration in Resolving Problems of Rapid Urbanization; the Role of the Small Businessman in Economic and Community Development; Language Instruction, Literacy and Literature; and, Family Life and Youth in the area of Christian education.

Additional goal-implementing projects will be developed during the coming year.

Dr. Walter H. Cohen (right), chairman of the South African Council for the Blind, displays article about his election as president of the World Braille Council, following an address to a group of Philadelphia social workers on South African welfare services. From left are Jules Cohen, president of the Association of Jewish Agency Executives of Philadelphia; Dr. Frank S. Loescher, General Secretary, United States—South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc., which sponsored Dr. Cohen's U.S. visit; and Mrs. Cohen.

JAMES C. BREWER

James C. Brewer Named US-SALEP Program Director

Dr. Frank S. Loescher, General Secretary of US-SALEP, has announced that James C. Brewer will become US-SALEP Program Director in the Philadelphia office effective August, 1965.

For the past four years, Brewer has been a Fellow of the Institute of Current World Affairs, studying and reporting on human relations in Southern and Central Africa and in Brazil.

As Program Director, Brewer will concentrate his efforts on the administration of the study tours of the South African exchange couples. His assistance in helping to maintain programming on a quality basis will enable Dr. Loescher to devote more of his time to interpretation and fund raising.

Brewer, an ordained Unitarian minister, has served churches in San Francisco; Natick, Massachusetts; and Norfolk, Virginia.

Born in Morgan County, Illinois, Brewer attended Ohio Wesleyan University, the University of Toledo, Tufts College and Harvard University. Married and the father of three children, he served in the Naval Air Corps during World War II.

Recommended Reading

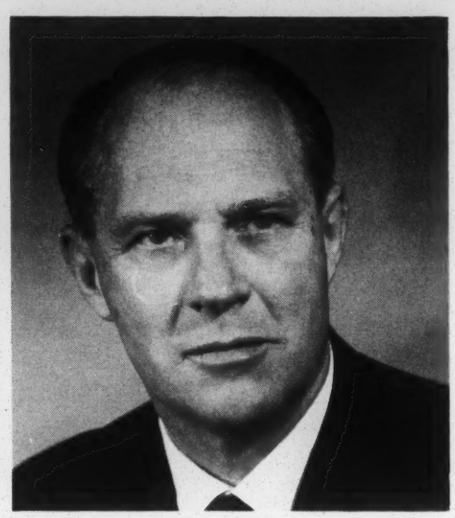
W. A. De Klerk, a South African Exchangee, and Dr. Edwin S. Munger, International Management Committee member, have recently published books on Africa.

Novelist and playwright De Klerk has completed a novel on Southwest Africa, *The Laager,* soon to be published in an English translation. The book deals mainly with the Thirstland Trek—the seven year search for an Avalon somewhere in Africa by a group of Transvaal Boers.

Dr. Munger, Professor of Geography, California Institue of Technology, has written the following: *Notes on the Formation of South African Foreign Policy,* published by Grant Dahlstrom/The Castle Press, Pasadena; *Afrikaner and African Nationalism,* Oxford University Press/London and New York; and *Bechuanaland: Pan African Outpost or Bantu Homeland?,* Oxford University Press/London and New York, under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations.

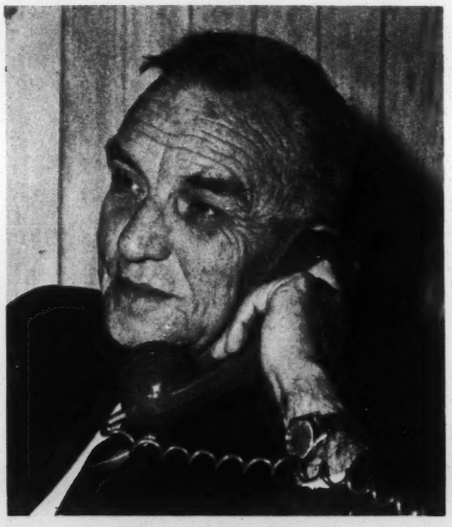
Five Named to Management Committee Posts

VERNON A. EAGLE



H. C. KOCH

DR. S. M. NABRIT



DR. T. E. SCHUMANN

MAX EDWARD WILSON

Two residents of the United States and three residents of South Africa have been named as members of the US-SALEP Management Committee.

The new members are Vernon A. Eagle, H. C. Koch, Dr. S. M. Nabrit, Dr. Theodor Eberhardt Schumann, and Max Edward Wilson.

Executive Director and Treasurer of The New World Foundation, Vernon A. Eagle is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, New York. He is Director and Treasurer of Harrison-Blaine, Inc. and Director and Secretary of the Old Republic Charitable Foundation, Washington, D. C. He has served as National Treasurer of the American Veterans Committee.

Since 1932, H. C. Koch has been associated with the Anglo American Corporation of S. A. Limited, which he currently serves as director and manager. He is Registrar of the Johannesburg Diocese of the Church of the Province of South Africa, and Chairman of the Rhodes Scholars Association of Southern Africa. He is a member of the Atomic Energy Board and the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council.

Dr. S. M. Nabrit, President of Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas, served as professor and chairman of the Department of Biology and as Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Atlanta University. He has served on the National Science Board and has worked with the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Ford Foundation Fellowship Program, the National Science Foundation, and the Danforth Foundation.

Dr. Theodor Eberhardt Schumann is a foundation member of the Faculty of Natural Sciences of The South African Academy of Science and Arts. Currently Deputy Chairman of the Atomic Energy Board of South Africa, he has also served as Director of the Fuel Research Institute; Director of the Weather Bureau and as a member of the Public Service Commission.

Managing Director of General Motors South African (Pty.) Limited, Max Edward Wilson, a native of Hardville, Nebraska, has also been associated with General Motors in Denmark, Belgium and the United States.

The International Management Committee supervises the Program of US-SALEP, an independent organization, and selects leading citizens for exchange visits of three months to one year. In 1965, 30 exchanges are taking place and a goal of 35 has been set for 1966. The Committee encourages exchanges in both directions by people who have approved projects with definite sponsorship or at least with assured cooperation in the host country. The aim is to provide participants with a meaningful and broadening experience significant for their future life's work.

International Management Committee

American Members

Dr. George H. Bennett
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, D.D.
Professor William O. Brown
Dr. George W. Carpenter
Frank Coolbaugh
Lewis W. Douglas
Vernon A. Eagle
Professor Lewis M. Hoskins, *Vice Chairman*
Dr. Frank S. Loescher, *General Secretary*
Professor Rayford W. Logan
Professor Edwin S. Munger
Dr. S. M. Nabrit
Leslie Paffrath
Alan Pifer
Mrs. Elizabeth R. Purcell
Dr. Emory Ross
Rev. Theodore L. Tucker
John H. Wheeler

South African Members

Rev. C. B. Brink, *Vice Chairman*
H. Goldberg
H. C. Koch
Rev. W. A. Landman
Col. E. O'C. Maggs
Professor N. J. J. Olivier
K. P. G. Schoeman
Dr. T. E. Schumann
T. P. Stratten
Professor W. G. Sutton
Dr. H. J. van Eck, *Chairman*
F. J. van Wyk
A. D. Wassenaar
Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb
M. E. Wilson

File — Loescher, Frank (U.S.-S.A. Leader Exchange Prog)

September 20, 1965

Mr. James C. Brewer
U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange
Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Jim:

Frank Loescher had told me that you were joining him, and I had the opportunity in his office some months ago to express my pleasure. You two should make a formidable team.

Frank may have told you that I was planning to go to South Africa early next year. That is one of the things that got shot down by my move. I hope not forever.

Best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITED STATES–SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 SOUTH THIRTY-NINTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104

General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
Program Director:
J. C. BREWER

EVergreen 2-7830

South African Program Director:
W. G. C. MOIR
P. O. Box 2543, Johannesburg
Cable address: QUINTUS

August 13, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Congratulations to you on your new appointment!

It has been some time since I have had the opportunity to talk with you. If I remember correctly, the last time was when Jane Rief was writing the pamphlet, "The Norfolk Story." Of course, much has happened since then. We have been out of the country for about four years, living in South Africa, Central Africa and Brazil. As of August 2, I joined Frank Loescher in the U.S.-South Africa Leader Exchange Program.

I was very pleased to see that you will be one of our Exchangees--at least, I hope so.

I look forward to the time when we can get together again.

My very best regards.

Sincerely,

Jim Brewer

James C. Brewer

JCB:h

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); E. C. BLAKE (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); F. COOLBAUGH (U.S.A.); L. W. DOUGLAS (U.S.A.); V. A. EAGLE (U.S.A.;) H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); H. C. KOCH (S.A.); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—GENERAL SECRETARY); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); S. M. NABRIT (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); MRS. W. F. H. PURCELL (U.S.A.); E. ROSS (U.S.A.); K. P. G. SCHOEMAN (S.A.); T. E. SCHUMANN (S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); W. G. SUTTON (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); A. D. WASSENAAR (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.); J. H. WHEELER (U.S.A.); M. E. WILSON (S.A.).

SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT

of the

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

1964-1965

This report includes an audited financial statement for the Program's fiscal year, July 1, 1964 to June 30, 1965

Box 2543
Johannesburg

101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Penna.
December 1965

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SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT

1964-1965

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. was organized in 1958 to develop through non-governmental means a mutual basis of cooperation between professional, business, community and religious leaders of all races in the United States and South Africa. The Program is incorporated in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and contributions are tax-exempt in the United States and South Africa.

This voluntary, nonprofit organization is unique in the international field. A Management Committee of distinguished South Africans and Americans makes the policies and selects the Exchangees. The Program exchanges both American and South African leaders. American and South African foundations, corporations, and individuals provide the financial support.

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS

1. Thirty exchanges have taken place in 1965, the largest number to date. There were twenty-two South Africans and eight Americans. Wives of eighteen Exchangees accompanied their husbands; two couples were able to have their children share the experience. Including wives and children, fifty-five persons participated.
2. The Program has had a steady growth since its inception in 1958, as indicated by the table below showing the number of leaders exchanged:

1965	30
1964	22
1963	23
1962	21
1961	19
1960	15
1959	11
1958	2

3. New strength has been added to the Management Committee and staff. Mr. Vernon A. Eagle, Executive Director of the New World Foundation, Mr. H. C. Koch, Director, Anglo-American Corporation of S.A. Ltd., Mr. C. S. McLean, Past Chairman, General Mining and Finance Corporation Ltd., Dr. S. M. Nabrit, President of Texas Southern University, and Dr. T. E. Schumann, Deputy Chairman of the Atomic Energy Board of South Africa, are now members of the Management Committee. Mr. James C. Brewer, a former fellow of the Institute of Current World Affairs in South Africa and Brazil, became Program Director in the United States in August 1965.

4. By using accumulated reserves the Program has been able to make commitments for thirty-three exchanges during the 1965-66 fiscal year. A major fundraising effort is now underway to obtain financial support for thirty-five exchanges annually for the next five years. Thirteen five-year pledges have already been made.

5. Four of the projects in key functional areas decided upon at the joint meeting of the Management Committee in 1963 are now in operation:

   (1) Functions of Public Administration in Resolving Problems of Rapid Urbanization

   (2) The Role of Small Business in Economic and Community Development

   (3) Language Instruction, Literacy and Literature

   (4) Family Life and Youth in the Area of Christian Education

   In each project, three-month reciprocal study tours are arranged for two South African couples and one American couple. The plan is to continue these projects for several years.

6. Indirect assistance to the Program, in the form of free transportation, grants from foundations directly to Exchangees, compensation by universities for

teaching or lecturing by Exchangees and free tuition and living expenses at Institutes of the National Science Foundation, was a substantial factor in 1964 as in previous years. These contributions which do not pass through the Program's accounts are valued at $18,772; without such help the Program would have had fewer exchanges.

7. Eight South African science teachers came to the United States for the 1965 Summer Institutes of the National Science Foundation, making a total of thirty-two science teachers and professors who have been sponsored by the Exchange Program since 1961. In December 1964 Dr. Laurence E. Strong, Chairman of the Department of Chemistry at Earlham College and U.S. advisor to the Program's Science Education Project, revisited South Africa to evaluate the project and to confer with the Science Selection Committee on the selection of the 1965 Science Exchangees.

8. The Faculty Exchange Project, financed by The Ford Foundation, under which fifteen South African and American university professors have spent up to six months doing teaching and research, was concluded with a study tour by Dr. and Mrs. J. A. van Wyk of Stofberg Theological School.

9. Three couples were Paying Guest Exchangees in 1965, and the Program has made tentative arrangements for four couples in 1966.

LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

The leader exchange program, which exchanges couples in the fields of journalism, religion, business, government service and education for three months to one year, had the following exchanges in 1964 and 1965:

1964 Leader Exchangees

Mr. and Mrs. S. Allen Bacon. Mr. Bacon, Executive Director of the Germantown Settlement in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, studied the teaching and practice of social work and community development; Mrs. Bacon, a writer, met with authors and newspaper feature writers.

Dr. and Mrs. H. E. Buell and three sons. Dr. Buell, pastor, Hyde Park Methodist Church, Tampa, Florida, exchanged pulpits with Rev. E. C. Wilkinson of St. John's Methodist Church, Port Elizabeth.

Dr. and Mrs. Walter H. Cohen. Dr. Cohen, Chairman, South African National Council for the Blind, attended the meetings of the World Council for the Welfare of the Blind where he was elected Chairman of the World Braille Council. Dr. and Mrs. Cohen then visited institutions for the rehabilitation of the blind in New England, the Midwest and the South.

Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Human. Mr. Human, a publisher, studied the book trade in general and the running of subsidized, nonprofitmaking university presses in the U.S. Mrs. Human explored the field of children's literature and met with people in the field of children's programs on TV and radio.

Dr. and Mrs. S. M. Nabrit. Dr. Nabrit, zoologist and President of Texas Southern University, conferred with administrators and faculty committees of universities and university colleges on new approaches to raising the level of student achievement.

Professor and Mrs. John C. Osgood and their two children. Dr. Osgood, Professor of Education and Psychology, was in South Africa from February to June studying Bantu education. In July and August he visited schools and universities in East Africa. Dr. Osgood was an Exchangee under the Faculty Exchange Project.

Dr. Robert T. Parsons, Professor of African Studies of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, made a field study of the separatist church movement among African Christians.

Professor and Mrs. C. W. H. Schmidt. Dr. Schmidt, Professor of Constitutional, International and Criminal Law at the University of Pretoria, was a visiting scholar at the University of Pennsylvania Law School under a cooperative financial arrangement between the Law School and USSALEP from December 1964 to May 1965. The Schmidts also participated in a seminar at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies and visited colleagues at Tulane, Vanderbilt, Duke and the University of Virginia Law Schools. Mrs. Schmidt practised her profession of physiotherapy at the University of Pennsylvania Hospital. Professor Schmidt was an Exchangee under the Faculty Exchange Project.

Mr. Elias N. Seopela, social case worker, Department of Non-European Affairs, Town Council of Benoni, and National Secretary of the South African Non-European Social Workers Association, studied trends and techniques in family case work and juvenile delinquency and probation.

Mr. and Mrs. E. Raymond Silberbauer. Mr. Silberbauer, personnel consultant and Director of the African Wage and Productivity Association, studied personnel management developments in universities and industries; Mrs. Silberbauer observed the teaching of the new mathematics in secondary schools.

Dr. Laurence E. Strong, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Chemistry, Earlham College and Director of the Chemical Bond Approach Project, sponsored by the National Science Foundation, for the development of a new high school chemistry curriculum, conferred with the Program's South African Science Advisory Committee and former participants in the Science Education Project.

Rev. and Mrs. S. S. Tema. Pastor Tema, Assistant Moderator of the Dutch Reformed (N.G.) Mission Church and President of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, studied the administration of religious organizations in urban and rural areas; Mrs. Tema observed the teaching of domestic science and attended conferences of the United Church Women.

Mr. and Mrs. S. Theron. Mr. Theron, Deputy Superintendent of Education of the Cape Province, studied administration of urban school systems and programs for the gifted child.

Dr. and Mrs. H. J. van Zyl. Dr. van Zyl, Deputy Secretary for Bantu Education, observed American patterns of school administration, programs to achieve school integration and quality education and the production of school books.

Rev. and Mrs. C. Edgar Wilkinson. Pastor Wilkinson of the St. John's Methodist Church, Port Elizabeth, exchanged pulpits with Dr. Harold E. Buell of Tampa, Florida.

1965 Leader Exchangees

Rev. and Mrs. Basil H. M. Brown. Mr. Brown, Secretary, Christian Council of South Africa, Cape Town, studied the work of the church in urban areas from September to December.

Mr. and Mrs. F. W. C. Buitendag. Mr. Buitendag, Manager, Department of Non-European Administration, Germiston City Council, was in the United States during the spring under a special project, "Functions of Public Administration in Resolving Problems of Rapid Urbanization."

Mr. and Mrs. W. A. de Klerk. Mr. De Klerk, novelist, playwright and wine farmer, Huguenot, Cape Province, studied theological and sociological trends in the United States from April to July, 1965.

Dr. and Mrs. R. H. Edwin Espy. Dr. Espy, General Secretary, National Council of Churches, New York City, conferred with church leaders in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban in January and February.

Dr. and Mrs. A. Paul Hare and their four children. Dr. Hare, Associate Professor of Sociology, Haverford College, lectured during May and June at the University of Cape Town and the University of Stellenbosch. The African and

American Universities Program made a grant to the Program for part of the travel costs.

Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth B. Hartshorne. Mr. Hartshorne, Senior Inspector of Schools, Department of Bantu Education, surveyed the teaching of English as a second language from February to May; Mrs. Hartshorne studied the teaching of anthropology in high schools and teachers colleges.

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas B. Harvey. Mr. Harvey, of the Harvey Leather Company, conferred with South African businessmen and leaders in health and welfare in January and February.

Mr. and Mrs. S. F. Kingsley. Mr. Kingsley, Manager, Non-European Affairs Department, City Council of Pretoria, was in the United States during the spring under a special project, "Functions of Public Administration in Resolving Problems of Rapid Urbanization."

Mr. and Mrs. S. P. Kutumela. Mr. Kutumela, a businessman in Pretoria, was in the United States under a special project, "The Role of Small Business in Economic and Community Development," from August to November.

Professor and Mrs. C. B. Linder. Professor Linder, Rector, Johannesburg College of Education, studied teacher training institutions in the United States and Canada from March to June. Mrs. Linder, who is a tutor of English students at the University of the Witwatersrand, conferred with professors of English literature.

Mr. and Mrs. F. S. M. Mncube. Mr. Mncube, a businessman in Orlando, Johannesburg, was in the United States under a special project, "The Role of Small Business in Economic and Community Development," from August to November.

Mr. and Mrs. Tertius Myburgh and their two children. Mr. Myburgh, Political Correspondent, THE STAR, Johannesburg, is an Associate Nieman Fellow at Harvard University during the 1965-66 academic year.

Rev. and Mrs. Henry H. Nichols. Mr. Nichols, Pastor of Janes Memorial Methodist Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, attended the Annual Methodist Conference in Pretoria during October.

Dr. G. C. Oosthuizen. Dr. Oosthuizen, Dean and Professor of the Faculty of Divinity, University College of Fort Hare, arrived in the U.S. in November to do research on "Theological Training and the Social Witness of the Church in Africa."

Professor C. H. Parrish, Department of Sociology, University of Louisville, lectured on urbanization and social psychology at South African universities during July and August.

Dr. and Mrs. Brian W. Rose. Dr. Rose, Senior Lecturer in Educational Psychology, Johannesburg College of Education, studied the experience of American schools with teaching machines and the use of small groups for instructional purposes from January to April.

Dr. and Mrs. Gilbert L. Rutman and son. Dr. Rutman, Department of Economics, University of Arizona, is associated with the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, as a Visiting Fellow from July, 1965 until January, 1966, while doing research on "Economic Development of the Bantu Areas with Special Reference to the Transkei."

Mr. and Mrs. Robert D. Stern. Mr. Stern, Executive Vice President, The United States Shoe Corporation, Cincinnati, Ohio, conferred with South African businessmen and leaders in health and welfare in January and February.

Dr. and Mrs. J. A. van Wyk. Dr. van Wyk, of the Stofberg Theological Seminary, did research on communications in missiology from January to April. Dr. van Wyk was the last Exchangee under the Faculty Exchange Project.

Rev. Dr. and Mrs. J. B. Webb. Rev. Dr. Webb, Past President, Methodist Church of South Africa, preached in the Hennepin Avenue Methodist Church, Minneapolis, during the summer of 1965, and spent several weeks in Wisconsin in the fall as part of The Johnson Foundation's people-to-people program.

Mr. John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, is visiting South Africa under a special project, "The Role of Small Business in Economic and Community Development," in December.

Professor C. L. Wicht, Consultant on Hydrological Research, State Department of Forestry, and Professor of Silviculture, Faculty of Forestry, University of Stellenbosch, was assisted by USSALEP to study forestry training at various research centers and universities in September after attending an international symposium on forest hydrology at Pennsylvania State University on a grant from the National Science Foundation.

SCIENCE EDUCATION PROJECT

The National Science Foundation again invited the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program to nominate South African participants for its Institutes for science teachers and professors. Professor Laurence E. Strong, Chairman of the Department of Chemistry, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, Director of the Chemical Bond Approach Project of the National Science Foundation and a former leader exchangee, is American adviser on this project. Professor S. S. Israelstam, Professor of Chemistry, University of the Witwatersrand, Mr. G. A. Krynauw, Chemical Physics Group of the C.S.I.R., Professor L. A. Prinsloo, Department of Physics, University of Pretoria, Professor W. G. Sutton, formerly Vice Chancellor and Principal, University of the Witwatersrand, and Professor C. B. van Wyk, Professor of Applied Mathematics, University of the Orange Free State, are advisers in South Africa.

A highlight of the past fiscal year was a visit to South Africa in December

1964 by Professor Strong to evaluate the science education project and participate in the selection of the 1965 Science Exchangees. He found signs that science education in South Africa is beginning to change in the direction of current practice and knowledge consistent with contemporary science and that in the forefront are persons who have been Science Exchangees.

The following South African science teachers and professors participated in the 1965 Summer Institutes:

Mr. W. H. Boshoff, Senior Lecturer, Division of Science and Pharmacy, Pretoria Technical College -- Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois.

Mr. R. L. Charles, Science and Mathematics Lecturer, M. L. Sultan Technical College, Stanger, Natal -- Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois.

Mr. C. P. Currey, Teacher of Physics and Mathematics, Diocesan College, Rondebosch, Cape -- Montclair State College, Upper Montclair, New Jersey.

Mr. William Lennox, Principal Teacher of Mathematics -- Wynberg Boys' High School -- University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

Mr. S. B. T. Mkwalo, Teacher, Daveyton High School, Daveyton, Benoni -- George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. F. B. Muller, Senior Lecturer in Teaching Methods of Science and Mathematics, University of Stellenbosch -- Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. J. N. Papenfus, Lecturer in Biology, Goudstad College of Education, Johannesburg -- Boston University.

Mr. A. E. Sanderson, Teacher of Mathematics and Physics, St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown -- Loyola University in New Orleans.

Since 1961, thirty-two South African science teachers and professors have participated in the Summer and Academic Year Institutes sponsored by the National Science Foundation. The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, supplementing the National Science Foundation grant covering tuition, living costs at the Institutes and part of the international travel costs, contributed to the international travel costs and arranged for each Summer Institute participant a two-week cultural tour in the United States. The Foundation has invited the Program to submit nominations for its 1966 Institutes.

FUNCTIONAL PROJECTS

At the first joint meeting of the Management Committee, held in 1963 at

Wingspread, headquarters of The Johnson Foundation, the Committee decided to emphasize reciprocal exchanges in key functional areas.

In the spring of 1965 the Program launched the first project, "Functions of Public Administration in Resolving Problems of Rapid Urbanization." Mr. F. W. C. Buitendag, Manager, City Department of Non-European Affairs, Germiston City Council, and Mr. S. F. Kingsley, Manager, Non-European Affairs Department, City Council of Pretoria, with their wives, were in the U.S. for three-month study tours. Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Vice President of the Potomac Institute, Inc., and former Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, will go to South Africa in April 1966 as the American Exchangee in this reciprocal project.

A second Wingspread project, "The Role of Small Business in Economic and Community Development," was started when two African businessmen, Mr. S. P. Kutumela and Mr. F. S. M. Mncube, and their wives came for three-month study tours in August. Mr. John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, is in South Africa on a reciprocal basis this December. Mr. Wheeler will confer with Chambers of Commerce in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town.

The groundwork for a third Wingspread project, "Language Instruction, Literacy and Literature," was laid by Mr. Kenneth B. Hartshorne, Senior Inspector of Schools, Department of Bantu Education, Johannesburg, who with Mrs. Hartshorne was in the U.S. from February to May. The teaching of English as a second language was Mr. Hartshorne's special field of study. Mr. Hartshorne is Chairman of an Advisory Committee to the Program in this important field, composed of Professor L. W. Lanham, Head, Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, University of the Witwatersrand; Mrs. Maida Whyte, Director, Bureau of Literacy and Literature; and Dr. Brian W. Rose, Senior Lecturer in Educational Psychology, Johannesburg College of Education and Chairman of the English Academy. Mr. Hartshorne will advise on the study tours of Mrs. Maida Whyte, Director, Bureau of Literacy and Literature, and Mr. H. W. E. Ntsanwisi, Senior Lecturer, Department of Bantu Languages, University College of the North, who will visit the U.S. in the first half of 1966.

The Reverend J. P. du Plessis, Sunday School Secretary, Dutch Reformed Churches

of South Africa, and Miss Winsome Munro, Director of the Christian Education Movement, will start a fourth Wingspread project, "Family Life and Youth" in the area of Christian Education during the first half of 1966.

FINANCIAL

Financial support for the Program increased in both countries during the past fiscal year. The South African members raised $35,000 in fiscal 1964-65 as compared to $27,000 in fiscal 1963-64, an increase of 29 percent. On the U.S. side in fiscal 1964-65 $60,000 was obtained from sources other than the Ford Foundation as compared to $44,000 in fiscal 1963-64, an increase of 36 percent. The Management Committee is endeavoring to raise $60,000 in both South Africa and the United States to match the present annual grant of the Ford Foundation.

Especially valuable has been the indirect assistance rendered to the Program in both countries. These contributions, valued at $18,734, represent free transportation, compensation for teaching or lecturing by Exchangees and foundation grants paid directly to persons recommended by the Program. Since the inception of the Program, Safmarine has given four free passages annually to the Program's Exchangees. The Carnegie Corporation of New York on several occasions has given grants directly to Exchangees recommended by the Management Committee. The Johnson Foundation has given fellowships to a number of South Africans. Several universities and colleges have provided hospitality or given honoraria to Exchangees for lectures and consultations. Universities and colleges in both countries have offered opportunities for our Exchangees to teach and several universities have given paid leaves to assist their faculty members. Newspapers have similarly assisted their staff. The National Science Foundation has made it possible for thirty-two South African science teachers and professors to participate in Summer and Academic Year Institutes.

Using accumulated cash reserves the Program is budgeting at the level of $220,000 for fiscal 1965-1966 as compared to $146,000 in fiscal 1964-1965 to carry out the Wingspread functional exchanges and to continue the regular leader exchanges. The Management Committee hopes to attain a level of $255,000 for 35 exchanges annually for the next five years by finding additional sources of support and obtaining increased contributions from present supporters on a long term basis.

CUMULATIVE LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

The following foundations, corporations, individuals and institutions in the United States and South Africa have helped financially since 1958 to make the Program possible:

Foundations

Abe Bailey Trust
American Metal Climax Foundation
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust
Carnegie Corporation
Chace Fund
Claremore Fund
Danforth Foundation
Division Fund
The Charles Engelhard Foundation
The Family Fund
The Ford Foundation
General Service Foundation
The Haggie Trust
Hopkins Charitable Fund
The Johnson Foundation
J. M. Kaplan Fund
The Memorial Fund, Inc.
The Hans Merensky Trust
National Science Foundation
The New World Foundation
Norman Fund
Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust
Gustavus and Louise Pfeiffer Research Foundation
Phelps-Stokes Fund
Christopher Reynolds Foundation
Richardson Foundation
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
Rockefeller Foundation
Benj. Rosenthal Foundation
South Africa Association
Robert D. Stern Fund
Western Publishing Company Foundation
Weyerhaeuser Foundation
Wyomissing Foundation

Corporations

African Explosive and Chemical Industries Ltd.
African Wire Ropes
Allied Chemical Corporation
Anglo-American Corporation of S.A. Ltd.
Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investments Co. Ltd.
Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd.
Bristol Myers Company
Bristol-Myers (Pty) Ltd.

Corporations (continued)

Cape Times Ltd.
Colgate-Palmolive Ltd.
Courtaulds (Alabama) Ltd.
De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd.
Engelhard Industries Inc.
Engelhard Industries Ltd.
Farrell Lines Inc.
Federale Mynbou Bpk.
General Mining and Finance Corporation Ltd.
Ingersoll-Rand Co. (Pty) Ltd.
Inter-Union Finance Ltd.
Maggs Somerset (Pty) Ltd.
Mobil Oil Co. of S.A. (Pty) Ltd.
Model, Roland and Company
The Nasionale Pers Bpk.
Newmont Mining Corporation
O'okiep Copper Company Ltd.
Otis Elevator Company Ltd.
Pan American World Airways System
Rand Mines Ltd.
Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation of S.A. Ltd.
Roberts Construction Co. (Pty) Ltd.
S.K.F. Laboratories (Pty) Ltd.
South African Breweries Ltd.
South African Marine Corporation Ltd.
South African Associated Newspapers Ltd.
Stellenbosch Property Agency (Pty) Ltd.
Travel Bureau Lissome-Lindeman
Tsumeb Corporation Ltd.
Twin Disc Clutch Company
Union Corporation Ltd.
Weyerhaeuser and Company

Individuals

Mrs. H. Clifford Allen
Mr. Barney Balaban
Mr. Laird Bell
Mr. Alfred A. Biddle
Dr. Eugene C. Blake
Mr. Morton Bodfish
Rev. John H. Burt
Mr. Roger Clapp
Miss Louise M. Clevenger
Mr. Kent G. Colwell
Dr. and Mrs. D. Crena de Iongh
Mr. Kingman Douglass
Mr. and Mrs. John A. Dreyfuss
Mrs. Walter B. Driscoll
Miss Catharine Elgin
Miss Gertrude Ely
Mr. J. S. Harris
Mrs. Frances W. Hartwell
Mrs. Mary R. Haubiel
Mr. Harold K. Hochschild
Rev. and Mrs. Joseph A. Howell
Dr. and Mrs. Clark Kerr
Mrs. Darwin P. Kingsley, Jr.
Mrs. Daniel E. Koshland
Dr. Frank S. Loescher
Mrs. Frances B. McAllister
Mr. William L. Mellon, III
Mr. S. G. Menell
Dr. and Mrs. L. J. Milne
Dr. and Mrs. O. R. O'Neil
Mr. and Mrs. William F. H. Purcell
Mr. Clarence B. Randall
Mr. Francis Randolph
Mrs. Edward Bliss Reed
Mr. William Rempel
Mr. David Rockefeller
Mrs. Madeleine H. Russell
Mr. Karel Schoeman
Mr. Arnold Skromme
Mrs. Ruth C. Sloan
Mr. and Mrs. L. M. C. Smith
Mr. Gardner H. Stern
Mr. Joseph Stevens, Jr.
Mrs. S. Emlen Stokes
Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Sweezy
Mrs. Seth P. Taft
Mrs. Grace W. Waring
Mrs. George B. Wislocki
Mr. Philip Woodyatt

Others

African Affairs Society of America Ltd.
African and American Universities Program
African-American Institute
Cape Provincial Administration
De Pauw University
Dutch Reformed Church of the Transvaal
Dutch Reformed Mission Church of South Africa
Earlham College
Howard University
Indiana University
International Astronomical Union
Manchester College
Mount Holyoke College
Northwestern University
Rhodes University
Smithsonian Astrophysical Institution
University of Massachusetts
University of North Carolina
University of Rochester
University of Stellenbosch
Western College for Women
Yale University

(An audited financial statement for the Program's fiscal year, July 1, 1964 - June 30, 1965 is appended.)

THE INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

An International Management Committee supervises the Program and selects leading citizens for exchange of three months to one year. The Management Committee encourages exchanges in both directions by people who have approved projects with definite sponsorship or at least with assured cooperation in the host country. The aim is to provide participants with a meaningful and broadening experience significant for their future life's work.

The Chairman of the Management Committee is Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman, Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa Ltd.; the Vice Chairmen are the Rev. C. B. Brink, Associate Minister, N.G. Kerk, Aasvoelkop Congregation, Northcliff, Johannesburg, and Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor of History, Earlham College; the Program Directors are W. G. C. Moir of Stakesby Lewis and Lewis, Secretaries, in Johannesburg and James C. Brewer in Philadelphia; Dr. Frank S. Loescher is General Secretary.

In 1965 Vernon A. Eagle, Executive Director of the New World Foundation, New York, H. C. Koch, Director, Anglo-American Corporation of S.A. Ltd., Johannesburg, C. S. McLean, Past Chairman, General Mining and Finance Corporation, Ltd., Johannesburg, Dr. S. M. Nabrit, President of Texas Southern University, Houston, and Dr.

T. E. Schumann, Deputy Chairman of the Atomic Energy Board of South Africa, Pretoria, became members of the Management Committee.

The other American members are: Dr. George H. Bennett, International Affairs and Exhibits, New York World's Fair 1964-65 Corp.; Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk, The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Dr. William O. Brown, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University; Dr. George W. Carpenter, formerly Secretary, Division of World Mission and Evangelism, World Council of Churches; Frank Coolbaugh, President, American Metal Climax, Inc.; Lewis W. Douglas, formerly Ambassador to the Court of St. James's; Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University; Dr. Edwin S. Munger, Professor, California Institute of Technology; Leslie Paffrath, President, The Johnson Foundation; Alan Pifer, Acting President, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Mrs. William F. H. Purcell, civic leader and school and college trustee; Dr. Emory Ross, missionary and consultant on Africa; Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches; John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina.

The following South Africans also serve on the Management Committee: H. Goldberg, Director of Companies and Chairman of Ellis Furnishers Ltd.; Rev. W. A. Landman, Director of Information, Information Service of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa (N.G. Kerk); Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Chairman, South African Tourist Corp.; Professor N. J. J. Olivier, Professor, University of Stellenbosch; K. P. G. Schoeman, Chairman, Bantu Investment Corp.; T. P. Stratten, Chairman and Managing Director, Union Corporation Ltd.; Professor W. G. Sutton, formerly Vice Chancellor and Principal, University of the Witwatersrand; F. J. van Wyk, Administrative Director, The Christian Institute of Southern Africa; A. D. Wassenaar, General Manager, Sanlam; Rev. Dr. J. B. Webb, Past President of the Methodist Church of South Africa.

AUDITED FINANCIAL STATEMENT

C O P Y

TOUCHE, ROSS, BAILEY & SMART

Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Building
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19109

Management Committee
United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

We have examined the statement of net assets of United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc., as of June 30, 1965, and the related statement of receipts and disbursements and changes in net assets for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances, except that it was impractical for us to extend our examination of contributions received beyond accounting for amounts so recorded.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly the financial position of United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. at June 30, 1965, and the results of its operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

/s/ TOUCHE, ROSS, BAILEY & SMART
Certified Public Accountants

August 18, 1965

* * * * * * * * * * * *

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
STATEMENT OF NET ASSETS
JUNE 30, 1965

CURRENT ASSETS:		
Cash:		
Demand deposits		$ 9,836.67
Savings deposits		115,897.86
Office cash funds		34.52
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS		$125,769.05
EQUIPMENT - at cost:		
Furniture, fixtures and equipment	$3,016.28	
Automobiles	2,803.00	
	$5,819.28	
Less, Accumulated depreciation	2,555.20	
		3,264.08
NET ASSETS		$129,033.13

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
AND CHANGES IN NET ASSETS
YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1965

RECEIPTS:			
Contributions:			
Foundations		$104,278.00	
Corporations		29,120.00	
Individuals and others		22,918.22	
			$156,316.22
Interest on savings accounts			5,014.65
			$161,330.87
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Programs:			
Grants to exchangees	$91,650.43		
Other program expenses	1,454.35		
		$ 93,104.78	
General and administrative:			
Salaries and wages	$34,012.96		
Communications	1,568.42		
Rent and utilities	1,868.28		
Postage	1,040.42		
Staff travel	4,019.59		
Committee members expense	2,911.02		
Payroll taxes	545.54		
Printing	3,053.50		
Supplies and equipment	1,028.41		
Periodicals	337.99		
Accounting and auditing	750.00		
Automobile expense	133.56		
Depreciation	862.23		
Other	1,331.85		
		53,463.77	
			146,568.55
EXCESS OF RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS			$ 14,762.32
NET ASSETS, JULY 1, 1964			114,270.81
NET ASSETS, JUNE 30, 1965			$129,033.13

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

NOTE A - GRANTS AWARDED DIRECTLY TO EXCHANGEES:

The financial statements do not include grants awarded by certain public and private agencies directly to exchangees of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc. During the year ended June 30, 1965, grants of this nature amounted to $18,772.00.

NOTE B - COMMITMENT OF UNEXPENDED FUNDS:

At June 30, 1965, tentative commitments had been made under the exchange program which call for the expenditure of funds in excess of $100,000.00 prior to June 30, 1966.

January 11, 1966

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program, Inc.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

Dear Frank:

Thank you for the annual report which I finally read, and congratulations on your continued expansion.

Come see us sometime.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

JAN 13 1966

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-6764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Rec'd 1/19/66

January 11, 1966

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program, Inc.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

Dear Frank:

Thank you for the annual report which I finally read, and congratulations on your continued expansion.

Come see us sometime.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Jan. 17, 1966

Dear Paul

Will you let me know next time you come to Philadelphia?

With best wishes, Frank

file
Loescher, Frank S.

February 14, 1966

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
United States-South Africa Leader
Exchange Program, Inc.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

Dear Frank:

Thank you again for allowing me to crash your party last week in New York. It was good seeing you.

Enclosed is the SRC director's Annual Report.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony,
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

File
Loescher, Frank

February 24, 1967

Mr. Frank Loescher
U. S. - South African Leader Exchange
Program
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Dear Frank:

Thank you for the copy of your report to the Management Committee. I enjoyed this summary of your work and admire the results.

I still wish that some time soon you would have an occasion to come visit us.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See Loescher, Frank

April 8, 1968

Mr. Frank Loescher
Executive Director
U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange
Program
101 S. 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Dear Frank:

At the request of John Wheeler we are having sent to you, under separate cover, 30 copies of a speech which Vernon Jordan recently gave before the foundation's luncheon club in New York.

Hope all is going well with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. John H. Wheeler

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM
OF THE
AFRICAN AMERICAN INSTITUTE
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

FRANK S. LOESCHER, PROGRAM
DIRECTOR
PHONE: YUkon 6-5320

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, has arrived in the Union of South Africa, it was announced today by Frank S. Loescher. A Fellow of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Mr. Wheeler will be in the Union for a month. He will confer with business leaders of the several racial groups and attend the Ecumenical Church Conference in Johannesburg as a fraternal observer from the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Mr. Wheeler is one of seven Americans selected to go to the Union this year by the U.S.-S.A. Leader Exchange Program of the African-American Institute, Mr. Loescher, director of the program, said.

(MORE)

Born in Kittrell, North Carolina, Mr. Wheeler graduated from Morehouse College and holds the L.L.B. degree from North Carolina College at Durham and an honorary L.L.D. conferred by Shaw University. He has been admitted to law practice in the courts of North Carolina and the U.S. Courts -- the Middle Districe of North Carolina, Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fourth District and the U.S. Supreme Court.

Mr. Wheeler is a trustee of Atlanta University, Morehouse College, Lincoln Hospital, Durham, Saint Joseph's AME Church, Durham, United Fund, Inc., Durham, and the Southern Regional Council. He was a member of the Commission on Race and Housing, established by the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. Wheeler is married to the former Selena Warren and they have two children, Warren Harvey and Julia Margaret.

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, established in 1958 to further understanding between South African and American professional, business and civic leaders, expects to exchange twenty-four couples in 1959 and 1960, Dr. Loescher said. The program, which is supported by the contributions of American and South African foundations, corporations and individuals, is sponsored in the United States by the African-American Institute, a private non-political organization founded to foster closer relations between the peoples of the United States and Africa.

Among the other distinguished Americans selected to visit the Union this year under the auspices of the program are Hodding Carter, Pulitzer Prize-winning Editor and Publisher of the "Delta D mocrat-Times" of Greenville, Mississippi, and David A. McCandless, Director of the Southern Police Institute of the University of Louisville, who recently returned to the United States; Dr. Lorus J. Milne, Professor of Zoology, University of New Hampshire, and Dr. G. McLeod Bryan, Professor of Christian Social Ethics, Wake Forest College; Dr. Guy B. Johnson,

(MORE)

Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, University of North Carolina, and Dr. Clinton L. Rossiter, Chairman of the Department of Government, Cornell University.

The following South Africans have come to the United States in 1959: Mr. S. V. Petersen, principal of the Athlone High School for Coloureds, Cape Town, and prize-winning poet; Professor E. P. Groenewald, Dean of the Faculty, Pretoria University; Dr. F. J. de Villiers, Adviser on Industrial Development to the Government of South Africa; Dr. D. Hey, Director of Nature Conservation, Cape Province.

An International Management Committee supervises the program and selects leading citizens of both countries for extended visits. The Chairman of the Management Committee is Dr. H. J. van Eck, Chairman and Managing Director of the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Ltd.; the Vice Chairmen are the Rev. C. B. Brink, Mission Secretary of the Dutch Reformed Church (N.G.Church) in the Northern Transvaal and Dr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor of History, Earlham College; Professor N. J. J. Olivier of Stellenbosch University is Secretary in South Africa; Dr. Loescher is Program Director and General Secretary.

The other American members of the Management Committee are:

Dr. George H. Bennett, Director, Asia-Africa, Institute of International Education

Dr. William O. Brown, Director, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University

Dr. George W. Carpenter, Secretary, International Missionary Council

Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Metal Climax, Inc.

Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Professor, Howard University

Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff

Leslie Paffrath, President, The Johnson Foundation

(MORE)

Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York

Mrs. Elizabeth R. Purcell, School and College Trustee

Gordon V. Richdale, Financier

Loyd V. Steere, Executive Vice President, African-American Institute

Rev. Theodore L. Tucker, Secretary, Africa Committee, National Council of Churches

The following South Africans also serve on the Management Committee:

H. Goldberg, Chairman, Ellis and Company

Rev. W. A. Landman, Director of Information, Cape Dutch Reformed Church ("N.G. Kerk")

Col. E. O'C. Maggs, Chairman South African Tourist Corporation

K. P. G. Schoeman, Prominent Farmer in the Transvaal, Director, Industrial Development Corporation of S.A. Ltd., Director Designate, Bantu Investment Corporation.

T. P. Stratten, Managing Director, Union Corporation, Ltd.

Prof. W. G. Sutton, Principal, University of the Witwatersrand

Prof. H. B. Thom, Principal, University of Stellenbosch

F. J. van Wyk, Assistant Director, South African Institute of Race Relations

A. D. Wassenaar, Managing Director, SANLAM

Dr. J. B. Webb, Chairman, Southern Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church of S.A.

AFRICAN–AMERICAN INSTITUTE

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Program Director & General Secretary:
F. S. LOESCHER
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLES NYAFRAM
PHONE: YUKON 6-5320

South African Secretary:
N. J. J. OLIVIER
P. O. BOX 225
STELLENBOSCH
SOUTH AFRICA

The Management Committee of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program cordially invites you to attend a reception to meet Dr. F. J. de Villiers, Industrial Adviser to the Government of the Union of South Africa, and Mrs. de Villiers on Thursday, December seventeenth, at four o'clock in the Exhibition Hall at the Carnegie International Center, 345 East Forty-sixth Street, New York

R.S.V.P.
345 East Forty-sixth Street
YUkon 6-5320

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE: G. H. BENNETT (U.S.A.); C. B. BRINK (S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. O. BROWN (U.S.A.); G. W. CARPENTER (U.S.A.); H. GOLDBERG (S.A.); H. K. HOCHSCHILD (U.S.A.); L. M. HOSKINS (U.S.A.—VICE-CHAIRMAN); W. A. LANDMAN (S.A.); F. S. LOESCHER (U.S.A.—PROGRAM DIRECTOR); R. W. LOGAN (U.S.A.); M. S. LOUW (S.A.); E. O'C. MAGGS (S.A.); E. S. MUNGER (U.S.A.); N. J. J. OLIVIER (S.A.—SOUTH AFRICAN SECRETARY); L. PAFFRATH (U.S.A.); A. PIFER (U.S.A.); G. V. RICHDALE (U.S.A.); A. E. RUPERT (S.A.); L. V. STEERE (U.S.A.); T. P. STRATTEN (S.A.); H. B. THOM (S.A.); T. L. TUCKER (U.S.A.); H. J. VAN ECK (S.A.—CHAIRMAN); F. J. VAN WYK (S.A.); J. B. WEBB (S.A.).

Cross Reference Sheet

SUBJECT:

Dr. S. M. Nabrit's THE NABRIT VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA

RE:

Account sent by Mr. Frank S. Loescher, United States-South Africa Exchange Program Inc.

SEE:
Subject-

BOARD -- Nabrit, Samuel

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
First Newspaper West of the Alleghenies
Gazette Established 1786. Post Established 1842. Combined 1927
PAUL BLOCK, PUBLISHER, 1927-1941

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1959

Northerner Backs Segregation

A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal

By John Lofton
Post-Gazette Staff Writer

IN TODAY'S issue of the Post-Gazette there is an advertisment consisting of a letter to President Eisenhower criticizing the Supreme Court's historic school desegregation decision. Carleton Putnam, the writer of the letter, is presented by the ad's sponsors as "a member of a famous New England family, a native of New York City, a graduate of Princeton and Columbia." These credentials are obviously intended to convey the impression that Mr. Putnam's segregationist views carry the weight of high, nonpartisan authority.

* * *

BY WAY of demonstrating that Mr. Putnam's preachments are something less than Olympian, we would like to quote in answer to them the comments of an observer who is much closer to the subject and who, we think, has credentials which make him a far more creditable authority. He is James McBride Dabbs, a member of a family that has lived in the South for 150 years, a native of South Carolina, owner and operator of a plantation employing Negroes, a graduate of the Uninversity of South Carolina and of Clark University, author of the recent book, *The Southern Heritage* (Knopf), from which we quote. Excerpts from Putnam and Dabbs follow:

Mr. Putnam: "It is my personal conviction that the local [Southern] customs in this case were 'hardened by time' for a very good reason, and that while they may not . . . have been decreed in heaven, they come closer to it than the current view of the Supreme Court."

Mr. Dabbs: "There's no doubt they [Negroes] are more poorly equipped than the whites. But, now, having made this probably correct observation, we conclude that nature, or God, made them so. This is a most happy conclusion. For it's perfectly clear that the inferior position of the Negro in the South is due either to God or to us; and as it's doubtful democratic and Christian doctrine for us to admit the responsibility, we are happy to pass it on to God."

Mr. Putnam: "Five minutes before the court's desegregation decision, the Constitution meant one thing; five minutes later it meant something else. Only one thing intervened, namely, an expression of the personal views of the members of the court."

Mr. Dabbs: "The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have been a part of the Constitution for that length of time [90 years] and, however adopted, are built into the conscience of the nation. True, the judges are just getting around to pinpointing their meaning, but the meaning has been there for any man to read, and as time has turned the pages the meaning has become increasingly clear."

Mr. Putnam: "In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and, in the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word 'association' here, I mean the right to associate with whom you please.)"

* * *

MR. DABBS: "The Court didn't order anybody to 'integrate' anything; it merely said we should stop separating school children on the basis of race. . . . It's we who have substituted 'mixing' for 'stop separating.' . . . Negroes merely want the rights and privileges of American citizens. But desiring an equal chance with us at success isn't the same as wanting to sit with us in school and church."

Mr. Putnam: "Any man with two eyes in his head can observe a Negro settlement in the Congo, can study the pure-blooded African in his native habitat as he exists when left on his own resources, can compare this settlement with London or Paris, and can draw his own conclusions regarding relative levels of character and intelligence—or that combination of character and intelligence which is civilization."

Mr. Dabbs: ". . . with top-flight Negroes in practically every field, it seems rather late to raise the old question of the implied inferiority of the Negro because of the lack of a modern civilization in Africa. Yet the question is raised and should be answered briefly. First, though Africa has never had an industrial civilization—a Western creation of yesterday—the native Africans of the slaving period, especially those who were brought to America, were not savages but pre-literate folk with a complex agricultural, social, and legal society, with skilled workers in iron and other metals, and with great artists, especially in sculpture and wood-carving. Indeed, the invention of iron-smelting may have been brought to Europe from Africa."

Mr. Putnam: "I would emphatically support improvement of education in Negro schools, if and where it is inferior. Equality of opportunity and equality before the law, when not strained to cover other situations, are acceptable ideals because they provide the chance to earn and to progress . . ."

Mr. Dabbs: "We overlooked the 'equal' that Plessy v. Ferguson said they [Negroes] should have, and thus caused them and the courts to ponder its absence until now the "separate' has been outlawed. . . . They now have the right to desegregated schools, just like other people, and let the law forget race."

* * *

MR. PUTNAM: ". . . for 94 years . . . the North has been trying to force the black man down the white Southerner's throat, and it is a miracle that relations between the races in the South have progressed as well as they have."

Mr. Dabbs: "Whatever our dreamed-of Southern society, of slavery or segregation, might have become if left alone, it was not, it could not be, left alone in the dynamic world in which it was established. It would have been changed whether anyone, inside or outside, ever thought about changing it; it would have been changed by general forces moving in the world."

So speaks James McBride Dabbs. For a full, eloquent and knowledgeable answer to Carleton Putnam, readers should give *The Southern Heritage* a complete reading.

extra cc file cc all returned to PA km

January 31, 1967

Mrs. Patricia B. Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Pat:

The topic for my speech will be "Race Relations in the South - 1967". I will make every effort to be there on Friday evening. However, I have a 3:30 P.M. speech on Friday here in Atlanta and this may create complications. Certainly I will be there by 9:00 A.M. on Saturday. It will be necessary for me to leave during midday since I have to be in Durham that evening. This is an absurd situation but the kind we sometimes get into.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File → La. Council on Hum. Rels

February 6, 1967

Mrs. Patricia B. Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Pat:

With luck I think I have a schedule worked out for your meeting on the 25th. I now have a schedule which will allow me to arrive in Baton Rouge at 7:07 P.M. on Friday the 24th. Therefore, I should make your meeting although I will be a little late. I will come directly to the hotel and inquire for you. It will be necessary for me to leave at 2:00 P.M. Saturday the 25th in order to complete the rest of my weekend schedule.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
La. Council

February 6, 1967

Mrs. Helen Mervis
34 Audubon Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70118

Dear Helen:

This is being dictated on Saturday morning just to give you a brief follow-up on our airport conversation yesterday. I have talked with Moreland Smith and he will get material off to you this week and begin to determine who would make a good consultant for your purposes in neighborhood stabilization. I was unable to reach John O'Hara yesterday but have a message for him to call me at home today and presume I will hear from him later in the day.

On checking on schedules to be at the Baton Rouge meeting on February 25, I find I can leave Atlanta at 5:45 P.M. and leave New Orleans at 6:36 P.M., arriving in Baton Rouge at 7:07 P.M. Therefore, I have made reservations on this flight since I think it would be desirable if I attend the meeting of the Board if at all possible.

I would be delighted if you could join me on this 6:36 P.M. flight.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Green cc + orig to PA

File La. Council

February 21, 1967

Mrs. Patricia B. Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Pat:

To my deep regret, something has developed which will make it impossible for me to get to Baton Rouge before 10:30 or so on the evening of the 24th. Please ask the Jack Tar Capitol House to hold my reservation for very late arrival. Certainly don't bother to meet me.

I am particularly sorry that I will not be able to attend your Executive Committee meeting though perhaps I will be available early in the morning should questions have arisen.

Of course, Ed Stanfield will be there.

I do still look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

LCHR

First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

See La. Council

February 28, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I'm sorry I did not have an opportunity to say good-bye before you left town. I would have preferred to thank you in person for the wonderful job you did for us. We feel that your address set the tone for what the board feels was a rather successful day. I can think of no one who would have served better in that capacity. We are most grateful to you, Paul.

Very truly yours,

Pat

Patricia B. Miller
Executive Director

PBM:lr

File
La. Council
cx. ref
PA - Speaking Engagements
1967

via air mail March 16, 1967

Mr. James R. Oliver
President
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 2992
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

Dear Jim:

Your letter of this morning is being answered by mail since I will be out of the office tomorrow, and hope that this will reach you by that time.

To my regret, I am unable to accept your invitation for May 6th and 7th, since I will be on my way out of the country about that time.

It was good to see you in Baton Rouge, but I regret we didn't have longer together. Do give me another opportunity to come to Baton Rouge some time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Louisiana Council on Human Relations
P. O. BOX 2992 — LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501

March 14, 1967

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am not sure that I thanked you officially for the excellent talk you delivered to the LCHR members on February 25. Those whp spoke to me about it thought the talk was one of the highlights of the meeting. We're sorry you couldn't stay for the remainder of the meeting.

I am writing to ask if you would deliver the keynote address at a conference on Religion and Race to be held in Lafayette on May 6 and 7. We would like to have you kick off the conference Saturday morning. The talk could be similar to the one you gave in Baton Rouge, with perhaps more emphasis on the moral aspects since that is the slant of the conference.

So far we have committments from Father Louis Twomey and Dr. Karl Lutze(Valpariso University), and we expect to hear soon from Rev. Zan Wesley Holmes of Dallas. Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the American Jewish Committee will speak to us Sunday; the others will be part of a panel discussion on the theology of race relations on Saturday.

The conference will be interfaith in structure. Sponsors will be human relations councils of the area, local ministerial groups and LCHR.

If it is possible I would like to have you call me this Friday and let me know if you can accept. Your participation in the conference would add considerable stature and prestige to it.

Thank you for whatever consideration you may be able to give to this request.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

James R. Oliver, President
Louisiana Council on Human Relations

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

LOUISIANA COUNCIL

REGARDING

Pat Miller's Foundation appeal for funds from Feild Fd.

DATE

3-13-68

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Field Foundation 1968

file

LCHR

First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

file

March 20, 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

This is in response to your letter of March 5th requesting that: "Each of you inform me by writing whether or not you wish S.R.C. to withdraw its application for state council support from Ford Foundation and to formally withdraw all fund raising efforts."

The Louisiana Council on Human Relations does not wish S.R.C. to withdraw its application for support from Ford Foundation in behalf of state councils. Such a move would be determinal to Louisiana Council on Human Relations at this stage of our development. However, we are striving to reach the $11,000 base most recently referred to in the Charolet Meeting. We are confident that this goal will be reached by the expiration of the 3 year commitment of S.R.C. to the Louisiana Council on Human Relations.

Your statement to state council directors which referred to the Louisiana Council on Human Relations as a "Sinking Ship", that L.C.H.R. board of directors was neither supporting the program or me in my fund raising efforts, was of great concern to me and members of my board. I attempted to relate to you that our emphasis in the past 18 months have been geared toward finding the broad based membership for financial support recommended by the S.R.C. Field Director. This we feel has been relatively successful. Our membership in less than two years is nearly 1/2 the average membership of councils in existance 8 and 10 years. We did win the George Mitchell Award in 1967.

Persons unfamiliar with the nature of state council work and means through which it must be achieved, the lack of credit often claimed or desired, tend to make one negate the value of such an organization. You of course, know that much of our work is done through ad hoc committees, local councils and in cooperation with other organizations.

Even in our news letters we are careful not to assume too much credit for the work we are almost exclusively responsible for lest we offend those with whom we work. However, it is possible for one as busy as you, not to have kept up with the Louisiana Council News Letters and Quarterly Reports. So I shall list a few of our involvements over the last 18 months. Should you need detailed information, names, dates and places I shall be glad to furnish same.

I feel that one our major services involves work with H.E.W. H.E.W. EEOC, OEO and the Office of Contract Compliance. Most of these agencies contact Louisiana Council on Human Relations as a matter of routine whenever in the area. Since January, thirty-six reports of discrimination have been filed through this office. Our news letter carried a report on the Keyser Aluminum workers who are now in court. We were able to find cause, which brought Mr. Bloom Rosen to Louisiana in an effort to correct previous mistakes. The St. Francisville case resulted in rehiring 48 families to replace the 47 driven from town by lay offs and ousting renters from property in town where no other living quarters were available. This plus shootings and beatings in retaliation for political activity of Negroes, spurred a move to rid St. Francisville of Negroes and delute their political power. Crown Zeller is presently operating under an injunction with seniority restored to Negro workers and no testing for hiring or upgrading.

We now have cases against Standard Oil, Contract Compliance is insisting that their employees be 1/3 Negroes in all areas. Last month James Jackson was hired after being refused a year ago on basis of a potential heart condition which we proved non-existant through the Veterans Administration. In addition, 9 other young men of like potential were hired plus a Negro as employment advisor. We had hoped for employment from outside rather than a company man, however our request was granted. Their summer employment program was opened to Negro students with a total of 78 jobs this year as compared with six last summer.

We have instigated cases against Uniroyal, Louisiana Forest, Salvey, Bordens, Monkens, Staffer, Guesmeyer and Southern Bell just to mention some of the industries. You know about our Boycott of Food Town Chain Stores resulting in one of the 6 stores becoming fully staffed by Negro workers which we refused to accept as a compromise to keep the other 5 Whites. We now have Negroes in all 6 including Pharmacists in proportion to patronages.

We also conducted a test Orientation Program geared toward persons unfamiliar with standardized testing procedures and older workdrs. Though set up for the summer of 1967, we have not been able to discontinue it completely. Once a month a weekend is devoted to orientation of persons applying during the month. The Keyser Aluminum workers with 12-22 years seniority were primary beneficiaries of this program in that those passing the Worlic Test were able to work through the summer as utility men.

School desegregation in Louisiana is a serious problem. There are only 13 districts of the 66 not under court order. H.E.W. will not become involved in districts under court order which places the burden of responsibility on citizens to assure compliance to court orders. All efforts seem directed towards very little compliance, avoidance and entrenchment into former patterns. We've had to get injunctions against school faculty against boards of educators, and students to prevent resegregation and provide a degree of personal safety for Negro students attending. Students have been hospitalized, parents fired from jobs and Negro teahers fired for sending their children to integrated schools, though other reasons were given for the action taken. Of the 13 districts not under court order I have documentary evidence ready to forward to H.E.W. showing that these districts are less in compliance than those under court order ranging from 1/6 of a teacher integrated to no attempt to integrate student or faculty. We are circulating flyers to Negro schools this week to inform parents of their rights since the school board refuses to follow the guide lines.

Continuing work on East West Runway which has been a major issue in the State Capito for the past year, once again an ad hoc committee met the Civil Rights division of the Civil Aeronautic Association. My office protested granting of funds for the construction, which would totally distroy the most powerful Negro political unit in the parish. Funds have been withheld. The mayor vetoed the issuance of a bond for same. On threat to boycott the Negro Hihg School involved and picketing the board of education, they joined us in protesting its construction. The committee appeared before the CAA in Houston during February to reaffirm our position. Attempts are being made to relocate the facility at this time.

Ad hoc committees composed of representatives of such organizations as American Friends Service, Voters League, Louisiana Council of Churches, Neighborhood Centers, Minsterial Alliance and leading ministers have protested police brutality in meetings with mayor and chief of police. We were able to have mace recalled from genereal use by police officials, the account of which was carried in our news letter.

Another Committee composed of all whites including White Police officers was able to supply the mayor with enough controversial material on the chief of police to quietly demand his resignation. This of course, we cannot even put in our news letter.

We participated in a move to get a CAP Program reorganized in South Western Louisiana so as to include the poverty element rather than representatives chosen by the poverty element. We assisted in removing a police jury man from office won by fraudulent means. We removed a NYC director of 3 counties who allegedly was appointed by the governor, working from the governors office.

The Scottlandville credit union is now a going establishment. We had our 1st annual meeting last Thursday with 113 members in attendance. I was re-elected to the board of director but refused office. The Coop in Reserve now has 50 of the 100 projected homes under construction or completed. The St. Marys Council Cooperative Housing Unit is now under construction. This unit will provide 60 rent suppliment homes in Franklin.

Presently we are working in 4 different ad hoc committees to delay, direct or prevent university students on 5 campuses from demonstrations that will eventually terminate in wholesale slaughter and the resultant community involvement at a time when neither student or community is prepared for such happenings. On the other hand law enforced agents have arsenals stored at strategic points to combat riots and are anxious for activity. We realize that these are stalling tactics, just as the 8,000 letters to the governor protesting the railroad tract injuries was busy work, designed to release energy temporarily. It also served to bring the Governor to Negro campuses to investigate existing inequalities and promise adjustments which he know would not be forth coming. Mean while, we are deverting student energy into the organization of Welfare rights Groups, Neighborhood improvement crews, who repair homes, paint houses, solicite materials from companies, haul accumulated trash to the dump and in general attempt to improve surrounding communities.

On two other occasions quick action of these committees brought the mayor and chief of police into direct confrontation with a Black Moselum Group, who in the presence of the chief of police and plain clothesmen made the mayor shut up and sit down. Threats to blow up bridges and do more burnings, brought 40 jobs to those assembled the next morning.

Last night witnessed a gathering of some 200 people representing 30 organizations to who ratified the constitution of a parish wide organization I started last year. Louisiana Council on

Human Relations started the organization to prevent political payoff and splinter organizations as well as to coordinate community activity and command strength in behalf of community projects.

This represents a brief summary of Louisiana Council on Human Relations involvement at present. While these activities may not make headlines and would lessen our effectiveness if it did, only we here in Louisiana will be able to determine the ultimate value of such activities.

In behalf of my board of directors I must say that only 8 of the 14 are active. Some have taken an additional responsibility since being elected to the board, some have moved to more distant parts of the state. Some of the active members have added responsibilities, such as Father McKnight, who now has a regional responsibility and attorney Cammille Gravell became advisors to Governor McKeithen, Rev. Allen is State Director of the Louisiana Council of Churches which involves much travel and Dr. Dreger operates a Psychological Research Center in addition to his responsibilities at L.S.U. Never the less, I've yet to be refused by board members who are frequently asked to make addresses, attend conferences, write articles for publication, work on ad hoc committees, investigate situations, appear with me before the board of education or confront public officials on issues. They contributed 10% of the $3,600 raised in pledge over the past year. I feel that our problem lies in the 3 year period board members serve, plus conflict of interest among board members of S.R.C. who are also members of Louisiana Council on Human Relations board of directors. Once these problems have been solved by the addition of new board members and rotation of S.R.C. board members off Louisiana Council on Human Relations board, we feel that more progress can be recorded.

It is our hope that S.R.C. and Louisiana Council on Human Relations will continue their operations in good faith to the mutual benefit of both organizations and the citizens of Louisiana.

Very truly yours,

Pat

Patricia B. Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations

jbg

file
La. Council

May 14, 1968

Mr. Roy P. Peterson
Treasurer
Black Arts Commission
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Mr. Peterson:

I have read your proposal for the first annual Black Arts Festival and find it very interesting.

While I can well understand you might need $29,000 for your program, I regret to inform you that such funds are simply out of the question for the Southern Regional Council.

I do hope you have success elsewhere.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mrs. PatricialMiller

Black Art Commission & L.C.H.R.
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

May 6, 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Anthony:

The Black Arts Commission of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, is presently seeking financial assistance for its Community Enrichment proposal. We submit this proposal to the Projects Section of the Southern Regional Council for your evaluation as a project worthy of being financed by The Southern Regional Council.

The Black Arts Commission in cooperation with the Louisiana Council on Human Relations anticipates presenting the program in mid-July; thus, your prompt consideration is requested.

Sincerely yours,

Roy P. Peterson
Treasurer
Black Arts Commission

Patricia B. Miller
Mrs. Patricia B. Miller
Executive Director
L.C.H.R.

mc.

A PROPOSAL TO SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Relative to.-

First Annual Black Art Festival.

As a focus for:

1. Providing an opportunity for total community involvement, using a cross section of the population in a joint effort to develop self appreciation of the under priviledged.

2. Developing an annual cultural activity by and from the people designed to produce a feeling of togetherness and pride in community presently non-existent.

3. Searching out and developing local talent.

4. Making available outlets for creative expression and a meaningful use of leasure time.

5. Providing a knowledge of, and an appreciation for Artistic achievements of local & national Negroes thus establishing a basis for better race relations in the Baton Rouge area.

La. Council on Human Relations &
Baton Rouge Art's Commission
summer of 1968

Supporting Evidence showing the need for such a program.

Analysis of the Watts riots showed that the area generally was without an outlet for
let for its residents. It was suggested that no community groups had funds or plans with which they could direct community efforts. Further investigations suggested that few or no ways of self-expression were available; knowledge of and pride in community or individual achievements was minimal and few efforts were initiated to direct any programs of cultural enrichment. No substantial efforts were made towards bettering race relations through community projects of the nature envisioned by the present group.

It is a concensus of opinion among the members of the Black Arts Commission that the problems which exist in other cities exist in varying degrees in the Baton Rouge area. For example early in the summer of 1967, eighty (80) young militant Negroes held a rally at the State Capitol to protest their living conditions lack of jobs, lack of adequate facilities, and lack of a voice in the economical or political structure of the city; the young militants expressed the idea that they were not heard or understood by the general population.

Their complaints also included a lack of recreational facilities, unfair treatment by law officials, excessive purchasing prices for subsistence materials sold by white merchants in the neighborhood, dissatisfactions because of the sale of alcoholic berverages and drugs to Negro minors and the invasion of Negro communities by white males seeking Negro women for ulterior purposes.

The youths appealed to the power structure and community for help in dispelling the false assumptions that Negroes were shiftless, lazy and worthless; a request was made for tools and materials to improve the physical appearance of the neighborhood. They further suggested that Negro schools should teach courses in Black History to acquaint the community with the true nature of their ethnic group rather than emphasis being placed only on athletic accomplishments of the Negro.

The past few months have witnessed a polarization of the situation. In the wake of the assasination of Dr. Martin Luther King, curfews have been set by the city administration lasting three nights. Shortly after relief from curfews, incidents of a more serious nature occurred. There were twelve (12) burnings in one night, many buildings were broken into and an atmosphere of fear pervaded the entire city. There appears to be a calculated move to eliminate all white businesses within Negro areas. Forty negro youths have been arrested in connection with these and other similar acts of violence.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders reports that in all violent situations investigated by them that:

> ...There is a widening gulf of communications between local government and the residents of the erupting ghettos of the city.
>
> ... Many city governments are poorly organized and - reluctant to respond to the needs of ghetto residents., even when these needs are made known to appropiate public officials.

The effects of community enrichment programs are far reaching and multifaceted. Such programs demonstrate to the community its own worth, utilize members in planning and effecting desired changes and play a role in elleviating problems at the source of their evolution. The National Advisory Commision on Civil Disorders suggested that these programs

> ... Stimulate the aspirations and hopes of members of these communities... and immediate action on meaningful job training and the creation of productive jobs for large numbers of unemployed young people is almost certain to reduce both the level and frequency of urban disorder.

A great number of commissions on education have concluded that the practice of releasing students from schools to a summer of relative idleness is "both a substantial factor in producing disorders and a tragic wast of time and facilities" (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders).

Thus there is substantial supportive evidence all indicating that Negro communities can be organized along lines which play a major role both in decreasing the elements prevalent in urban disorder and in initiating cultural enrichment programs in the community. Such program should be especially numerous during summer months in order to channel the activities of idle students into more educationally rewarding experiences; however, programs geared onlu to summer months loose much of their continuity from year to year and suffer from lack of future planning.

The program here in outlined seeks to overcome these disadvantages in two basic ways. First, although it will emphasize a one week summer festival of arts, drama, music etc, it also envisions a continuing year round program for the public at large. Secondly, the program has been organized around significant lectures, seminars, exhibits etc. which are to be presented at opportune moments throughout the year. Thus, this program is planned with continuity from season to season and hopefully from year to year should funds become available.

BLACK ARTS COMMISSION

GENERAL PROGRAM

The program which seeks funds for operation has been divided into two parts:

1. The Seven Day Festival.
2. The Continuous Sections.

The seven day festival is to be presented during the height of the summer, to commense on a Sunday and culminate on the following saturday. The Black Arts Committee has made the assumption that this festival, though of utmost importance, in and by itself is not sufficient to achieve our major purposes.

For that reason the Continuous Sections have been organized in an effort to achieve our major aims. These Sections will be programs presented thoughout the year including latter parts of the summer. Through this effort we hope to incooperate total community involvement in planning, producing and benefitting from the complete program.

1. The Seven Day Festival.

The Seven Day Festival will be centered around community groups and their participation in programs of art, drama, dance and music. A tentative. schedule has been formed and is reproduced below:

Sunday

1.- High School Band parades

2.- Open air band concerts of semi-classical and classical music.

3.- Filming of Festival events.

Monday

1.- Films relating Negro achievements to Society to be shown:

a. In all participating local theaters.

b. At the festival sites.

c. To run continuously throughout the week.

2.- Art exhibits of painting, ceramics, sculpture etc. all by local persons to be featured.

a. In the local art exhibit area during the entire week

b. At selected, rotating sites at the conclusion of the seven day festival.

3.- Gospel Choirs, church choirs and individuals in local sites.

a. Three sites in the Baton Rouge area will be used - one site for each group. The groups to rotate on the second and third nights.

Tuesday

1.- Dance Recital

a. Local talent to be used in modern dance recital

b. State wide talent (dance groups) to be presented to the community.

c. Ballet and interpretative dance groups to be presented.

2.- Lecture (s)

a. Leonard Bernstein type lecture and Jazz presentation, showing the evolution of Jazz and Rock and Roll from Negro folk music.

b. Negro history and its role in our society.

e.- Street Dances in each site revolving nights

4.- Chorus (gospel and church) and individual music groups exchange sites for new performance.

WEDNESDAY

1.- Recitals - individual dramatic

2.- Operettas - optional

3.- Music - Gospel and church choir and individual artists.

Thursday

1.- Drama

a. Original one act plays (three) written by local persons to be presented.

b. Skits of local origin presented at a second site

2.- Music

a. Local Jazz groups to be featured in open air - City park.

Friday

1.- Drama

a. Pageants written by local artists

b. Style show

c. Seminars - 3 sites

d. Music gospel, church and individual artists presenting combined performances - Open air City park.

Saturday

1.- Music

a. Jazz concert by jazz artist of National acclaim in open, air concert.

b. Street Dances - three (3) sites.

B. The Continuous Sections

At the conclusion of the seven day festival, the Black Arts Commission will iniciate its yearly program, which includes the following:

1. Lecture series during uear.
2. Rotation of art exhibits (theaters, dept. stores etc.)
3. Play productions (competitions for following summer)
4. Nationally known Negro Artists
5. Periodic one man or group art shows.
6. Quarterly meetings of cooperating groups.
7. Periodic talent shows - (alternating areas)

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR SUMMER FESTIVAL

		Non-recurring items
FILMS		
Films (Documentaries - films recording of entire Festival for use at later dates]	$ 1,500.00	
Projector, Screen	495.00	495.00
Contingencies	100.00	
Operators (7 nights, 6 hours per night @2.50 per hour)	110.00	
	$2,425.61	
To be run in all local threaters throughout the week, along with scheduled features. Others will be shown at the various centers and Playgrounds.		
LECTURES AND SEMINARS		
Nine (9) Lectures @$500.00	4,500.00	
Rental of Hall and Accessories @ 500 per night (2 - during festival week) Spread over balance of the year.	4,500.00	
	$9,000.00	
PLAYS AND PAGETS		
Portable state [to present plays at various playgrounds, where there are no buildings]	4,500.00	4,500.00
Royalty for Play "In White America	100.00	
Costumes	150.00	
Prize for 3 best original plays	500.00	
Labor	330.00	
Electricity- temporary meters & connection charges]	110.90	
Miscellaneous	100.00	
	$6,491.98	
ARTS AND CRAFTS (In City Park)		
Tents for displaying arts	1,000.00	1,000.00
Peg Board (Easel, Paints)	300.00	300.00
Canvas (Available to needy)	80.00	
Labor (Setting up exhibits)	300.00	
Transfering, Storing and Packaging equipment	170.00	
Frames	350.00	
Storage for one (1) year	600.00	600.00
Stands (miscellaneous tables for crafts)	600.00	
Folding Chairs	240.00	240.00
	$3,707.00	
MUSIC		
Cleaning - Band uniforms (required by Bd. of Education]	600.00	
Auditorium rental (for ind. name talent)	500.00	
Transportation (Bands)	550.00	
Jazz bands [Trans. Youth Jazz bands]	150.00	
Music [Scores & Royalties for Chiors]	300.00	
Labor		
	$2,100.00	

PUBLICITY	
Posters	$ 150.00
Films	800.00
	$ 950.00
DANCE	
Costumes	
Stage sets (portable)	
Music - Recorder etc.	1,761.00
Paints, materials	
	$1,761.00
OFFICE MAINTENANCE	
Program Director and Manager (one year salary)	3,000.00
Bonding for Director and Manager at 2% of budget.	573.30
	$ 3,573.30
TOTAL.....	$29,238.55

ABOUT THE BLACK ARTS COMMISSION

The Black Arts Commission of Baton Rouge, Louisiana was formed by a group of interested citizens. The commission works in cooperation with the Louisiana Council on Human Relations, both of which are Non-profit, bi-racial, private organizations. The Louisiana Council on Human Relations has been charted by the state as a cooperation; the Black Arts Commission is awaiting state approval of its charter, which should be shortly granted.

The Executive Committee of the Black Arts Commission is composed of the following residents:

Mrs.M.R. Mitchell

Mrs. Gwendolun Crockett

Mrs. Patricia Miller

Dr. Roy P. Peterson

Mrs. Elsie Boettcher

Mr. Clifford Seymour

Mr. Bill Perkins

Mr. James L. Moss

Mr. Ron Bermard

Mr. Alex Willingham

Mrs. Mildred West

Mrs. Juanita Peterson

Mrs. Bertha Patton

Mrs. Doris Alexander

Mr. Albert C. Odell

Miss Celeste Newbrough

File
La. council

May 28, 1968

Mrs. Patricia B. Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Mrs. Miller:

This is to thank you for your letter of invitation to Mr. Anthony to attend the Louisiana Council's Annual Meeting on June 15th.

Your letter has come while Mr. Anthony is away from the office on an extended trip which will keep him from his desk well into the month of June. It is rather unlikely that he will be able to accept your gracious invitation after having been away at such length, and once back, having to face a full calendar for the remainder of the month. Therefore, you might be on safer ground if you were to approach someone else to present your luncheon award.

Your letter will be brought to Mr. Anthony's attention on his return, and if he finds that he can come to Louisiana, I'm sure you will hear from him.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

LCHR

First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

May 24, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is a request for you to present an award at the Louisiana Council on Human Relations annual meeting and awards luncheon.

The meeting will be held June 15th at the Jung Hotel in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Enclosed you will find a program outline. We shall be very happy if you can so oblige us.

In order to get out advanced publicity, we would like to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

Patricia B. Miller

Patricia B. Miller
Executive Director

PM:mc

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

9:30 Statement by President - Dr. James R. Oliver, Dean of Grad. School - U.S.L.

9:45 Welcome address - The Honorable Mayor Victor H. Shiro, Mayor of New Orleans

10:00 Report of Director & Local Councils - Mrs. Patricia Miller, Exec. Director of L.C.H.R.

11:00 Business Meeting - Dr. James R. Oliver- presiding

a. Constitutional Changes

b. New Members (Chapters)

c. Election of offices & Board Members

d. Personnel

e. Report of treasurer - Dean Martin L. Harvey - Southern University

f. Pledges

11:30 Lunch

Invocation - The Right Reverend Monsignor A.O. Sigur.

Introduction of guests at speakers table - Mr. Artique Revies, President of The Community Relations Council (N.O. Chapter)

Introduction of speaker - Attorney Ernest M. Moriel, State Representative.

Address - Mr. Norm Nickoleon, Vice President of Kayser Industries.

Presentation of Awards - Dr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director of Southern Regional Council.

1. To Councils candidate

2. To Councils with largest delegation

2:00 Work Shop

a. Urban Renual - Mr. A. Maceo Smith, Dept. H.U.D., asst. to the Regional Administrator for Equal Opportunity.

b. Rural programs panel leader - Father Albert McKnight, C.S.Sp.

3:30 Work Shop

a. Industry & Employment - to be selected

b. Improving employment through communication with governmental agencies - Mr. Jack Martzell, Executive Director - La. Commission on Human Relations Rights & Responsibilities.

c. School Compliance - Mr. Robert Alexander, L.H.W. compliance official.

file
La. Council

May 31, 1968

Mrs. Patricia B. Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Pat:

I regret that I have already made commitments for June 15th. Please give us a call if you would like someone else to be there.

Every good wish for a good meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file
La. Council

June 24, 1968

Miss Patricia Miller, Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Miss Miller:

Late this Fall, we intend to take before the Foundation again the matter of the state councils on human relations. We have not, therefore, acted finally yet on your submission of February 29, but on the other hand I do not wish to encourage you to expect a favorable decision when we do act.

The Field Foundation can do very little if any more than it is now doing in this area. We are contributing now over $80,000 a year for the councils, not counting the special distribution we made at the time of Martin Luther King's death. Our contribution for the past several years has gone to the Southern Regional Council plus the Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee councils. All the grants run out this year. I assume there may be some applications for renewal, though as yet we have heard from neither S.R.C. nor any of the individual councils.

As I said, we can do hardly any more and we are, furthermore, wary of becoming for another state council - as we are now, I believe, for a couple - the source of basic support. This creates a depending which is troublesome.

In other words, none of us have yet figured out the answer to the problem of financing human relations and race relations work in the South.

Sincerely,

LWD

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
cc: Raymond Wheeler
Dr. Ralph Dreger
Paul Anthony

See Louisiana Council
Hold for Ex Ctee mtg, Sept 14

August 13, 1968

Dr. James R. Oliver
P. O. Box 2992
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

Dear Jim:

On Saturday our special committee of state directors and SRC Executive Committee members met to determine what aid would be forthcoming during 1969. Nothing can be official, of course, until our full Executive Committee acts on these recommendations and, more importantly, until we know what commitment the Ford Foundation will make for our state aid program next year. (This we hope to know by mid-September.)

However, the special committee, while expressing some disappointment at the difficulties being experienced by the Louisiana Council, nevertheless felt that it is likely that the Council would and should be supported in 1969. This decision was made contingent on the following three state directors making a visit to Louisiana to talk with you, Pat and others: John McCown, Kenneth Dean, and Elijah Coleman. They will be in touch with you about this visit.

For the moment, and being mindful of the above information, I think you can tentatively plan on continued support with the understanding that we will be able to give you more meaningful information, hopefully, within the next month but certainly by the end of September.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: John McCowen
Kenneth Dean
Elijah Coleman
Mrs. Patricia Miller

September 17, 1968

Mrs. Patricia Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
1st Federal Savings & Loan Building
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Pat:

Our Executive Committee met on Saturday, September 14, and heard the report of the special state Directors' Committee and approved the recommendations made by the directors following their visit last Friday. It was agreed to continue support to the Louisiana Council in 1969 subject to SRC having, in advance, the budget of the Louisiana Council for 1969. Further support is subject, also, to SRC's making every effort to offer Louisiana as much technical assistance, especially in administrative matters, as is possible.

As soon as we know what funds will be available for state council grants, I will let you know and offer such other guidance as I can

of the amount available for Louisiana. At that time perhaps you, Jim, and I could have a three-way telephone conversation.

Warm regards to you both.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file PA

LCHR

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

JW

September 27, 1968

Mr. Jim Wood
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Jim:

Paul mentioned your name in his last correspondence in regard to our council, so I assume this report should be directed to you.

If not, please see that it is not held up. We need the October finances -- like yesterday!

Always,

Pat

Pat

Ok, to make last '68 payment

Jim

September 30, 1968

Mr. Kenneth Dean
Executive Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
302 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

Dear Ken:

Thanks for the formal report on the visit to Louisiana and as you already know, the Executive Committee has acted on and accepted your recommendations.

Again, I appreciate your help.

Incidentally, you would be interested to know I think Will is going to put up quite a fight about the decision regarding North Carolina.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Mississippi Council On Human Relations
302 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

Reverend Powell Hall, Jr., President
Reverend J. W. Carroll, 1st Vice President
Mr. John Pettus, 2nd Vice President
Reverend Nathaniel Machesky, 3rd Vice President
Mr. A. A. Branch, Secretary
Mrs. Wallis I. Schutt, Sr., Treasurer
Glennis E. Barnes, Assistant Director
Kenneth L. Dean, Executive Director

Telephone: 948-0878
948-0879

September 26, 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

This letter is to confirm our conversation over the telephone concerning the Louisiana Council on Human Relations. Elijah Coleman, Director of the Arkansas Council, and I visited the Louisiana Council on September 13. We met with the Director, Mrs. Pat Miller, and a number of the Board Members including the Treasurer, Mr. Harvey.

In reviewing the work of this Council, my findings are the following:

1. There is evidence of an increased participation on the part of the Board of Directors and the general membership.

2. The Director and Board are making a conscientious effort to raise money from inside the state. In the words of one Board Member, "The Louisiana Council can raise some money inside the state, but it's not likely to become self-supporting for quite some time."

3. The Director has a working relationship with a considerable number of organizations, all the way from the militant left over to the political right.

4. Probably the most important matter having to do with the Louisiana Council is that the racial problem in Louisiana is massive, and there is little effort to coordinate an attack on this problem. The Council on Human Relations appears to be the only organization that is related to the various small groups working on the problem.

In my opinion, the Louisiana Council merits the continued support of the Southern Regional Council. This is not meant to be an open-ended endorsement. The Council reflects the many weaknesses usually associated with a struggling organization working on race relations in the South. Program development and technical assistance for this council are necessary if it is to become permanently viable.

I would also like to mention that it is somewhat of a shock to visit the home and office of a colleague and find such expensive furnishings. I wish everyone could live in an $80,000 home with a swimming pool, so I'm not being critical of that. That's Mrs. Miller's personal life anyway. The office is a different matter. In my opinion, there was a confusion of priorities in the selection of this facility. However, this is now a part of history and can't be changed. The rent being paid for this facility ($200 per month) is a fair price. Thus, any criticism should be directed to the point of a $4,000 investment to make the facility useable and not at the rent. Mr. Coleman and I discussed the matter with the Treasurer and with Mrs. Miller. It is not likely that this kind of problem will come up again. In connection with the office, it should also be noted that an attempt to make better use of the facility is needed. In my opinion, every effort should be made to work out an arrangement so that the Louisiana Council and the Louisiana VEP could use this property.

I hope this is helpful to you and the SRC Executive Committee. If there are any questions, please let me know.

Yours,

Ken

Ken Dean

KD:dh

October 1, 1968

Mrs. Patricia Miller
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
1st Federal Savings & Loan Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Pat:

Enclosed is our check for the final quarterly payment for this year for the Louisiana Council. Please sign the enclosed carbon copy of this letter on receipt of these funds and return to us.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

RECEIVED BY Patricia B. Miller

DATE: 10/4/68

LCHR

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

October, 9, 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta Ga. 30303

Dear Paul,

I can't remember whether or not we enclosed a 1968-69 budget. Just in case it was ommitted, here is the budget approved by the board in our July meeting.

Hope your summer has been a pleasant one and I'm looking forward to visiting S.R.C. this coming season.

Very truly yours,

Patricia B. Miller

Patricia B. Miller

PBM/lv

L.C.H.R. BUDGET
1968-69

Personell Services	
Director	$11,500
Secretary	4,200
Extra Help	350
Janitorial	600
	$16,650
Contractual	
1. Rent	$ 2,400
2. Telephone and Postage	1,200
3. Office Supplies	1,000
4. Taxes	2,200
5. Insurance (Fringe Benefits)	337
6. Printing (Brocheur, etc.)	1,000
7. Subscriptions and Books	350
8. Maintainance (Office Equipment)	250
9. Organizational Costs	75
10. Entertainment--rewards, etc.	250
	$ 9,112
Special Events	
Annual Meeting	$ 1,000
Travel	
1. In State (plus lodging)	$ 1,100
2. Out of State (including lodging and taxi)	1,500
	$ 2,600
TOTAL	$29,362

ANTICIPATED SOURCES OF INCOME

Southern Regional Council	$10,000
Chapters and Memberships	3,200
	$13,200
Others	
1. Industry	$12,000
2. Business	1,400
3. Labor	1,000
4. Awards and/or Special Events	1,000
	$16,400
Total	$29,600

file

LCHR

First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

file

QUARTERLY REPORT OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

It is with a degree of reluctance that I attempt to submit a quarterly report at this time because L.C.H.R. is consciously undergoing a reorganizing and revitalizing process which is still incomplete but has shown some radically different trends from the past year's operations. This procedure is not something that has just happened out of the clear blue. The ideas and directions that have been discussed from time to time are beginning to crystallize, through individual work with board members as well as in small committees and, finally, in board meetings.

Our major efforts during the past three months were spent in defining goals, determining directions, organizing new councils, publishing a local council handbook, drawing representatives from business and industry into our organization, holding our annual meeting in New Orleans and getting out proposals to business, industry and foundations.

Presently, we are working on a new brochure which will be more relevant to our new directions. The Board of Directors, which was rotated for the first time, now has a membership of twenty-two including the Monroe area.

There were fourteen persons in attendance at the last meeting which lasted two and one-half hours. Ideas expressed were exciting and the enthusiasm encouraging. I feel that we finally have a Board of Directors who actually

sees the council as "their baby". They even go into executive sessions and send me out while they conduct business these days.

I am enclosing a copy of the Local Council Handbook, including all the mistakes. (In our haste to have it ready for the annual meeting, it was proofread and printed while I was in New York.) Humble Oil did the printing for us. Dr. Dreger, Dr. Burns, Bernard Broussard from Franklin and I were the chief contributors. Additions for committee work are being prepared in the areas of welfare by Mr. Walter Bentrup, a new board member, who is area representative of the State Department of Welfare. Mr. R. Bethume, Assistant Director of O.E.O., recently appointed by Gov. McKeithen, asked if he might insert a section on Methods of Effecting Changes Through Contact with State Legislators. This will be brought before the Board in our next meeting. In other words, the Board hopes to make the handbook a tool that changes as the needs in the various sections of the state change. The next issue will reflect these changes.

Also included is a program of the annual meeting and one of the press releases. We were fortunate to get Mr. Norm Nicholson as our keynote speaker. Feedback from the meeting was much like last years. There was much enthusiasm throughout the meeting, especially in the panel discussion groups. We were criticized for lack of time in each group. Monetarily speaking, we took in $528 pre-registration fees and a total of $1,333 for the meeting. Our hotel costs were $753.69. Collections for tickets after the meeting, donations and pledges brought the total up to $1,718.80 for the month of June. Our profits over and above expenses were $965.11. Humble Oil picked up the bill for printing

tickets, invitations, handbooks and mailing costs. Keyser Industries arranged for and paid the expenses of Mr. Nicholson. The Council had no expenses for speakers or consultants, thanks to S.R.C., H.E.W., H.U.D., etc.

L.C.H.R. has made proposals for funds to four foundations and five industries in the Baton Rouge area. The Board felt that the proposals should be based on community organization and documentaries to point up the need for social action throughout the state. The committee intends to send proposals to ten other foundations whom they feel may be responsive to our needs. I am not too enthusiastic about these methods; but lacking direct contacts, this is our only other recourse.

For two weeks in April, I worked with Pat Evans of WBRZ in making a documentary on the State Prison for Women in St. Gabriel. I had learned that a recent graduate of Dillard, doing social work at Angola, had been given a sentence of twelve years for bringing marijuana to an inmate. Having met her, I know this girl would not know marijuana if she saw it. She brought a carton of cigarettes from relatives to an inmate. It would never occur to her to open each individual package. She was found guilty of being a carrier. I went with a relative to visit her and found her almost insane, the prison conditions deplorable and living for white and Negro prisoners vastly different. I brought the situation to the attention of Pat Evans in a meeting of the National Organization of Women and she in turn persuaded WBRZ to do the documentary on the institution and televise it. N.O.W. followed up and got a bill introduced into the state legislature which would improve conditions for prisoners in general, speed up desegregation of prison facilities, equalize sentences for men and women offenders of the law and renovate St. Gabriel. The bill passed but funds have

not been appropriated for the program. L.C.H.R. instigated the action, WBRZ took the entire credit -- I learned that in order to get an idea across, you have to make someone think it was their idea originally. I also know I can get the same thing done in other areas by using the same technique.

COUNCIL ORGANIZATION

We are happy to announce that the Lafayette Council on Human Relations reorganized and affiliated with L.C.H.R. Their membership numbers 93. St. Francisville became an affiliate at the annual meeting with a membership of 76. Presently, I am working with the Covington group who we hope to affiliate by September. The Lake Charles group still bugs us, in that they request the same services of member chapters and still hold out as a Catholic group. I have had requests from Eunice and Alexandria to send information on setting up a council. These will be followed up within a month if I do not hear from them again.

COUNCIL ACTIVITY

The Franklin Council has been quite active during the past year. Mr. and Mrs. Broussard jointly won the Human Relations Award at the L.C.H.R. annual meeting, as individuals contributing the most towards fostering better human relations in Louisiana. The housing project is a little slow as most housing projects are. This one has an additional handicap inasmuch as it will be composed of individual homes with the rent supplement feature built in. It is a non-profit cooperative venture. We hope to start construction August 1,

barring no further red tape. The council also won an O.E.O. citation for meritorious service in alleviating poverty in rural America. I will send copies of the citation in my next report.

NEW ORLEANS COUNCIL

New Orleans has continued with its public forums; their annual meeting went on TV to discuss issues relevant to the poor and problems affecting the poor in New Orleans. They were hosts for the annual meeting this year and did a beautiful job once they got moving. I might mention here that Mayor Schiro has set up and funded a Human Relation Council in New Orleans which is taking over some of the activities formerly carried out by the C.R.C. The democratic election procedure used in its formation indicates that it may be quite effective in its operations. If this is so, some of the membership feel there might be a gradual phasing out of the C.R.C. We feel that it will take at least a year to know for sure. In the last three months C.R.C. has sponsored an open end program on TV Channel WYES, called An End to Talk. Mr. Ruttenberg, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Labor, and Judge Edmond Regie, from Crowley, moderated the program. It has been the talk of the town since.

C.R.C. has published a Do It Yourself Kit, a folder which lists 22 items that individuals can do to encourage better human relations (5,000 were distributed and 10,000 more have been requested).

Last month C.R.C. held a session for news media. Fifty-four top news people in the area met for three hours. Co-sponsors were the Press Club of New Orleans and the Human Relations Section of the National News Media.

Bill Briggs, U. S. Department of Justice, moderated.

The New Orleans Zoning Commission was presented with a petition requesting that the residential area of Gert-town be preserved by C.R.C.

Several clean-up campaigns, city-wide, were initiated by the Council.

BATON ROUGE COUNCIL

The new housing law is being tested in the Baton Rouge area and, as in most areas, there have been attempts at Block Busting by real estate firms. A Mr. Paul Brown from the U. S. Department of Labor recently moved to Baton Rouge and purchased a home in Sherwood Forest, a most exclusive all-white subdivision. Rumors began flying and For Sale signs started the usual exodus. I visited the family who has four children and introduced them to members of the Baton Rouge chapter. White members are calling on white families in the neighborhood in an attempt to prevent the exodus. The effort seems to be working. The Browns have been invited to visit several homes in the neighborhood. Only one For Sale sign remains on the street. School may present another problem. The school is one of the plush types, allegedly air-conditioned, carpeted, etc., but I have already talked with the Superintendent of Education who says he will try to prepare the faculty for the 'invasion' and unless the school is over-crowded it may work out all right. What he means is, if there is not too much criticism during an election year, the children will be allowed to attend their neighborhood school rather than being bussed out to a Negro school.

The Baton Rouge Council also co-sponsored the ecumenical services at Mt. Zion Baptist Church which received wide press coverage. Their annual meeting featured Father McKnight whose address was responsible for a number of new members. Their tutorial program is much in demand city wide.

The Recreation Committee is working with CAI and L.C.H.R. on the Black Arts Festival, which will be presented July 26-28. We were forced to eliminate the lyceum programs which were to be presented throughout the year as well as some of the original drama events due to lack of funds and vacationing volunteer leadership. Next year, the program should be able to operate the year round if the interest exhibited this summer is any indication of appeal.

The Baton Rouge Council continues work of desegregating the bathrooms in state buildings which still carry white only signs. They are currently trying to integrate the Baton Rouge Little Theater and get a proportionate allocation of recreational funds for Negro recreational facilities. We meet tonight with Mayor Dumas and the Recreation Commission.

They have formed a committee to keep the American Friends Service and Wade Mackey in Louisiana. If unsuccessful, Wade will be moved to Houston in the fall.

U.S.L. Council on Human Relations is primarily active in student affairs. True to the current trend, it assists black students in their efforts to get black dorms, acceptance into campus life in general, requesting black faculty members, integration of the football teams, drill teams, tutorial programs etc. Whether they have been successful or H.E.W., who was the activator, no one knows.

The Shreveport Chapter is still actively engaged in voter registration. They are currently working with business establishments to open job opportunities for Negroes. They have registered some success but the climate is still hostile. The Head Start program was not allowed to use school facilities until I cleared it up through Washington from this office so as to prevent repercussion on the local level. Head Start is still restricted to Negro schools but the council wishes to try for border schools next year. Mrs. Becker, in D.C., worked closely with us, even after she had changed positions, to be sure that the arrangements were satisfactory. Their student group, which is composed of both high school and college students seems to have a soothing effect in the community. The council feels that their lack of incidents attendant to school integration is largely because of student involvement in human relations work.

The St. Francisville Council, newly formed around the issues of food stamps, commodities, housing and recreation came into existence because there was no C.A.P. in the West Feliciana Parish. Negroes compose 68 percent of the population. They are very poor. Ninety-five percent of them still live in shot gun houses with no inside plumbing. There is practically no land available to Negroes and whites are tearing down the houses in order to run them out of the Parish due to the voting power recently established. They got their commodities program in last week. Presently, we are working on housing through Federal Housing Administration, Farm Home Administration and H.U.D. No one program will accommodate their multiple needs. Work there is going to be drawn out and time consuming, in that the educational level is in accord with standards of living throughout the Parish.

QUARTERLY REPORT OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The East-West runway which L.C.H.R. contested in cooperation with the Second Ward Voters League and students from Southern University was finally voted out and a new air facility, in another location, has been proposed. It is rumored that the City Council got tired of looking at a hall full of signs at every council meeting and relented.

My Board of Directors has permitted me to work with ad hoc committees in producing action where needed. In order to do so I have organized several groups of students who picket areas where local residents are reluctant to become involved, yet need it done. These students are organized and registered as NAACP youth councils, for bonding protection. They work both for L.C.H.R. and NAACP. Three weeks in Opelousas during June opened jobs in chain groceries and department stores. Cashiers were hired in St. Francisville and we got a Negro Food Town manager in Scotlandville, whose main purpose is to train other Negroes qualified to spot in other stores of predominantely Negro patronage throughout the state.

E.E.O.C. recently placed a compliance officer in the Baton Rouge area. We sent in so many complaints at one time that the Department of Labor loaned staff to E.E.O.C. so that they might catch up on their work.

L.C.H.R. still operates the test orientation program for plant workers who are constantly subjugated to various tests in order to keep their jobs or for up-grading purposes. The situation becomes so ridiculous that at times I am tempted to teach the tests; however, the men themselves would lose respect if we relaxed to this extent.

QUARTERLY REPORT OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

I attended the Community Relations Service held in Chicago the last of June, which was geared towards rumor control and the establishment of rumor control centers. The idea seemed good but behind the effort one kept hearing information suppression and political control of news media as a means of preventing causative factors of riots from being made public knowledge. Practically every major city in the U. S. was represented either by their press or the police department's public relations council. My invitation was addressed to City Hall and forwarded to me from the Mayor's office. The following week I had a conference with Mayor Dumas and Chief of Police Bowers and outlined the program to them. Naturally, they are interested and propose to set up a center. The Chamber of Commerce is also interested and asks that I do the same for them.

The Board of Directors is calling another meeting for Saturday to discuss plans for next year. You will probably be hearing from Dr. Oliver in the near future. Dr. Oliver succeeded himself in office this year.

Included also is an audit of our books for 1967 through June of 1968.

Thanks for your patience and understanding of this delay in getting the report to you.

Very truly yours,

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Patricia Miller
Executive Director

PM:jbs
enclosures

file
La. Council

HANDBOOK

FOR

HUMAN RELATIONS

COUNCILS

Mrs. Patricia B. Miller
Executive Director
La. Council on Human Relations

FOREWORD

AS A SPECIAL FAVOR TO THE SHREVEPORT COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS AND TO ANSWER QUESTIONS OTHER COUNCILS FREQUENTLY ASK ON PROGRAMMING INCLUDING HOLDING THE GROUP TOGETHER, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LOCAL COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, I AM OUTLINING HERE A FEW SUGGESTIONS WHICH MAY BE OF SOME ASSISTANCE. I WISH TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THESE ARE MERELY SUGGESTIONS AND MAY OR MAY NOT BE HELPFUL IN YOUR SITUATION. EACH LOCAL COUNCIL IS AUTONOMOUS AND THEREFORE SHOULD BECOME FAMILIAR WITH THE LOCAL PROBLEMS, PRIORITY NEEDS AND RESOURCES AVAILABLE IN EACH COUNCIL AREA.

THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS WELCOMES SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING THE MATERIAL IN THIS HANDBOOK AND, ESPECIALLY, WELCOMES ADDITIONAL MATERIAL FOR THE HANDBOOK'S CONTINUED GROWTH.

THE NEXT EDITION WILL INCLUDE SUGGESTIONS AND IDEAS OFFERED BY LOCAL COUNCILS AND HOW PARTICULAR PROBLEMS WERE SOLVED.

PUNCHES HAVE BEEN MADE TO ACCOMMODATE STANDARD NOTEBOOK RINGS.

Mrs. Patricia B. Miller
Executive Director - L.C.H.R.

Special thanks to:

Mr. Douglas Mayfield - Humble Oil & Refining Company

Mr. Bennie Cole - Southern University

Mr. Roy Peterson - Southern University

Councils on Human Relations in the States of Florida and Arkansas and the City of Houston, Texas.

WHAT IS THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS?

The Louisiana Council on Human Relations is a voluntary, private, non-profit association of people drawn together by a common commitment to equality and justice for all segments of its society. Biracial in nature, it comprises both economic and religious groups within the State. Any one who wishes to work for better human relations in Louisiana may join.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF L.C.H.R.?

The primary purpose of L.C.H.R. is to effect social change. We are convinced that there must be no hesitation in making the changes that will bridge the gap between the American dream and those inequities we see about us daily. Change in any form usually represents a certain degree of discomfort, however the character of change is greatly influenced by the transitional process. L.C.H.R. strives to effect change in a manner that will result in the least amount of hostility and the greatest amount of prosperity and growth for the entire community.

WHAT DOES THE L.C.H.R. DO?

We feel that the unique function of a human relations council is to effect changes in attitude that have become archaic and no longer relevant in today's living; to effect changes in the climate of our cities; and, eventually, to effect changes in the hearts of men, from which flow the substances of true brotherhood and enduring harmony between the races. The State council works mostly through local councils, with groups and with individuals who care about changes that will make the American dream a reality, Through fact finding, the council attempts to

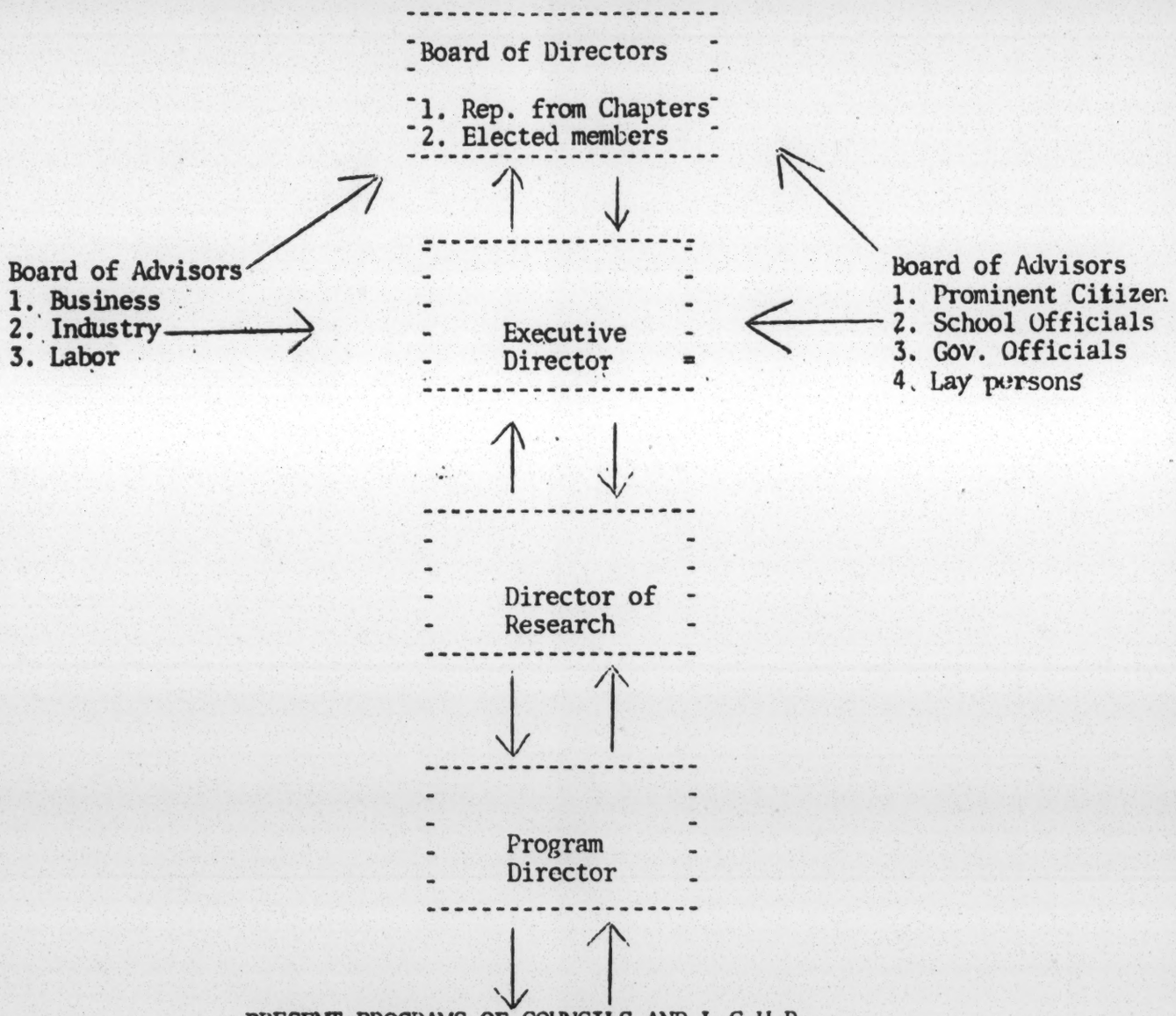
uncover the causes of adverse human emotions. It attempts further to deal with the symptoms of injustice in welfare services, housing, education, voter registration, employment opportunity, etc. While not a direct action organization, the council may support activities of direct action groups whose objectives coincide with those of L.C.H.R. It designs, supervises, supports, coordinates and other wise participates in programs which foster justice and human dignity in Louisiana.

L.C.H.R. supports the work of local councils, by dealing on the state level with problems that draw reprisal and retribution when approached from the local level. In addition the State council, along with councils in eleven other states throughout the South coordinates work for equality and justice on a regional level.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE COUNCIL AND LOCAL AFFILIATES.

Each local council is autonomous in structure and program. It is felt that local organizations are better informed on local problems, priority needs, and resources available for solutions, than that possible from other sources. The State organization supports the work of local councils on request, through providing program assistance, information, resource persons, and the conduct of work shops and leadership training sessions. On occasion the Louisiana Council on Human Relations has assisted in corratting a disproportionate minority representation in the administrative of Community Advancement Program, the integration of labor unions and pointing up the difference in pay scales for negro and white non-professional school workers and the reluctance of many school boards to comply with H.E.W. regulations.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF L.C.H.R.



PRESENT PROGRAMS OF COUNCILS AND L.C.H.R.

- Voter Education
- Welfare Rights
- Housing Projects
- Public Facilities
- Neighborhood emprovement
- Equal Employment
- Job Opportunity for Youth [summer]
- Labor Problems
- Test Orientation
- School Desegregation
- Adult Education
- Cultural Enrichment
- Council Development
- Code Enforcement
- Tutorial
- Day Care Center
- Credit Unions
- Co-Ops.
- Head Start

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF

LOCAL COUNCILS

LARGE ORGANIZATIONS ARE UNWIELDING AND REMAIN DORMANT UNLESS STRUCTURED SO AS TO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT OF THE MEMBERSHIP IN ACTIVITIES WHERE THEIR INTERESTS AND TALENTS ARE CREATIVELY UTILIZED. THEREFORE, AN ELABORATE STRUCTURE IS UNNECESSARY. ESSENTIALLY THERE SHOULD BE:

CHAIRMAN (OR CO-CHAIRMAN)

VICE CHAIRMAN

SECRETARY (CORRESPONDING & RECORDING)

TREASURER

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

EXECUTIVE BOARD

THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS ARE AREAS AROUND WHICH COMMITTEES MIGHT WISH TO ACTIVATE THEMSELVES.

L. EDUCATION AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS
2. LABOR PROBLEMS [UNION & THE WORKERS]
3. PUBLICITY & PUBLIC RELATIONS
4. RAPPORT WITH CITY OFFICIALS
5. CIVIL RTS. COMMITTEE [PUBLIC FACILITIES etc.]
6. POLICE & BLACK COMMUNITY RELATIONS
7. DAY CARE CENTERS
8. HOUSING PROJECTS
9. HOUSING PROBLEMS [SLUMS, STREETS, SEWERS etc.]
10. RACE RELATIONS
11. PROGRAMS FOR AGED
12. FACT FINDING AND REPORTING
13. JOB OPPORTUNITY
14. VOTER EDUCATION
15. FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES [WORK WITH E.E.O.C. OFFICIALS BUSINESS IND. AND EMPLOYEES
16. RECREATION COMMITTEE
17. COUNCIL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE
18. SPEAKERS BUREAU
19. TUTORIAL PROGRAMS
20. POLITICAL AWARENESS
21. COMMUNITY GOALS
22. VOTER EDUCATION
23. PROGRAM FOR YOUTHS
24. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
25. POVERTY PROGRAMS
26. DAY CARE CENTERS
27. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
28. RURAL PROBLEMS

Ideally, human relations councils are composed of a cross section of the community including various cultural backgrounds, religions and racial origins. For example, some are wealthy and some are poor; some are well education while others are not; some are Catholics; some are protestants and some are Jews. Members may be Negro, White, Creole, Mexican, Indians or any combinations of these groupings. In such a council there will obvisously exist varying needs, goals, ideals, interests and ambitions.

At times it is very difficult to define goals which can be agreed on by the entire group or vent a majority of the membership. Outlined here is a simple formula to assist you in defining goals and projects. The next three pages will indicate some of the forces which cause group conflict.

RESOLVING GROUP CONFLICT

Driving Forces		Restraining Forces
1.- Desire to achieve goal--------->	.	<----1.- Fear of Losing Group Identity
2.- Enlarge Resources ---------->	.	<----2.- Fear of Losing Individual Identity
3.- Creative Resources ---------->	.	<----3.- Conflict between groups
4.- Desire for New Experiences --->	.	<----4.- Conflict between individuals
5.- Yap Creative Resources -------->	.	<----5.- Problems of losing status
6.- Staff Suggestions ---------->	.	<----6.- Lack of trust
7.- Group Adjustment to staff------> and/or officers	.	<----7.- Loss of identity as a Leader
8.- Desire for personal enrichment->	.	<----8.- Individual difference
9.- Disatisfaction with job done-->	.	<----9.- Anxiety over unknown situations
10.- Disatisfaction with Status Quo->	.	<----10.- Prestiege of creating conflict

Factors needed for Solution

1.- Money

2.- Group Approval

3.- Group Support

4.- Flexibility

5.- Simple Enough to work.

6.- Can it be implimented

7.- Is there Space

8.- Is there Leadership

9.- Is there Time

10.- Is it easily communicated.

FORMULA FOR RESOLVING CONFLICT

Goal - Communication

EXAMPLE

ACTIVITY	Check									Number of responses			
	Is there money?	Is there flexibility?	Is it simple enough to work?	Can it be implimented?	Is there space?	Is there leadership?	Is there time?	Is it easily communicated?	Is there group approval?	Is there group support?	TOTAL RESPONSES	Activity chosen
Dress alike												
Throw Wild Party												
Total Group Marathon Meeting												
Ignore Minorities												
Pray												
Involve Power Structure												
Fun & Games												
Attend church together												
Police Enforcement												
Create Scape-Goat												
Put on T.V. Show												
Expose Non-Cooperative												

Human Relations Council Projects

Goal - Effecting Social Change

SAMPLE

Suggested Committees	Check									Number of respcnses		
	Is there money?	Is there flexibility?	Is it simple enough to work?	Can it be emplimented?	Is there space?	Is there leadership?	Is there time?	Is it easily communicated?	Is there group approval?	Is there group support?	TOTAL RESPONSES	Activity chosen
Education and Public Schools												
2. Labor problems [Unions & the workers]												
3. Publicity & Public Relations												
4. Rapport with City Officials												
5. Civil Rts. Committee [Public facilities]												
6. Police & Black Community Relations												
7. Day Care Centers												
8. Housing Projects												
9. Housing Problems Slums, Street cond. sewers												
10 Race Relations												
11 Program for Aged												
12. Fact Finding reporting												
13. Job Opportunity												
14. Voter Education												
15. Fair employment Practices [work with EEOC Officials, Bus. & employees												
16. Recreation Committee												
17. Council Development Committee												
18. Speakers Bureau												
19. Tutorial												
20. Political awareness												
21. Community Goals												
22. Voter Education												
23. Program for youth												
24. Juvenile delinquency												
25. Poverty Programs												
26. Day Care Center												
27. Community Organization												
28. Rural Problems												

THE VARIOUS ROLES OF
A
LOCAL COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1. The Role of Communicator

The local council can provide the setting for people of different backgrounds and interests to get to know one another and to work together. For people to sit down with others and listen to their hopes and aspirations, their problems and frustrations, their interests and concerns, is a beginning in the long and difficult road to improved human relations in the local community.

When people begin to know one another and then begin to trust eachother, they can then begin to work and plan together to fight inequality and discrimination which exist in every community.

2. The Role of the Fact Finder

The local council on human relations should be gathering facts about the schools, hospitals, jails, employment, housing, voting, recreation facilities, etc. They should be searching for information about discriminatory practices of businesses such as insurance companies, landlords, local loan agencies, furniture stores, appliance stores, and food stores. Such information can show the local council where it can start its work and projects.

3. The Role of Educator

The local council on human relations must speak to their local community, sharing the information it possesses, suggesting possible solutions, and finding qualified help.

It may exercise this role of educator in public meetings, new releases, bulletins, and by making booklets and information available to the general public. A simple and brief newsletter may also be helpful.

4. The Role of the Programmer

The various programs and projects in which a local council may participate are unlimited. The Louisiana Council suggests several areas in which it can be of direct assistance: Education and Public Schools, Voter Education Project, Labor and Employment, Welfare, and Housing.

In a recent publication by the Southern Regional Council the following local council projects were suggested:

1) local council library;
2) speakers bureau on human relations
   a.- to explain the role of the council
   b.- to fill engagements with civic groups and social gatherings
   c.- The Baton Rouge chapter is developing a Panel you will hear more about it at a later date.

3) meetings with other local councils near you;
4) meetings to explain rural program to local councils; contact your country Farmers Home Administration office for information on loans and their programs;
5) hospital surveys;
6) biracial home buyers groups to follow up on realtor practices;
7) sponsoring bus tours for ministerial groups, civic groups, children, etc.
8) Citizenship courses to include a short history of American Negroes, Bill of Rights, Human Rights, Federal Government, Judicial System, and minority history.

Programs and projects do not have to be limited to the above areas. with imagination and cooperation the local council can play an important part in community action work.

5. The Role of Consultant

The local council can offer the information it has discovered through research and surveys to the proper public and private agencies, who need such information. It can ask the advise of professionals and other informed individuals in the community.

The Southern Regional Council has funds in small amounts and staff consultants available to assist projects of the local council on human relations. Information on these services and the general requirements can be obtained from the Louisiana Council office in Baton Rouge.

6. The Role of Cooperator

There are many areas of activity in human relations in which it is difficult to go it alone. At times it is helpful for the local council to cooperate with other organizations that are involved in similar programs. Some groups which would appreciate such cooperation would include, the La. Council of Churches, the Local Ministerial Alliance, the League of Women Voters, the Urban League of New Orleans, Neighborhood or Community Improvement Groups, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Anti-Poverty Community Organization, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, N.A.A.C.P., Civil Liberties Union, and many others.

7. The Role of Observer

An important function of the local council on human relations is to be a "watch-dog" in the local community. Here it is important to know what the laws are and to know how and to whom complaints should be made when injustices are uncovered. The watch-dog role is a most important one.

SUGGESTIONS FOR COMMITTEE WORK

1. Education and Public Schools

a) Have members of the Education Committee of your local council attend all school board meetings;

b) Find out how minorities are treated in the textbooks used in the local schools. Most publiblishers of textbooks have two books, one with integrated characters and the other with white characters.

c) Does your local school have a course in minority history? If not, bring this to the attention of the school board and offer to help set one up. Make sure that both white and Negro students can take the courses.

d) Play a greater role in the PTA. See that your local PTA and the city or PTA council are integrated. Work up a program showing the benefits of an integrated education.

e) Hold an essay contest on the importance of an integrated education, for example, "Democracy and an integrated society".

f) Teacher and staff integration:
-Request information on student & staff integration from your parish school board.
-See that salaries are the same for white & Black Non-professional workers.
-See that salaries are the same for Negro and white teachers of equal training and experience.
-Are white teachers promoted over Negro teachers?
-Is there a difference in the student-teacher ratio in the predominantly white and Negro schools?
-Are less Negro teachers hired in proportion to over all increased school enrollment?
-Are Negro administrators being let out?
-Are Negro schools loosing their best teachers to predominately white schools?

Title I Programs.- The School board in planning a title I program is to consult with the local poverty program & involve parents. Parents are also to be informed of the features of the program. Was this done? Title I funds are granted directly to the district and often not spent in target schools. See (The Elementary & Secondary Education Act. of 1965 - Public law 89 - 10). Are funds directed to "Target Schools",-those with the greatest percentage of children from low income families. The local school district must allow you to see their application; if uncooperative, write L.C.H.R., we will get a copy. Where are special teachers and teachers aids placed? Are School Boards continuing to build in racially segregated neighborhoods? This is illegal if supported by federal funds.

g) Other ideas:
-tutorial programs
-pre-school nurseries and day care centers
-outside academic classes
-supervised study halls
-field trips
-survey of local educational facilities
-summer school projects - recreation facilities, programs.
-integrated social functions at school
-are all extra curricular activities integrated?

h) Services

-are bus services integrated - seating on busses also?
-are Negro pupils assigned certain tables in the lunch rooms?
-is transportation for night affairs provided for all students?

i) Do Negro schools have adequate facilities?

-textbooks, science equipment, typewriters, permanent housing, etc.? (some systems have added temporary buildings to avoid transferring overflow of students)

j) Are choice forms issued according to guide Lines?
-are choices restricted to schools within a particular school zone? (zones have no bearing on choice of schools)

k) You might request the use of school property for the conduct of summer recreation programs, day care and head start programs.

Names and addresses to contact:

Mr. Jerry Ward - Regional Director H.E.W.
Dallas, Texas
Phone 93301 or 93371

Mr. Victor Bussie - AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 58
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Phone 343-5747

Mrs. Patricia B. Miller - LCHR
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Phone 775-4048

Mr. Wade Mackie - American Friends Service Committee
1608 Government Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Phone 342-2157

National Education Association Committee on
Civil and Human Rights of Educators
1201 - 16th Street
Washington, D.C. 20036

2. Voter Education

Write: Mr. William Samuel, Voter Education Project
310 Oak Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana
Phone 687-3412

Mr. Samuel and his staff have been working throughout the spring on Voter Education and Voter Registration. They wish to work also with local groups interested in these areas in Louisiana.

Mrs. Fannie Heal, Field Director
AFL-CIO
Committee on Political Ed.
2662 Rutland St.
Montgomery 8, Alabama

Mr. Thadeus Oliver, Jr., Administrator
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Phone 552-8764

3. Labor and Employment

a) Check on the hiring practice of the companies in your area. If you find discrimination or are discriminated against:

-get the facts
-file a complaint with the Equal Employmnet Opportunities Commission
-the La. Council office has a supply of these complaint forms
-keep the La. Council informed· we may be able to help
-investigate local training programs for integration.

b) See that the local unions have open memberships on separate locals. If you find inequities:

-get the facts
-contact Mr. Walter Dickerson, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission - 333 St. Charles Street New Orleans, La.

c) Inform the community of jobs open in the Federal Civil Service, the military and equal opportunities employers.

d) Name and address to know

Mr. Vick Bussie
La. A F L - C I O
P.O. Box 50
Baton Rouge, La.

e) Be sure there is adequate representation in the postal service.

a. conduct test orientation programs.- write L.C.H.R. for further information.

b. are whites & Blacks tested together?
are whites & Blacks given the same test?
are tests job orientated?

c. Make community survey of job opportunities.- announce same.

d. survey industries for minority employment, positions held wage scale. Compare with population ratio... Make facts known.

e. confront the company concerned with situation - and solicite his cooperation in adjusting - if uncooperative, contact E.E.O.C or write L.C.H.R.

4. Welfare and Poverty Programs

a) See that the Board of the local Community Action Programs has representatives of poor people and racial minorities.

b) Attend meetings of the Board and make reports to your council.

c) Remember that welfare is a right of citizenship.

PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

FACT FINDING AND REPORTING

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

A THREE WAY COMMITTEE SUCH AS THIS ONE CAN BE OF TREMENDOUS IMPORTANCE IN BRINGING TO THE ATTENTION OF THE PUBLIC PERTINENT INFORMATION RELATIVE TO:

1. UNFAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES,
2. DIFFERENCES IN PAY SCALES FOR NEGRO AND WHITE PROFESSIONAL AND NONPROFESSIONAL WORKERS AT THE SAME LEVELS,
3. LAXITY OF BUSINESS OR INDUSTRY TO COMPLY WITH NATIONAL EDITS,
4. NONCOMPLIANCE TO H.E.W. REGULATIONS,
5. OTHER SUCH INSTANCES OF UNFAIR HUMAN RELATIONS.

THE COMMITTEE SHOULD SEEK TO PROVIDE FACTS TO THE COUNCIL FOR INITIAL ATTEMPTS TO RECTIFY THE SITUATION WITHOUT PUBLICITY. SHOULD ATTEMPTS FAIL, THE COMMITTEE THEN UTILIZES ALL NEWS MEDIA AND COMMUNITY INFORMATION CENTERS TO INFORM THE PUBLIC OF ITS FINDINGS.

JOB OPPORTUNITY COMMITTEE

The committee surves the town and surrounding parish (county) for job types, wages and required training or experience. Persons able to meet the training requirements are sought and informed of such, then urged to apply and aided in making applications.

The committee works with the underemployed and unemployed and attempts to coordinate with industry orientation and training programs already available. However, when such programs are not present in the area , the job opportunity committee might anticipate initiating training programs in high desirable areas.

Some communication with local business should be effected. National training programs and programs sponsored by the Government should be surveyed and individuals both unemployed and enderemployed should be channeled into these programs.

SUGGESTED BY LAWS FOR LOCAL AFFILIATES OF
STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

ARTICLE I NAME

This organization is _____
(an affiliate of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations)

ARTICLE II PURPOSE AND POLICY

Section I.
The purpose of this organization shall be as follows: To strive through fact-finding and reporting, education and consultation to improve the educational, economic, and civic conditions of the people of Louisiana without regard to ethnic or national origins; to combat the causes of inter-group friction and misunderstanding, and to encourage inter-group cooperation for the common welfare; to interpret to the public the needs and aspirations of minority groups; to strive to attain the goal of equal opportunity for all the people of the state; and to propose from time to time constructive measures for the attainment of these purposes.

ARTICLE III MEMBERSHIP

Section I.
Any person who is in accord with the purposes of _____ may be a member. Membership includes individual membership in the Louisiana Council on Human Relations.

ARTICLE IV BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section I.
The Board of Directors shall be composed of the officers and not more than twenty (20) members. They shall be chosen from the membership for a term of two (2) years. They shall be eligible to succeed themselves. Whatever the number of Directors, one-half of the total shall be elected each year.

SectionII.
The Board of Directors shall have the power to fill vacancies in its membership which occur between Annual Meetings of the Council.

Section III.
The Board of Directors shall meet at least six (6) times per year.

Section IV.
One-half of the members of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the conduct of its affairs.

ARTICLE V OFFICERS

Section I.
The officers of the organization shall be the Chairman, two vice-chairmen, secretary and trasurer.

Section II.
The officers shall be chosen by the full membership at Annual Meeting. Their terms of office shall be for one year and they shall be eligible to suceed themselves.

Section III.
Officers shall be nominated by a Nominating Committee appointed by the Chairman with the approval of the board and composed of five (5) persons, three (3) chosen from the Board of Directors, and two (2) chosen from members-at-large.

Section IV.
The functions of the officers shall be those customary with those duties outlined by Roberts Rules of Order, and such duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors and/or the membership.

ARTICLE VI MEETINGS

Section I.
Meetings are to be arranged to fit local conditions, with the recommendation that meetings be held at least monthly.

Section II.
At meetings where notice of not less than two weeks has been given the full membership, those present shall represent a quorum.

Section III.
Special meetings may be called of the membership, at the direction of the chairman, and must be called on the written request of twenty.

ARTICLE VII COMMITTEES

Section I.
The Executive Committee of the Board of Directors shall be composed of officers and shall be in charge of the affairs of the organization between meetings of the Board of Directors.

Section II.
There shall be the following Standing Committees:
A. A membership committee to organize and carry out membership campaigns.
B. A finance committee which shall plan and execute fund raising when necessary.

Section III.
Other permanent or temporary committees shall be appointed by the chairman upon authorization of the Executive Committee. At the discretion of the chairman, non-members may be asked to serve.

ARTICLE VIII FINANCES

Section I.
The Fiscal year shall be the calendar year.

Section II.
Annual dues are to be established by the state council on human relations. A portion of collected dues shall be reserved for state council operations. This amount shall be specified by the state council. However, local council dues may exceed the minimum set by the state organization.

Section III.
A budget shall be submitted by the Board of Directors to the membership at the Annual Meeting for their approval.

Section IV.

(ARTICLE VIII FINANCES, continued)

Section IV.
In the event this organization should be dissolved or otherwise terminate its activities, then all of the assets of the organization shall be distributed to a charitable, religious, or educational organization exempt under Section 501 (C) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1964, to be selected at that time by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE IX AFFILIATIONS

The organization may become an affiliate of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations upon conditions prescribed by the Louisiana Council and with the mutual consent of both Boards of Directors. A two-thirds majority vote of either Board of Directors will nullify the affiliation.

ARTICLE X AMENDMENTS

These by-laws may be amended at any annual meeting of the members or in any special meeting called for that purpose, by a majority of members present, provided a notice, containing the proposed changes, has been sent to members ten(10) days in advance of the meeting.

File. Prof. [illegible] for your corresp. Dr. [illegible] corresp. [illegible] J.E.P

April 27, 1964

Mr. Richard L. Wentworth
Director
Louisiana State University Press
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Wentworth:

I apologize for being so slow in replying to your letter of March 17. I hope that you will believe that this does not indicate any lack of interest here in your inquiry about publication of the book which will come out of the Voter Education Project.

I am afraid we have not yet given the thought we should to publication plans. Perhaps it is a little too early to do so. Could we keep in touch?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

louisiana state university press • baton rouge • 70803

March 17, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I understand that the end is in sight for the SRC's Voter Education Project. In November of 1962 when some of the Southern University Presses met in Atlanta, I expressed the very strong interest of the Louisiana State University Press in publishing any book which might emanate from this project. You told me at the time that you might conceivably take a leave of absence and write such a book yourself.

We are still very much interested and it seems to me it would be very appropriate to have such a book come from a publisher in the deep South. I think our Press Committee would pass the project--I would certainly be prepared to give it a grand try.

I would appreciate learning at your convenience what plans there are for a book, if any. If there is to be a book, I hope very much that we will have the opportunity to publish it.

Sincerely yours,

Richard L. Wentworth

Richard L. Wentworth
Director

RLW:mb

August 12, 1965

Mr. Richard L. Wentworth
Director
Louisiana State University Press
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Wentworth:

Thank you for your kindness of August 9. Leaving SRC is not an easy thing to do.

I do remember our discussions about a book on the voter registration program. There was a great bit of attraction to us over the idea of a southern university press publishing the book. We decided, however, on a different course, and one that must be all too familiar to you, and that is, to reap the advantages of a commercial publisher.(though after our experience with Viking Press on Ten Years of Prelude I'm not sure there are any.) In any case, we have contracted with Harcourt, Brace for the book, which they anticipate bringing out in the fall of 1966.

I have already scanned Alfred Hero's book, and agree with your estimate of it. I am grateful

to you for sending another copy, which I shall preempt as my personal copy.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Louisiana State University Press
LSU PRESS
BATON ROUGE LOUISIANA 70803

Rec'd 8/12/65

August 9, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street .N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have just received a notice that you have resigned from the Southern Regional Council to become executive director of the Field Foundation. I want to congratulate you on being chosen for this important position.

As you may remember, we have discussed briefly in the past the possibility of the Louisiana State University Press publishing a book based on the voter registration program of the Southern Regional Council. Is there any possibility that such a book might be a possibility, either by yourself or another person?

I am sending you separately a copy of a book we have just released, THE SOUTHERNER AND WORLD AFFAIRS, by Alfred O. Hero Jr. We think this is a very important book, and I hope you will find it of interest and value.

Yours sincerely,

Richard L. Wentworth

Richard L. Wentworth
Director

RLW:ksd

Bd Steele on gen corresp

file

Louisville Urban League

AN INTERRACIAL AGENCY FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

~~668 W. Walnut St.~~ ✳ Louisville 3, Ky. ✳ Telephone: JUniper 3-4835

209 West Market Street

CHARLES T. STEELE
Executive Director

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1st Vice-Chairman

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Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
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J. E. Smith
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Mrs. Raymond Tarbis
Thorp Wolford

August 6, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

C. H. Called me last week as he was leaving town, and asked me to get you a list of the members, Chairmen of various committees, and committee members of the Louisville Human Rights Commission.

As of yet, all of this information has not been compiled in one fact sheet. Mansir, "The Acting Executive Director," told me that he was in the process of gathering all this information and would give it to me as soon as it is completed. I will then send you a copy.

Best Wishes!

Sincerely yours,

Charlie

Charles T. Steele
Executive Director

CTS/lhf

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1962

Affiliated with the
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

18

MEMBER HEALTH AND WELFARE COUNCIL

MEMBER AGENCY LOUISVILLE COMMUNITY CHEST

October 23, 1953

Fr L J Twomey, S J
Institute of Industrial Relations
Loyola University
New Orleans 15, Louisiana

Dear Father Twomey:

I have heard nothing more on your project for the Louisiana Division to mail out copies of Questions and Answers.

Meanwhile, here is a Check List as a sequel. Probably not best for general mail distribution; but might be used for local discussion groups that want the facts.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure - 1

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
41 EAST PEARSON STREET
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

August 3, 1954

OFFICE OF LAW DEVELOPMENT

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The television program, in conjunction with our Forum on Public School Desegregation, which we previously indicated to you had been tentatively scheduled, has now been confirmed. The ABC network television outlet in Chicago has scheduled a program for 7:30 P.M., Friday, August 13. The program director plans a half hour program, featuring the panel participants, in which a condensation of the afternoon's discussion will be presented. I trust that your plans for the period after the forum are such that we may all have dinner and then move over to the station.

If you will let us know the time and place of your arrival in Chicago, we shall arrange to have you met by car and taken to your hotel.

Sincerely yours,

James M. Forkins

James M. Forkins
Associate Director
Office of Law Developement

JMF:ds

RECEIVED
AUG 5 1954
Southern Regional Council

Flight 106 leaving Atlanta 6:30 p.m. - arriving in Chicago at 9:00 p.m. (Aug. 12)

Flight 101 leaving Chicago 10:15 a.m. arriving in Atlanta at 12:35 p.m. (Aug. 14)

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
41 EAST PEARSON STREET
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

June 23, 1954

OFFICE OF LAW DEVELOPMENT

TENTATIVE OUTLINE FOR PANEL DISCUSSION

I. EDUCATION AND THE CHILD.

a) Does the child have a right to an education?

b) What are the minimum needs of the child in education?

c) What are the maximum needs of the child in education?

d) Does a segregated system of education have any effect on the development of the child?

II. THE ROLE OF THE PARENTS IN THE EDUCATION OF THEIR CHILDREN.

a) What rights and obligations do parents have in the education of their children?

b) Are the rights and obligations of parents qualified by community rights? To what extent?

c) What effect, if any, does a system of legally imposed segregation have on the rights of parents?

d) What effect, if any does a system of socially imposed segregation have on the rights of the parents.

III. THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY IN EDUCATION.

a) What are the grounds for state jurisdiction in the area of education?

b) Can the educational rights of the child, and the educational duties of the parents run counter to the best interests of the community?

1.) If there is a conflict, which interest must yield?

2.) Is there any official agency which has the competence to determine the order of interests.

c) Are there other factors besides law which determine the educational standards of the community.

IV. THE ROLE OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT IN EDUCATION.

a) What are the grounds for state jurisdiction in the area of education?

b) What are the controls on state action? How are state actions qualified by:

1.) The interests of parents?

2.) Local customs induced by sociological facts?

3.) Economic pressure caused by the competition among public services for public funds.

4.) Relationship of one state with another.

5.) National interests.

V. THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN EDUCATION.

a) Does the interest of the National Government in education constitute a right?

1.) Is National citizenship a source of National jurisdiction in education?

2.) Does Clause 5 of the 14th Amendment grant Congress a substantive right in education?

3.) What interest does the federal government have in education because of the "equal protection" and "due process" clauses of the 14th amendment?

b) Does National need constitute ground for federal activity?

1.) Is National interest the final determinant of national policy?

August 5, 1954

Mr. James M. Fordins
Office of Law Development
Loyola University
School of Law
41 East Pearson Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mr. Fordins:

All straight about the meeting, and about the television program for 7:30 p.m., Friday, August 13. I am planning to [illegible] Eastern Air Lines flight 106, leaving Atlanta 6:30 p.m., August 12, and arriving Chicago airport at 9:00 p.m. No earthly need for anyone to meet me. I will go right on into the Palmer House and claim the reservations which, I believe, you have made.

I will be leaving Chicago on Flight 101 at 10:15 the morning of August 14. I can undertake to be at Loyola by 9:00 a.m. August 13, and should be at your service on that day and evening.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
41 EAST PEARSON STREET
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF LAW DEVELOPMENT

August 10, 1954

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Herewith is a copy of the script for the television show on Friday night. The really important part, of course, is summed up in three lines on page four --- the "ad lib" section. Mr. Bowe will be briefed to carry that. If you have any questions or suggestions we should be delighted to have them.

I have instructed the Palmer House to put the reservation in your name. On the remote chance that they should fail to do so, it was originally under my name and Loyola University.

Sincerely yours,

James M. Forkins

James M. Forkins

JMF: cb
Encl.

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION FORMAT

Loyola University

WBKB, Channel 7

Producer: Norbert J. Hruby
618 W. Campbell St.
Arlington Heights, Illinois
Clearbrook 3-3218

August 13, 1954
Friday,
7:30 to 8:00 p.m.
(Cast will report to Studio N, 25th floor, Daily News Building, at 7:00 p.m., on August 13)

CAST: (In order of appearance)

Mr. Augustine J. Bowe (moderator)
Mr. Robert A. Leflar (speaker)
Mr. William R. Ming, Jr. (speaker)
The Panel: Rev. Robert C. Hartnett, S.J.
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Mrs. Edith Sampson
Dr. Edmond F. Sassin
and Mr. Bowe (moderator)

SETS AND PROPS:

STATION WILL FURNISH:
1 easel for photograph; 1 easel for cards
Flag on standard
Long table and four chairs (for panel)
1 lounge chair (for moderator)
2 speaker's rostrums (for speakers)
(SEE SUGGESTED SET PLAN BELOW)

LOYOLA WILL FURNISH: 8x10 photograph of Supreme Court Building

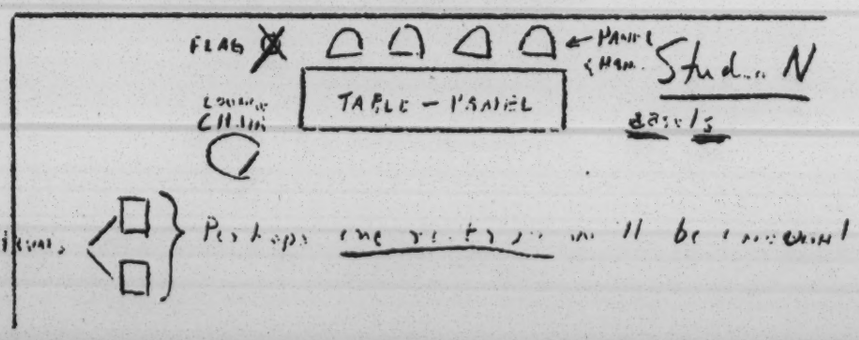
SLIDES IN ORDER USED: none
MULTS IN ORDER USED: none
LIVE CARDS IN ORDER USED: (station will furnish art-work)

(1) The Office of Law Development
School of Law
Loyola University
of Chicago
Presents

---

(2) Public School
Desegregation

FILM: none
MUSIC: appropriate theme music (station will furnish on ET)
SOUND EFFECTS: none
SUGGESTED SET PLAN:



VIDEO	AUDIO
Live shot: photograph of Supreme Court Building	ANNCR: History was made here....
	ET MUSIC UP, THEN BEHIND FOR:
	ANNCR: History was made here in the United States Supreme Court building in Washington, D. C., on May 17, 1954, when the highest court of our land rendered its decision in the public school segregation cases. The Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision, ruled that racial segregation is to be abolished in the public schools of the United States.....
Super: live card #1	Tonight the Office of Law Development of Loyola University's School of Law presents, in cooperation with the American Broadcasting Company, a panel of distinguished Americans, representing several professional disciplines especially concerned with the problems raised by the Court's decision.
Super: live card #2	Their subject -- Public School Desegregation....
CU of Bowe in lounge chair	Now, to introduce our guests, may I present the moderator, Mr. Augustine J. Bowe, chairman of the Commission on Human Relations of Chicago. Mr. Bowe....
	ET MUSIC DOWN AND OUT.
	BOWE: Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Before we begin the panel discussion of the principles, problems, and prospects of public school desegregation, we shall hear two brief background statements on the legal aspects of desegregation. To

VIDEO	AUDIO
	state the case for the southern states particularly affected -- Mr. Robert A. Leflar, professor of law at New York University and former associate justice of the Arkansas Supreme Court. Mr. Leflar....
CU of Leflar at rostrum	LEFLAR SPEAKS TO THE POINT FOR THREE MINUTES.
CU of Bowe	BOWE: Now, to state the case for the petitioners in the segregation cases -- Mr. William R. Ming, Jr., professor of law at the University of Chicago and a member of the National Legal Committee of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. Ming....
CU of Ming	MING SPEAKS TO THE POINT FOR THREE MINUTES.
CU of Bowe	BOWE: Against the backdrop of these two statements, now, we shall turn to our panel for further exploration of the problem of desegregation.
Cover shot of panel	
CU of Hartnett	May I introduce the members of the panel to you: the Reverend Robert C. Hartnett of the Society of Jesus, editor of America, national Catholic weekly review -- of New York City. Father Hartnett is a political scientist....
Pan to CU of Mitchell	Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council -- of Atlanta, Georgia. Dr. Mitchell is an economist...
Pan to CU of Sampson	Mrs. Edith Sampson, member of the Executive Committee of the United States Commission for UNESCO -- of Chicago. Mrs. Sampson is an attorney....

VIDEO	AUDIO
Pan to CU of Sassin	And Dr. Edmond F. Sassin, psychiatric consultant to the St. Louis Public Schools -- of St. Louis, Missouri. Dr. Sassin is a physician and psychiatrist....
CU of Bowe for opening; then ad lib.	BOWE BEGINS AD LIB DISCUSSION WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO TIME. (TIME CUES AT END WILL BE GIVE TO MR. BOWE.) BOWE WRAPS UP DISCUSSION.
Cover shot of panel	ET MUSIC UP, THEN BEHIND FOR: ANNCR: You have just heard a special public service program devoted to the problem of Public School Segregation, presented by the Office of Law Development of Loyola University's School of Law, in cooperation with the American Broadcasting Company. The Office of Law Development is directed by Mr. James B. O'Shaughnessy, professor of law at Loyola University. This program was produced for the Office by Norbert Ruby of the University's Public Relations Department. ET MUSIC UP AND OUT.

August 23, 1954

Mr. James B. O'Shaughnessy
Office of Law Development
Loyola University
School of Law
41 East Pearson Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mr. O'Shaughnessy:

I greatly enjoyed the conference and the television program, and appreciate the opportunity to be with that group.

Your generous check has been received and is much appreciated.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
41 EAST PEARSON STREET
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF LAW DEVELOPMENT

August 16, 1954

RECEIVED
AUG 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The Friday conference and television program were a great success. All of the reports we have received - as well as the stories in the press - indicate that the forum did a great deal of good locally, and as we progress with the written reports of the meeting, we believe the impact of the discussion will be felt beyond the city.

We are greatly indebted to you for your contribution to the meeting. There was no one who could have brought to the conference a greater wealth of personal and professional experience. I hope that in the future we will have the opportunity to meet professionally and socially as well.

A check to cover the expenses of your visit will be sent in a few days.

Sincerely,

James O'Haughnessy

JBO'S:ds

Announcing an EXPLORATORY FORUM *on*

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

PRINCIPLES

PROBLEMS

PROSPECTS

AN INTER-PROFESSIONAL DISCUSSION

The Illinois Room

LA SALLE HOTEL

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Friday, August 13, 1954

Starting at 11:00 A.M.

Finishing at 4:30 P.M.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

OF CHICAGO

SCHOOL OF LAW

OFFICE OF LAW DEVELOPMENT

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

School of Law

PURPOSE OF THE FORUM

To state the fundamental issues raised by desegregation in public schools . . .

To focus on the principles involved in the Supreme Court's decision in the Public School Cases . . .

To examine the problems raised by the decision . . .

To explore the prospects . . .

PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION **11:00 A.M.**

OPENING STATEMENTS

Mr. Robert A. Leflar, New York, professor of law, New York University School of Law

Mr. William R. Ming, Chicago, member, National Legal Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

PANEL DISCUSSION

Mr. Augustine J. Bowe, Chicago, *moderator,* chairman Commission on Human Relations

Rev. Robert C. Hartnett, S.J., New York, editor, *America*

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Atlanta, executive director, Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Edith Sampson, Chicago, member, Executive Committee of the United States Commission for UNESCO

Dr. Edmond F. Sassin, St. Louis, psychiatric consultant, St. Louis Public Schools

RECESS ***BUFFET LUNCHEON TO BE SERVED IN THE ILLINOIS ROOM*** **1:00 P.M.**

PANEL DISCUSSION CONTINUED **1:30 P.M.**

ADJOURNMENT **4:30 P.M.**

AN EXPLORATORY FORUM ON

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Office of Law Development

41 EAST PEARSON STREET CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

OUTLINE OF DISCUSSION

I. *The Child . . .*

Does he have a right to an education?
What are his minimum educational needs?
Does a segregated system of education have an effect on him?

II. *The Parents . . .*

What are their rights and obligations in educating their children?
Are their rights and obligations qualified by community rights?
Does a system of legally ordered segregation affect their rights?

III. *The Local Community . . .*

What are the grounds for local authority in the area of education?
Can there be a conflict between:
the rights of the child,
the duties of the parents, and
the best interests of the community?
If there is a conflict, which interest must yield?
Is there any official agency with competence to determine the order of interests?
What factors besides law determine the educational standards of the community?

IV. *The State Government . . .*

What are the grounds for state jurisdiction in the area of education?
What are the controls on state action?
How are state actions qualified by:
Parents' interests? Local customs? Economic pressures?
Inter-state relations? National interests?

V. *The National Government . . .*

What is the source of the national government's interest in education:
National citizenship?
Clause 5 of the 14th Amendment?
"Equal protection" and "due process" clauses of the 14th Amendment?
To what extent does international need determine national educational policy?

THERE WILL BE NO CHARGES OR REGISTRATION FEE

NOTICE OF YOUR INTENTION TO ATTEND WILL BE APPRECIATED

LA SALLE HOTEL, Chicago ***Friday, August 13, 1954***

THE PARTICIPANTS

AUGUSTINE J. BOWE
Attorney, chairman of the Commission on Human Relations of the City of Chicago; first vice-president of the Chicago Bar Association.

ROBERT C. HARTNETT, S.J., Ph.D.
Political scientist, editor-in-chief of *America,* national Catholic weekly review; lecturer on current affairs at Fordham University, New York.

ROBERT A. LEFLAR, S.J.D.
Professor of law, New York University School of Law; former associate justice of the Supreme Court of Arkansas; former Dean of the University of Arkansas School of Law; former chairman of the Special Committee on Racial Discrimination, Association of American Law Schools.

WILLIAM R. MING, JR.
Attorney, member of the National Legal Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; of counsel in several of the pending public school cases in the Supreme Court; professor of law, University of Chicago Law School.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL, Ph.D.
Economist, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.; author and lecturer.

EDITH SAMPSON
Attorney, member of the Executive Committee of the United States Commission for UNESCO; chairman of the Committee on International Relations of the National Council of Negro Women.

EDMOND F. SASSIN, M.D.
Psychiatrist, psychiatric consultant to the St. Louis public schools; assistant professor of Clinical Psychiatry, St. Louis University School of Medicine; member of the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, St. Louis.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW
John C. Fitzgerald, Dean

OFFICE OF LAW DEVELOPMENT
James B. O'Shaughnessy, Director
Rev. Paul A. Woelfl, S.J., James M. Forkins,
John C. Hayes, Associate Directors

41 EAST PEARSON STREET, CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

Interracial studies of the Office of Law Development are made possible by the assistance of the Field Foundation.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
41 EAST PEARSON STREET
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

July 27, 1954

OFFICE OF LAW DEVELOPMENT

RECEIVED
JUL 29 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Arrangements for the August 13th conference are proceeding well. Copies of the program arrived this morning from the printer and are enclosed. Additional copies are available at your request.

Looking forward to a successful day of discussion.

Sincerely yours,

James B. O'Shaughnessy

James B. O'Shaughnessy, Director
Office of Law Development

JBO'S:ds

enclosure

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
41 EAST PEARSON STREET
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF LAW DEVELOPMENT

July 1, 1954

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the information you sent.

Your comment respecting our discussion outline I think is well taken. However, we are hoping to reach a limited audience at a fairly high professional level. We feel, therefore, that the content of the discussion should be substantial although we certainly expect the presentation to be enlivened by the personalities of our assembled guests.

Your outline of the contribution you will make to the panel discussion is exactly what we are looking for. There can be no solutions without a serious recognition of those factors which you know so well.

I should like to give you some additional information about the meeting. Mr. Augustine J. Bowe, an attorney here in the city, will be the moderator. He has had a great deal of experience in the field of race relations. The fourth member of the panel will be Mrs. Edith Sampson, formerly an alternate delegate of the United States to the United Nations. The panel will then consist of Mr. Bowe, Moderator; Dr. Edmond Sassin, St. Louis; Father Hartnett, New York; Mrs. Sampson, Chicago; and yourself.

We have made arrangements for your quarters at the Palmer House for August 12th and 13th and we will later make arrangements to meet you on your arrival in the city.

Sincerely,

James B. O'Shaughnessy

James B. O'Shaughnessy, Director
Office of Law Development

JBO'S:ds

aug

June 29, 1954

Mr. James B. O'Shaughnessy
Director, School of Law
Loyola University
41 East Pearson Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mr. O'Shaughnessy:

I have read with care your letter of June 23, and the tentative outline for panel discussion.

While I offer nothing against the outline, it seems to me to be austere and legal to a degree ill calculated to hold the interest of the audience. But you know the audience and what they want.

The two things that I can contribute are: An understanding of the sociological, economical, and historical difficulties of the change in the South; and some knowledge of the hopeful factors in local community understanding across the lines of race.

I will plan to get a late afternoon plane from Atlanta on Thursday, August 12, which will put me at Loyola University by 10:00 p.m. August 12. And I would like to have a place to sleep for the night of August 13 also. Particularly if there is to be an evening broadcast on that date.

Simple way to do the biography is what is in Who's Who, attached. You might care to add that I received the 1953 award from the Catholic Committee of the South for "signal contribution to the welfare and progress of the South."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
41 EAST PEARSON STREET
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

June 23, 1954

OFFICE OF LAW DEVELOPMENT

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

I would like to give you some more information about the August 13th meeting; then I would like to ask you a few questions.

We expect to have a panel of four members and a moderator. In addition to yourself, two other members of the panel have been selected. They are:

Rev. Robert Hartnett, S.J.
Editor, America
New York City

Dr. Edmond Sassin, M.D.
Physician
Human Relations Committee
St. Louis, Missouri

We expect to have an attorney familiar with the legal consequences of the Supreme Court decisions also on the panel. According to our present plans he will be from Chicago. The moderator has not yet been selected.

Our present plans call for an opening section of our meeting devoted to an exposition of the adversary position in the litigation. Mr. Robert Ming, Regional Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will appear on behalf of the negro petitioners. We will have another attorney representing the position of the respondent states. Following the opening statements, the panel will go into operation.

We believe that the complexities of the problem should be explored in some detail, and consequently we should like the panel to get into the underlying principles. We have prepared a tentative outline of the questions to be explored by the panel. A copy of this outline is enclosed.

We should like to have your comments and suggestions respecting the outline. If there any you care to make, we should appreciate it if you would forward them to us directly as we would like to publish our announcement of the meeting within the next week to ten days.

There are several things we should like you to discuss. The "realities" of conditions in the South have a great deal to do with the complexities

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
41 EAST PEARSON STREET
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS
June 23, 1954

OFFICE OF LAW DEVELOPMENT

of the problem. Two of these are the facts of local custom - the sociological factor - and the limitation on funds available for support of the public schools - the economic factor. These points should be developed during the course of the discussion.

Our Public Relations Department is presently negotiating with one of the local television stations about the possibility of a program during the evening of August 13th, that is the evening of the meeting day. The program, if it is arranged would be a thirty minute discussion by members of the panel---a condensed repeat of the afternoon's discussion. I should like to inquire, therefore, if you would be available on that evening, if the plans materialize.

I should also like to ask, if you would like us to make reservation for sleeping quarters for either Thursday, the 12th or Friday, the 13th or both. Finally I should appreciate it, if you could send us a short biographical sketch giving your professional qualifications and your experiences so we may use it in our publicity program.

We are looking forward to seeing you at the meeting.

Sincerely,

James B. O'Shaughnessy

James B. O'Shaughnessy
Director

JBO'S:ds

enclosure

May 21, 1954

Mr. James B. O'Shaughnessy
Loyola University
School of Law
41 East Pearson Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mr. O'Shaughnessy:

All straight for August 13th at the La Salle Hotel. I look forward to the occasion.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
41 EAST PEARSON STREET
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF LAW DEVELOPMENT

RECEIVED
MAY 21 1954
Southern Regional Council

May 19, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

We are very pleased to receive your acceptance of the invitation to take part in our summer meeting.

The date has been fixed on August 13. The meeting will be held at the La Salle Hotel.

Within a short time we will send you further details of the meeting and a proposed outline of the points which will be discussed. I should add that the Supreme Court's decision in the segregation cases emphasizes the importance of the meeting we plan.

I am looking forward to meeting you in the near future.

Sincerely,

James B. O'Shaughnessy

James B. O'Shaughnessy

May 17, '54

Mr. James B. O'Shaughnessy
School of Law
Loyola University
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mr. O'Shaughnessy,

Many thanks for the kind invitation to take part in the mid-August panel. Delighted.

I have marked aside on my calendar the dates August 13,14,15 and 16. The 17th is also available, and with some wriggling, the 13th. Let me know the day decided upon, and I'll be there, for a lot less than 250!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
41 EAST PEARSON STREET
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
MAY 17 1954
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF LAW DEVELOPMENT

May 13, 1954

OK
holding
Aug 13-16.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Loyola University School of Law is planning a meeting on the subject of the public school segregation cases. The meeting will take place immediately before the opening of the American Bar Association convention at Chicago in mid-August.

We should like to extend an invitation to you to participate in the meeting as a member of a round table discussion. We believe your position and experience in this field give you singular qualifications for a discussion of the kind we plan.

We are inviting a number of other specialists in this area of inter-race relations. In issuing these invitations we are working from a principle: that the complexities of the public school problem are beyond the reach of any one individual since they embrace legal, historical, sociological, economic and philosophical interests. We believe that each of these factors should be explored and articulated if a well-developed synthesis of principle and practice is to evolve.

It is our purpose to use this meeting in partial fulfillment of this objective. Our present plan calls for publication of materials growing out of this meeting.

It is possible that the Supreme Court will not have announced its decision before it adjourns for the summer. Our plans are made to accommodate this possibility and we feel that such a development would not have an effect on what we propose to do.

A brief outline will give you some idea of how we propose to conduct the meeting. We expect to have two speakers whom we identify as key-note speakers. These will be, if arrangements are made, two of the counsel from opposite sides of the litigation now awaiting decision in the Supreme Court. They would be expected to state the adversary legal positions as a background for the subsequent discussion.

The first two speakers would be followed immediately by the panel or round table discussion. This discussion should follow a certain outline of topics which

will be used by the moderator to lead the discussion. All members of the panel will participate fully on all points without, however, being called upon to make any set speeches.

The meeting will last only one day - or part of a day. Adjournment will be not later than five in the afternoon.

All expenses of the speakers up to two hundred and fifty dollars will be paid by the school.

It is our sincere hope that you may be able to join in this discussion. We feel it can make a substantial contribution to the ultimate solution of a difficult and complex problem.

If you are in a position to accept our invitation we will give you more of the details of the meeting. We would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

James B. O'Shaughnessy

James B. O'Shaughnessy

September 9, 1954

Mrs. James B. O'Shaughnessy
Office of Law Development
Loyola University
School of Law
41 East Pearson Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mr. O'Shaughnessy:

I greatly enjoyed the conference and the television program, and appreciate the opportunity to be with that group.

Your generous check has been received and is much appreciated.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
41 EAST PEARSON STREET
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF LAW DEVELOPMENT

August 31, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed you will find a check which is but slight appreciation for your contribution to the panel discussion and for the expenses of your trip.

Both myself and my associates look forward to an early renewal of our acquaintanceship.

Sincerely,

James B. O'Shaughnessy

JBO'S:ds

enclosure

RECEIVED
SEP 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR

UNIVERSITY 5471

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

JANUARY 6, 1956

MR. M. A. WRIGHT, PRES.
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

DEAR MR. WRIGHT:

I DO VERY MUCH APPRECIATE YOUR WARM GREETINGS FOR THE NEW YEAR. YOU MAY BE SURE THEY ARE HEARTILY RECIPROCATED.

I CONSIDER IT AN HONOR TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH SUCH MEN AS YOU, GEORGE MITCHELL, AND THE OTHERS ON THE S.R.C. STAFF. SURELY, THE CAUSE FOR WHICH WE ARE FIGHTING IS RIGHT. AND DESPITE THE MANY DIFFICULTIES WE MIGHT MEET WITH FROM MISGUIDED MEN OR WOMEN, IT IS CERTAIN THAT WITHIN A REASONABLE NUMBER OF YEARS THE SOUTH WILL COME INTO ITS OWN IN A WAY THAT YOU AND I AND OUR FELLOW SOUTHERNERS CAN BE JUSTLY PROUD.

GOD BLESS YOU ALWAYS AND CONTINUE TO DIRECT AND INSPIRE YOU IN YOUR LEADERSHIP FOR THE THINGS WHICH ARE RIGHT AND JUST.

SINCERELY IN CHRIST,

L. J. Twomey, S.J.

L. J. TWOMEY, S.J.

P.S. Never hesitate to let me know if at any time I can be of service

LJT/D

Loyola 67

April 17, 1957

Father L. J. Twomey, S.J.
Institute of Industrial Relations
Loyola University in the South
New Orleans 18, La.

Dear Father Twomey:

It was great to see you while I was in New Orleans. These are copies of the letters I promised to write. Hope they bring you success.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Enclosure

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR

UNIVERSITY 6-5471

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

Send Personal.

APRIL 18, 1957

MR. FREDERICK B. ROUTH
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR FRED:

I APPRECIATE MORE THAN I CAN SAY THE LETTERS YOU WROTE TO FRANK LOESCHER AND TO BEN SEGAL. PLEASE, THEN, ACCEPT MY HEARTFELT GRATITUDE FOR THE REAL HELP YOU HAVE GIVEN US IN THIS MATTER. IF WE DO GET THIS GRANT, BE ASSURED OF MY INTENTION TO INTENSIFY THE WONDERFUL RELATIONS WHICH HAVE ALWAYS EXISTED BETWEEN THE S.R.C. AND LOYOLA'S INSTITUTE. IT IS MY CONFIDENT HOPE THAT WITH THE GRANT IN QUESTION, WE CAN WORK TOGETHER WITH YOU IN A TREMENDOUSLY EFFECTIVE WAY.

PLEASE GIVE MY KINDEST REGARDS TO HAROLD AND TO THE OTHERS ON THE STAFF WHOM I MAY KNOW.

MAY THE SUPER ABUNDANT BLESSINGS OF EASTER BE YOURS.

GOD BLESS YOU ALWAYS.

SINCERELY IN CHRIST,

L. J. Twomey, S.J.

L. J. TWOMEY, S.J.
DIRECTOR

LJT:LW

A. M. D. G.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA

B. V. M. H.

Institute of Industrial Relations

SPRING SESSION

1957

MARCH 11th

through

MAY 13th

Telephone
UNiversity 6-5471

OUR OBJECTIVE

"MANAGEMENT AND LABOR—
What Hurts Both Hurts America;
What Is Good for Both Is Good for America."

The Institute of Industrial Relations of Loyola University was founded on October 6, 1947. In the intervening years the Institute has held nineteen regular sessions, and on March 11 of this year it will begin its twentieth session.

In each of these sessions and throughout the nine and a half years of its operation, the Institute has had one principal objective in view. It is to direct its resources toward promoting meaningful harmony in the socio-economic life of the greater New Orleans community. And in wider perspective, it is striving to get southerners ready to face calmly and intelligently the great problems that the South must solve if, in terms of human as well as material well-being for all its citizens, it is ever to realize the magnificent potential which is hers.

Loyola's Institute is not a "labor school" any more than it is a "management school." Neither labor nor management has dictated its policies in the past; neither will do so in the future. The Institute, if you will, is an educational forum which excludes no qualified member of any class or race. It welcomes all men and women who are sincerely interested in learning how better to lead a truly human life in the environment of an industralized America. It lends special, though not exclusive emphasis, therefore, to the field of management-labor relations.

In so doing the Institute recognizes that management cannot do without labor, nor labor without management. Hence it promotes by every means at its command the conviction that management and labor are not irreconcilable antagonists, but members of the same team, each with his own special functions to perform. It is not naive enough, however, to deny that serious areas of disagreement do exist between the two great forces in industry. But it contends, these areas are not described by class conflict in the Marxist sense. Rather they represent a struggle between two parties who mutually endorse the basic premises of the private-enterprise economic system. The struggle revolves around the efforts of both to gain greater shares in the blessings of a democratic economy.

(Continued on Page 5)

PROGRAM FOR THE 1957 SPRING SESSION

Primarily, the program of Loyola's Institute is designed to answer the problems of management and labor. However, enrollment in the Institute is open to all who are interested in this vital aspect of our national life and in the challenge of human relations in general. Thus the Institute courses are planned in such a way as to appeal to a broad cross-section of the New Orleans public. Classes will be held on each Monday evening for ten consecutive weeks from March 11th, through May 13th. All classes will be held in Marquette Hall on the Loyola Campus. There is no charge for tuition. But a registration fee of two dollars is asked as indicating seriousness of purpose.

ORDER OF CLASSES

MONDAY EVENINGS—March 11th Through May 13th

FIRST PERIOD 7:35 to 8:20 *(Choose One)*

PERSONS AND PLACES IN THE NEWS — Dr. Ryan

Every day in the news, appear items about presidents, kings, prime ministers, generals and a whole host of lesser men and women. Names too like Saigon, New Dehli, Singapore, Port Said, Gaza, Aquaba, not to speak of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and Kalamazoo daily hit the headlines. But who these people are, where these places are located, what their background is, what are the issues involved too often are at best only vaguely known. Thus some accurate knowledge of biography, geography and current history would add immeasurably to the profit and interest of those who try to keep up with the news. To help readers better understand and interpret the daily newspapers and the weekly magazines is the aim of this course.

PARLIAMENTARY LAW I — Mr. Lozes

Parliamentary law maintains its distinction of being one of the prime favorites in the Institute's curriculum. This is so because more and more people are becoming increasingly critical of the helter-skelter fashion in which all too many meetings are conducted. Members of a management organization no less than those in a labor union or even in the Junior League should know how to use the rules of proper procedure at their meetings. Otherwise, jagged nerves, loss of valuable time, and inefficient operation will result. This course, then, has as its aim to teach the fundamental laws of parliamentary procedure and to train its members in the practical problems of how to preside over and to participate in an orderly run assembly.

WHAT IS MONEY? — Fr. Yenni

Money in itself has little value but what it does makes the economic world go round. It is at the nerve-center of our economic system. As such, the use of money gives rise to many intriguing and important questions: when does something become money? What are the functions of money? What distinguishes "bad" from "good" money? What is "hard" money? What "soft"? Does the government create money? Do the banks? Is our economy subject to domination by international bankers? These questions are not academic. They intimately affect such vital areas as employment, prosperity, prices, etc. This course will answer these questions and thus explain at least partially the mystery of money, and the key role it has in the economic system.

SECOND PERIOD 8:25 to 9:10 *(Choose One)*

THE MIDDLE EAST: MIRROR OF THE FUTURE — Dr. Coper

To most Americans until a few months ago, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Israel, Saudi Arabia were hardly more than names for remote and exotic lands "where the West meets the East." But now almost everyone knows, they make up the most explosive region on earth. Whether we are soon going to have another World War will not improbably be decided in the check-and-counter-check maneuvers now raging in the Middle East. Political, economic and social issues are at stake, the outcome of which will decisively imprint its mark on the future of all nations with the United States at the head of the list. How deeply involved we are and why, are the leading questions this course will attempt to answer.

THE SOUTH: ITS FATEFUL CHALLENGE — Mr. Vigo

These are fateful months in the history of the South. And the manner in which we southerners grapple with and finally solve the problem of race relations will affect the South to the depths of its political, economic and social foundations. The new era can be a glorious one of unprecedented spiritual and material prosperity for a South just now coming into its own. To so fashion this era, however, our thinking and acting must be adjusted to making the fullness of Christian Democracy a reality for all our citizens irrespective of race, color, or national origin. Implied in all this is a challenge the likes of which few if any of us have ever faced. To help Southerners more effectively meet this challenge is the purpose of this course.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN INDUSTRIAL MORALITY — Fr. Twomey

It is one thing to lay down general moral principles to which human conduct should conform. But much more difficult is it to apply these principles to concrete and complex situations, such as prevail in labor-management relations. What of the right of labor and management to organize, of workers to a living wage, of management to a fair profit, of the public to quality goods at reasonable prices, of the Government to intervene in economic affairs, etc.? What of the obligation to observe collective bargaining contracts, of unions to give efficient, honest service to their members, of management to cooperate with unions, etc.? These are some of the special problems with which this course will concern itself.

(Continued on Next Page)

THIRD PERIOD 9:15 to 10:00 ***(Choose One)***

MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK — Mr. Des Marais

It is a cause of deep concern to thoughtful Americans that so many of their countrymen gladly accept the benefits of citizenship in a Democracy, but are slow to make the sacrifices it demands. Too few are willing to give of their talents and energies either to vote or to take active part in political life. And yet ours, being a representative form of government, must have for its success and continuance not only a loyal but an intelligent participation of its citizens. But this presupposes a fairly wide knowledge of the principles and institutions around which our Democracy has been built. In addition, proper motivation is necessary. This course will concern itself with a review of basic Democratic truths, an explanation of the workings of Democratic institutions, and a stimulation to Democratic political activity.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND THE LAW — Mr. Barker

The growing tendency to rely on legislation as a sort of magic formula to solve problems in industrial relations is a dangerous one. Too often this tendency results in placing false hopes on such statutes as the Taft-Hartley Bill on the national level and the "Right-to-Work" Bill on the state level. The end result is not to bring peace with justice to industrial relations, but on the contrary, to intensify the friction already existing. This is not to deny that some legislation is needed. But it is to say that the less management and labor prove themselves willing and able to settle their own problems, the more legislation, good and bad, they will certainly get. An explanation of the nature and workings of current, and an examination into possible future legislation will form the contents of this course.

HOW TO HANDLE GRIEVANCES — Mr. Morvant

Nothing contributes more to a smooth functioning management-labor relationship than quickly processed and justly settled grievances. Poorly handled or indefinitely postponed settlements are often like festering sores infecting the whole body of employer-employee relations. Skill, fair play and understanding on both sides are indispensable qualities for the satisfactory solution of grievances. And these qualities are especially required in shop stewards and foremen at whose level most grievances should be settled. But many grievances, rightly or wrongly, are sent to arbitration. Hence, the know-how or arbitration is a "must" if long standing bitterness is not to result. From the study of actual cases, this course proposes to show how grievance and arbitration techniques can be made to work effectively and with justice for all concerned.

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REGISTRATION

In the office of the Institute: Monday, March 11th, beginning at 6:30 p.m.

Late applicants may register on any Monday night before class.

Also by appointment or by telephone.

For further information apply to:

Rev. L. J. Twomey, S.J., Director

or to Rev. Jacques Yenni, S.J., Associate Director

Institute of Industrial Relations

Loyola University

New Orleans 18, La. Telephone: UNiversity 6-5471

(Continued from Page 1)

That strife should arise in this context is altogether unfortunate. But, human nature being what it is, perfect order in this as in every other aspect of human living is an ideal to be sought for, but, in reality, seldom realized. Yet, persistent effort must be made to reach the ideal if a given phase of human activity is not to degenerate into chaotic disorder.

But the effort cannot be successful without careful preparation and planning. It must be systematic, based on sound principles and practices. Given this type of approach combined with earnest good will, the dimensions of industrial strife can be reduced to a minimum. Within the past twenty years, despite current appearances to the contrary, great progress has been made in narrowing the division between management and labor. This progress is the result largely of the growing realization that the key to good industrial relations are good human relations, and that good human relations do not just happen. They must be won through as careful thought and action as are devoted to achieving technological advancement.

Basic to good human relations is the recognition of man's, every man's dignity, as the created image of God. In this consists the essential dignity of all men whether they be the top-placed executives of gigantic business firms or the obscure wielders of shovels in a ditch. In man's origin in God and in his destiny to go back to God are rooted his human rights—rights beyond the reach of men and government. These are elementary truths; simple, yet the most fundamental of all truths.

Loyola's Institute wholeheartedly accepts these truths. Although it gives its members a wide variety of course-offerings dealing with the theoretical as well as the practical sides of unions, corporations, collective bargaining, etc., it never loses sight of its ultimate goal. And this is to anchor its entire curriculum firmly on the recognition of man's dignity and all that it implies. Thus it is helping to fashion the world of work so that belief in, respect for, and protection of man's supreme value, as an individual and as a social being, will become the great motivating principles in human and industrial relations. By so doing Loyola's Institute of Industrial Relations is making its full contribution to that peace with justice and charity for the lack of which our civilization is threatened with disaster.

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COURSES LEADING TO A CERTIFICATE

No academic degree is issued by the Institute of Industrial Relations. Yet it is fitting that some tangible recognition should be given for attendance at and progress in the various courses of the curriculum. Accordingly, it is the policy of the Institute to award certificates to those fulfilling the following conditions:

1. Nine courses must be taken.
2. At least seven of the ten classes in each course must be attended.

FACULTY—1957 SPRING SESSION

The members of our Faculty are respected and esteemed in their fields because of their knowledge, experience and unselfish devotion to the cause of better Labor-Management relations. Their sole reward is the satisfaction of knowing that, through the service they are rendering to others, they are making possible the Institute's contribution to a stronger and more unified America.

MR. PAUL BARKER

Graduate of Loyola University, A.B., LL.B.
Member of Louisiana State Bar Association

DR. RUDOLPH COPER

Graduate of University of Berlin, Ph.D.
Professor of Finance and Economics
College of Business Administration, Loyola University

MR. PHILIP H. DES MARAIS

Graduate of the College of St. Thomas, A.B.
Graduate of Georgetown University, M.A.
Exec. Vice-Pres. St. Mary's Dominican Coll.

MR. FELICIEN Y. LOZES

Graduate of Loyola University, A.B., LL.B.
Member of Louisiana State Bar Association

MR. RAPHAEL H. MORVANT

Member of the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce
Arbitrator with the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and the American Arbitration Assn.
Industrial Relations Consultant

DR. STEPHEN P. RYAN

Graduate of St. Joseph College, A.B.
Graduate of University of Pennsylvania, M.A.
Graduate of National University of Ireland, M.A.
Graduate of University of Ottawa, Ph.D.
Head of Department of English, Xavier University (N. O.)

FATHER L. J. TWOMEY, S. J.

Graduate of Loyola University, A.B.
Graduate of Institute of Social Sciences
(St. Louis University), M.A.
Director of the Institute of Industrial Relations
Loyola University

MR. MILTON VIGO

Graduate of Tulane University, A.B., B.S.
Executive Director, Louisiana Council on Human Relations

FATHER JACQUES E. YENNI, S. J.

Graduate of Loyola University, A.B.
Graduate of St. Louis University, M.A.
Graduate of University of California, Ph.D.
Associate Director of Institute of Industrial Relations
Loyola University

REVISED COPY - TENTATIVE AGENDA

June 30, 1958

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE - August 29, 30 and 31, 1958

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Thursday evening, August 28, 1958

8:30 p.m. Delegates Reception (Loyola Hall, 6551 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois)

Friday morning, August 29, 1958

8:00 a.m. Mass for delegates (Madonna Della Strade Chapel, Loyola University)

10:00 a.m. Plenary Session

Welcome: Robert Sargent Shriver Jr., President, Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago

Address: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., Chaplain, Catholic Interracial Council of New York

Subject: "The Catholic Interracial Movement Looks to the Future"

Panel Discussion of Father LaFarge's talk

12:30 LUNCH

Guest Speaker

2:00 p.m. COMMISSION SESSIONS ON PROBLEM AREAS

Friday evening, August 29, 1958

6:00 p.m. SUPPER

8:00 p.m. Address: Rev. J. Kenealy, S.J., School of Law, Loyola University, New Orleans, La.

Subject: "A Christian Conscience and Interracial Justice"

Panel Discussion of Father Kenealy's talk

Saturday morning, August 30, 1958

8:00 a.m. Mass for delegates (Madonna Della Strade Chapel)

10:00 a.m. Plenary Session

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

Panel Discussion

Subject: "Effective Race Relations - its ways and means"

12:30 LUNCH

2:00 p.m. CONTINUATION OF COMMISSION SESSIONS ON PROBLEM AREAS

Saturday evening, August 30, 1958

6:30 p.m. BANQUET (Grand Ballroom, Edgewater Beach Hotel)

MAJOR CONFERENCE ADDRESS

Entertainment

Sunday morning, August 31, 1958

8:00 a.m. Mass for delegates (Madonna Della Strade Chapel)

10:00 a.m. Plenary Session

Panel Discussion

Subject: "Results of Commission Sessions and critique of conference"

Chairman of Panel: Mr. Dan Herr, President, Thomas More Association

Members of Panel:

Mr. Jack Kenna
Mr. William Ryan
Rev. Donald F. Miller, CSSR
Mr. Robert Hoyt

12:00 LUNCH

1:00 Plenary Session (for those delegates and visitors desiring to remain)

DISCUSSION: "Organizational problems of Catholic Interracial Councils"

PANEL MEMBERS FOR FATHER LAFARGE'S TALK

Chairman: George K. Hunton, Executive Secretary
Catholic Interracial Council of New York

Panel Members:

Edward Marciniak
Executive Director
Catholic Council on Working Life
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

John Mc Dermott
Associate Director
National Conference of Christians and
Jews
211 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Percy Williams
Assistant Regional Director
President's Committee on Government Contracts
105 West Adams Street
Chicago, Illinois

William Osborn
Mt. St. Mary's College
Emmitsburgh, Maryland

PANEL FOR FATHER KENEALY'S ADDRESS

Chairman: Charles W. Pecke, Detroit, Michigan

Panel Members:

Loretta Butler
1859 Law Street
New Orleans, LA.

Very Rev.Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Joseph Bonsignore
3858 West 217 Street
Matteson, Illinois

Fred W. Fries,
Managing Editor
"Indiana Catholic and Record"
124 West Georgia Street
Indianapolis 6, Indiana

PANEL DISCUSSION:

" EFFECTIVE RACE RELATIONS - ITS WAYS AND MEANS"

Chairman: Rev. Thomas Harte, C.Ss.R.
Catholic University
Washington, D.C.

Panel Members:

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. (Room: 432)
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. Max Birnbaum
Educational Consultant
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Rev. Franklyn J. Kennedy,
Editor, "Catholic Herald Citizen"
Cathedral Square
Milwaukee 1, Wisconsin

Arnold Aronson
President, National Association of Inter-group Relations Officials
Room 1530, 55 West 42nd Street
New York, N. Y.

COMMISSION
ON
SCHOOLS

Chairman: Dr. John J. O'Connor, Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.

Secretary: Jack Kenna, National Safety Council,
425 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Commission Members:

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Harold Hunton
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150 Nassau Street
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COMMISSION
ON
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(Continued on next page)

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COMMISSION
ON
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Rev. Arthur C. Haubold
St. James Church
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(Continued on next page)

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Radiologist, Sydenham Hospital, New York
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Dr. Wolfgang Rothes
2900 West 95th Street
Evergreen Park, Illinois

Dr. Arthur G. Falls
4655 South Michigan Ave
Chicago, Illinois (15)

Announcing a

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

(All conference sessions will be held in Loyola Hall, 6551 North Sheridan Road)

August 29, 30 and 31, 1958

WHAT

For the past year and a half representatives of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York and the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago have been making plans for a national conference of Catholics active in the field of race relations in the United States. Such a conference will take place in Chicago, August 29th, 30th and 31st.

WHY

This first national Catholic conference will enable representatives of the more than thirty-five Catholic Interracial Councils in the United States to come together and exchange information, and in turn evaluate their growth and development. The conference will also afford Catholics in other allied organizations the opportunity of joining together in serious deliberation with respect to one of the great social problems of our day.

PROGRAM

A reception for early arrivals will be held in Loyola Hall, 6551 North Sheridan Road, on Thursday evening, August 28 at 8:30 p.m. The conference will officially get under way with a special 8:00 a.m. Mass for delegates on the 29th. Father John LaFarge, S.J., founder of the Interracial Council movement in the United States, will deliver the keynote address of the morning. Special Commissions will take up specific problem areas like: *schools, health, employment, parochial life* and *housing*. Many of the top experts in the field of race relations across the country will be on hand to assist delegates in their deliberations. Buzz sessions will be held for CIC delegates interested in organizational problems. The climax of the conference will come on Saturday evening with a special banquet in the Grand Ballroom of the Edgewater Beach Hotel.

COST

Everything for twenty-five dollars. That's the package being offered delegates. This one fee covers room and board, delegate's reception, conference banquet and registration fee.

REGISTRATION

Advance registration is not only important — its essential. Simply fill out the information on the enclosed registration form and return promptly to the office of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago at 21 West Superior Street, Chicago 10, Illinois.

October 6, 1960

Reverend Thomas H. Clancy, S.J.
Loyola University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Clancy:

Thank you for your letter of September 25th.

Mr. Fleming is away from the office until the first of next week. Upon his return, you will be hearing from him.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

MF -

Please write him that I am out of the office until next week and will reply then.

H.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

25 Sept. 1960

Mr Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Sir,

I have just joined the faculty ofthe above institution this year and one of my assignments is the manggement of the Loyola Forum, intended to bring important speakers to the campus for the sake of the students and to some extent the citizens of the community.

Your name has been coming up regularly in the suggestions I have been receiving for speakers for the comming year(s). I have been out of the country for the past few years and have never heard you speak,but I am acquainted with the work of the SRC and it was my great pleasure some ten years ago to hear your predecessor, Mr George Mitchell, speak at Spring Hill College in Mobile. Among those who have recommended you highly as a speaker has been my old friend and former student, George Barrett, of Nashville,Tenn.

My own feelings on the race questions and problems of the South are about the same as those of George but I am afraid that people in this part of the world are slightly insane onthe race question. They need a lot of education, our students as well as the townspeople. I'm sure that you could do some good work here. If you are going to be in this part of the world in the latter part of Jan. or early February, or during the month of April, I would greatly appreciate hearing from you.

We don't have much of a budget but I think I could find about $200 just as a kind of token offering in case you could come. In case you can't make it this year, please keep us in mind next year.

Congratulations on the wonderful work the SRC is doing.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas H. Clancy SJ

(Rev.) Thomas H. Clancy, S.J.
Loyola University,
New Orleans 18, LA.

October 13, 1960

Reverend Thomas H. Clancy, S.J.
Loyola University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father Clancy:

Returning to the office after an absence of some day, I was pleased to find your welcome letter of September 25 inviting me to speak at a meeting of the Loyola Forum.

I should be very happy to do so. There is a complication, however, about setting a date at this time. Although the chance is rather slight, there is some possibility that I may take a leave of several months early in 1962 for an international exchange trip. I should know for certain about this by mid-January.

While I could set a date now for participation in the Forum, I could do so with more confidence in January -- if that is not too late for your purposes.

A note from you telling me quite frankly whether or not we can settle on a specific date later will be greatly appreciated. In any case, I shall look forward to meeting you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

DEPT. OF HISTORY
AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE

18 Oct 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming -

Thank you for your letter. I can understand your dilemma about accepting dates when the exchange trip is uncertain. I'm afraid that my program will be completed by mid-January. However, do let me know if you are going to be in these parts later on. I'm sure you would have something interesting to say to us on the Problems of the South.

Sincerely yours -

Thomas Clancy S.J.

RECEIVED
OCT 20 1960

done 11/30/16 SW - pls Xerox 10 more copies my paper, + send one to Father Clancy

LPA + fyi
SW - file

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70118

Dear Les,

This is to remind you that I would like a copy of the paper on non-violence you read at SPSA meet in Durham, if there is one available.

I think you did an excellent job. I especially liked the apposite quotations & the novel terms you gave the topic.

I was out at Tommon for the SSOC meeting Saturday and it was fairly disappointing. Too bad; we need something like that.

See you in Atlanta some time

Sincerely

Thos. H. Clancy S.J.

Dilworth and Lisa Hall Lupton
Unitarian Manse
101 N. Harrison Street, Richmond 20, Virginia

RECEIVED
APR 5 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 1

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

It was a real joy to be able to present you to our Richmond parishioners and friends. Thank you for coming.

And thank you for all you do for our South. Sincerely, Lisa Lupton

STEAM HEAT
AIR COOLED

PRIVATE BATHS

MODERN
COFFEE SHOPPE

N

Hotel Neal

PERPETUALLY NEW
MRS. HARRY M. JONES, OWNER

Winchester, Tennessee

RECEIVED
JUN 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

June 3, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell, Ex. Dir.,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

How nice to receive a note from you. I was really pleased, first because it shows that my long absence from Atlanta has not cost me oblivion from my friends, and secondly hearing from you and your concern about my work.

I have been "buried" here for six months, attempting to organize a large hat plant located in this town. If you are familiar with the area, you will know that it is anti-union to the teeth and full of all kinds of prejudices. I haven't found a local person here who is either foresighted on the Union question and whose mind might be open at least for a courtesus hearing. No, Swanee, or rather Sewanee, is not too far away, only 11 miles from here, and if there is anyone who is familiar with Winchester in that area perhaps they could be of use to me here.

Would love to see you of course, and hope that I shall be around if you do come to town. I am leaving here on the 10th to go to Atlanta, prior to my departure for Atlantic City on the 12th of June. I am attending a Board meeting of our Int.'l. Union in Atlantic City.

I imagine the Supreme Court decision is a real thrill for you on the matter of segregation. It will thought bring up a number of problems which your organization will be only too glad to cope with and settle. I am happy that Democracy scoured a victory.

STEAM HEAT
AIR COOLED

PRIVATE BATHS

MODERN
COFFEE SHOPPE

N

Hotel Neal

PERPETUALLY NEW

MRS. HARRY M. JONES, OWNER

Winchester, Tennessee

Saw Agnes and Ken sometime ago. We spent the week-end in Fontana Village and it was grand seeing and visiting with them.

How is Alice? Do give her my warm regards.

Thanks a lot for your interest. I still remember with pleasure our close association in GWES and othercommunity projects.

Sincerely,

Carmen Lucia

May 31, 1954

Dictated May 28

Mrs. Carmen Lucia
Keener Hotel
Winchester, Tennessee

Dear Carmen:

Two or three people at the CIO school at Junaluska last week told me you are trying hard to get organizations going in Winchester. I have put down a note for myself to stop and see you whenever I get to the town -- which occasionally I do. Could Sewanee help you any? They are close by and must know people in Winchester.

We all miss you in Atlanta.

Saw Ken and Agnes who sent love.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

August 4, 1954

Dear Dick:

About the best I can send you is a book called American's Tenth Man, which has been widely used in the schools. It is a little elderly now, not having been revised for about five years. But it is simple and straight.

Sorry to say that the map business is not in print.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Mr. Dick Locke
L. T. College
S. S. Workshop
Lyndon Center, Vermont

OCT 3 1955

Miami, Fla.

Oct. 1, 1955

Dear George Mitchel,

I have shown your excellent leaflet on "SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH" to many people along the way and all have been interested in it, not the least others of the Jamacan students. Enclosed is $ 1.00 Would you pleas send me five more copies as follows: Cash

one to Mrs. C. H. Pasch
1536 1536 N. W. 51st Street
Miami, Fla.

Sent 10/3/55

the other four to: Bob Luitweiler
% Koinonea Community
Rt. 2, Americus, Ga.

Sent 10/3/55

Enclosed is a little explanation of the Servas open door program. We are entirely a voluntary organization with almost no funds so have almost no literature. I very much appreciate your offer to contact a few white people in the South whom you think would like to offer an "open door" to our viisitors of all races from all parts of the world. Please tell me if there are further questions or if you would like more copies of anything.

The Jamacan students gained a new insight on the Southern problems and were very happy to meet a Southerner with your point of view. I have been very happily suprised to see how much progress is taking place here and believe you are having ~~[illegible]~~ a deep influence on it. I wish I culd help your work in a more concrete way and hope you will call on me if there are things which I can do from Pennsylvania.

With warmest regards,

Bob Luitweiler

Bob Luitweiler

wednesday august 10 - 8:15 p.m.

RELIGION, PSYCHIATRY AND SEX

a panel

BENJAMIN COLEMAN, M.D.
PSYCHIATRIST

"religion in personal problems:
a report from clinical experience"

HUGO P. LEAMING, B.A., B.D.
MINISTER

"psychology and sex in religion:
primitive and contemporary"

Both Forums sponsored by and held at The First Unitarian Church of Miami
50¢ Dixie Highway and S.W. 29th Road 50¢

October 5, 1955

Miss Katharine Dupre Lumpkin
54 Prospect Street
Northampton, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Lumpkin:

I have been out on a trip, and came back to find that your letter to Mrs. Hamilton had gone quickly on to her.

We are all delighted that you are coming here. My calendar puts me in Atlanta from November 13th forward for a number of days anyway. The Council's office will be delighted to see you here, and so would I here or for a more leisurely visit at home in Druid Hills.

I send you for a bonus some back issues of New South!

I think nothing is as enjoyable as talking about one's field of interest with people sensitive to all the little meanings.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Under separate cover:

New South - February through July-Aug, '55 issues

KATHARINE DUPRE LUMPKIN
54 PROSPECT STREET
NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS

September 25, 1955 SEP 27 1955

Dear George Mitchell,

I am taking the liberty of asking you if you will put the correct address (Urban League, I imagine) on the enclosed letter to Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton. I don't have the street address. Mrs. Hamilton (Grace Towns then) was a student on one of our first YWCA interracial southern student councils of the YW back in the early 1920s, when I was a YW Southern Student Secretary. I had the pleasure of seeing her again a few years ago when she was here placing her daughter in Smith College.

Mailed 9/27/55 pba

I am writing Mrs. Hamilton, and want to say the same to you, that I am making a little trip South in November, and expect to come to Atlanta around the middle of the month. It has been far too long since I have really seen something of the South. Now I am beginning work on a biography of Angelina Grimké, one of the famous "Grimké sisters", with whose story you are probably familiar. The two sisters left their Charleston home (slaveholding, of course), in the early 19th century, and went North, and became active participants in the abolitionist, and later, the woman movements. As I get down to my writing, I very much feel the need to get back South again, even though at the moment, for a brief visit, to get the feel of southern things once more. ~~I hope~~

I hope that I may see something of you while I am in Atlanta. I want to learn as much as I can in the short time I have.

I had the pleasure of seeing Broadus not very long ago - drove up to Wendell one Sunday afternoon. Louise had to be in New York that day, so I'm sorry to say I missed her. Morris of course is very nearby here, at Putney, and I saw him several years ago. But recently I have not been here except in summers. I shall hope to see him again soon.

$2.00 ck pba

May I enclose here my subscription to "New South"? It is something I meant to do long ago, and feel very remiss about it, for I have taken great interest in the accounts of your work as I have seen them in the papers.

Best greetings to you.

Cordially,

Katharine Lumpkin

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 4, 1955

Miss Katharine Dupre Lumpkin
54 Prospect Street
Northampton, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Lumpkin:

The right thing to do would be to come to the Mitchells' house for supper either Saturday night, November 19th, or Tuesday night, November 22nd. I would come and get you. Anybody with you quite welcome.

Let me know which, if either, so Alice, my wife, can stock in the extra chop.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

NOV 1 1955

54 Prospect Street
Northampton, Mass.
October 31, 1955

Dear George Mitchell,

Thanks so much for your letter. I've been waiting to write again until I knew the dates for my visit to Atlanta. I now find that I'll be there Nov. 19 to 22 or 23rd. (I've been in touch with Mrs. Hamilton at the Urban League, and those dates are all right. She has let me know that I am to stay out at Spelman College during my visit, which is very nice indeed.)

I'm so glad that your calendar puts you in Atlanta -- or hope it does -- when I shall be there. I would certainly want to drop by your office, and would especially enjoy the more leisurely visit at your home.

Looking forward to seeing you,

Sincerely,

Katharine Pfingstein

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Winter address:
P.O. Box 93, Aurora, NewYork

Summer address:
54 Prospect Street
Northampton, Mass.
July 21, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

$10.00

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I feel very badly to be writing you after having let so much time elapse. You were so very kind last winter in sending me with such promptness and generosity the wonderfully helpful material. I have thanked you many many times in spirit, and my only excuse for not having done so in fact was pressure of work as the winter passed, which let me neglect letters. Next time I'll do better.

I have been wanting to send a little contribution for the work of the Council, and am enclosing it now. If new studies or special material come out at any time, I should be most grateful if copies could be sent to me.

My address will continue to be as it was last winter: P.O. Box 93, Aurora, New York. I shall be teaching at Wells College again. Continue to send the "New South" to me at the Aurora address.

Again my warm thanks, and best wishes for your work.

Sincerely yours,

Katharine D. Lumpkin

Katharine D. Lumpkin

November 27, 1957

Miss Katharine D. Lumpkin
Wells College
P. O. Box 93
Aurora, New York

Dear Miss Lumpkin:

It is good to hear from you. I am hastening to send you some materials which I hope will help meet your needs.

You will receive presently a separate mailing, including our latest list of desegregated colleges and universities in the South, our recently published report on Negro suffrage, a summary of recently enacted segregation laws, and one or two other pieces. I take it you do not receive the Southern School News, published in Nashville. Since this service puts out the most complete information on desegregation of the schools, I am also sending you the last three issues of it.

You might also want to look at a booklet called "Integration North and South," by David Loth and myself, published by the Fund for the Republic about a year ago. It reports in detail on progress toward integration in major fields of public life since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision. I am sorry that I don't have a copy to send you, but it is probable that you can find it in the college library.

Our records show the proper address for you, and I trust that New South will reach you without further interruption.

Let me know if we can be of further assistance to you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED NOV 26 1957

Wells College
P.O. Box 93
Aurora, New York
November 23, 1957

AIR MAIL

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I know that George Mitchell has retired from the Council, and I do not know who is serving in his place, so I am writing you, and would be grateful if you would pass my letter along to the appropriate person.

I very much need some material for teaching purposes giving latest information on:

(1) The progress of desegregation in the schools and colleges. (I cannot even find the map that you published a year or two ago, although I did have it at one time.)
Also, latest information on what is happening in other areas — transportation, housing etc. etc.

(2) Also any material you may be able to send me on the present status of new laws passed by Southern State legislatures, to evade the Supreme Court decision.

(3) Material giving whatever data you can on status of the franchise for the Negro in the South at this time: Have you data on the number registered and voting in recent elections, for instance?

If you can suggest any good recent articles in periodicals etc. on any of the above points, I should be grateful for such bibliographical suggestions.

I am sorry to trouble you with this hurry call, but a thousand thanks, and anything you can send me would be most gratefully appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Katharine D. Lumpkin

Katharine D. Lumpkin

P.S. I have not been receiving my copies of New South recently, though I think I sent my new address since coming here this autumn. If not, please address me: P.O. Box 93, Aurora, New York for my New South.

July 29, 1958

Miss Katherine D. Lumpkin
54 Prospect Street
Northampton, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Lumpkin:

Thanks so much for your kind letter and contribution to the Southern Regional Council. I am pleased that the information we sent you earlier proved helpful.

I shall see that you continue to receive New South and also such special reports as we may be issuing. Meanwhile, if you find yourself in need of any specific information that we may supply, don't hesitate to write me.

With all best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

via air mail

December 9, 1959

Miss Katharine DuPre Lumpkin
Department of Economics and Sociology
Wells College
Aurora, New York

Dear Miss Lumpkin:

Unfortunately, we have never acquired a copy of the social scientists; appendix to the plaintiffs' brief in the school cases. The only copies we know of are single and highly prized possessions which could hardly be borrowed.

Have you tried the Legal and Educational Defense Fund of the NAACP? Since they presented the brief, I should think they would have extra copies. If not, I can only suggest a good law library.

I am grateful for your kind words about our materials. You may be interested in seeing the enclosed report on our activities during the past year.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (1959 Program Report)

Wells College
AURORA, NEW YORK

Department of
ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

December 6, 1959

AIR MAIL

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
South Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I wonder if you happen to have a copy of a certain document that I want very much, at least to borrow it for three or four weeks. It is the Brief covering the psychological and sociological materials that were assembled for the Public School cases in the Supreme Court which eventuated in the 1954 decision.

I have been trying for a long while to obtain a copy of this Brief. What I want is the full set of materials that were brought together by the experts (sociologists, psychologists etc.) to show the deleterious effects on the Negro child of segregration.

But just now I would rest content if I might just borrow a copy. Is it possible that you have one you would be willing to lend me? I should be a thousand times grateful.

I think the material you have been issuing this past year is excellent, and I want to congratulate you warmly on its quality and timeliness.

Many thanks for anything you can do to help me out in the matter of the above Brief.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Katharine DuPre Lumpkin

SCV
for your consideration + action
Please return
ref to MP

April 8, 1960

Dr. Dilworth Lupton
1606 Fruitwood Drive
Clearwater, Florida

Dear Dr. Lupton:

Thank you so much for your letter and your kind words about our recent reprint of newspaper articles. It hadn't occurred to us before that the lack of dates on newspaper items in New South is a handicap; I am passing your good suggestion on to John Constable of our staff, who edits New South. He will also be grateful for your favorable comments about the publication.

We do send New South complimentarily to a fairly large selection of newspaper editors and to some officeholders. This is far from blanket coverage, but it does get the material to some readers in addition to "the faithful."

The latest word on George Mitchell is that he may return to Atlanta for a teaching stint at Spelman College. I haven't had confirmation of this from George himself, but I am hoping for the best. Otherwise, he has been perfecting his mountain-side retreat in Scotland and looking forward to a book for Knopf on Southern regionalism.

My good wishes to you and Mrs. Lupton.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Dilworth and Lisa Hall Lupton

1606 Fruitwood Drive, Clearwater, Florida

April 4th., 1960.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have just read your large pamphlet giving photo copies of newspaper articles. It is a very handsome job and I hope will have wide reading.

Many thanks for giving the dates of publication of news articles. I do hope you will adopt this practice in "New South." When I have quoted articles from the latter, having the date would have strengthened the argument.

Yesterday our minister, Rev. Frank E. Smith*, used some copies of the "New South" I lent him, in the preparation of a courageous sermon on Gov. Collins address. If you sent him a subscription blank and a brief letter you might get a new subscriber.

For 33 years before my retirement I was a Unitarian minister. The last three years of that period I had the pulpit in Richmond Va. We have nine Negro members, one of them being on the board of trustees.

My wife is a reporter on the ST. Pete Times. Both of us wish that every man in public office and every newsman was a subscriber to the "New South." In fact if we had the money we would see they got it anyway. Nothing like being generous with an income that is wholly imaginary!

Do you hear anything from our friend George Mitchell. Several years ago he was the speaker for a week at our conference at Blue Ridge. Being a southerner and talking like one, he could utter truths and get away with them that in the mouth of a Yankee would merely merely draw scowls.

Sincerely,

Dilworth Lupton

Dilworth Lupton D.D.

* Address 1625 Scott St.
Clearwater Fla.

MF/ ex/ SC - Please handle. H.

Wells College
AURORA, NEW YORK

Department of
ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

Permanent address:
Box 93, Aurora, New York

August 10, 1960

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

I find that you have my name on your mailing list for two addresses. Will you please send material to me at my address in Aurora, New York, and make sure that the address in Northampton, Massachusetts is deleted. Material that has been coming to Northampton has not been forwarded, so it has just been sitting there. Also it means you are put to extra expense.

I shall appreciate having this correction made in your mailing list.

With many thanks,

Very sincerely yours,

Katharine D. Lumpkin

Katharine D. Lumpkin

#7

February 24, 1961

Miss Katharine DePre Lumpkin
Department of Economics and Sociology
Wells College
Aurora, New York

Dear Miss Lumpkin:

Your letter of February 20 is much appreciated. Nothing would please me more than the opportunity to visit Wells College and to be of any service I could to you and your colleagues.

Much to my regret, I can see no possibility of such a visit between now and the end of the current academic year. The months between now and then are so scheduled that there is no possibility of my remaining in New York long enough to make the trip to Aurora.

I am genuinely sorry that this is the case. If you still feel this idea timely during the 1961-62 year, I should be very glad to try to work out something then.

Let me add that a strong inducement for me would be the prospect of meeting you and discussing

with you the exciting and turbulent race relations in the South.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Wells College
AURORA, NEW YORK

Department of
ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

February 20, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have been wishing very much that it would be possible sometime to have you come to Wells College to give a lecture on the South and desegregation today. Professor Carter Woods, Chairman of our Department, joins me in wishing that this might be possible.

Our problem of course is one of expense. What had occurred to me is that you might upon occasion come to New York City or somewhere else within reach of us, and that while in our vicinity you would find it possible to come to Aurora.

We are in a somewhat inaccessible location, about twenty-eight miles north of Ithaca on the shores of Lake Cayuga. The quickest way to reach us is by Mohawk Airlines (Newark Airport in New York) to Ithaca, and we would have you met by car. The air trip, provided the weather is propitious, is between one and two hours. I am sure the Department could take care of the cost of transportation from New York to Aurora and return, but unfortunately we have no funds to pay an honorarium, much as we would like to.

There is also the problem of dates. In a small colleges such as ours (we have something under five hundred women students), the calendar tends to be full, and it is necessary to know a good while ahead in order to find an evening for a speaker. If by good chance you thought you could come sometime this Spring when you are to be in New York, can you tell now when you would expect to be in the New York area, and what dates might be possible for you to come here?

It would be splendid if you thought there was a chance of your coming. I shall look forward very much to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Katharine DuPre Lumpkin

Katharine DuPre Lumpkin

November 27, 1963

Miss Katharine DuPre Lumpkin — file "Lu" gen. Corresp.
Professor of Sociology
Wells College
Aurora, New York

Dear Miss Lumpkin:

We are sending, enclosed, the requested copies of James Silver's address. You will be interested to know that Jim condensed -- "exceppted" might be the more accurate word -- this address from a longer version which will be published as a short book next Spring by Harcourt-Brace.

I am very glad you wrote. We are grateful to you for your comments about the Council. I have long known and admired your writings. Do please visit us if and when you are ever this way.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 4.

Wells College
AURORA, NEW YORK

Department of
ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

November 22, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I very much want to secure three or four copies of Professor James W. Silver's address before the Southern Historical Association in early Novemeber, and understand you have copies. Of course I clipped what was given of the address in the New York Times, but am eager to have the address in full for teaching purposes.

What an outstanding contribution the address is, not only for what it means as an exciting intellectual experience, but because of its great integrity of mind and spirit. We are greatly in Professor Silver's debt.

While I am writing, let me express again my great appreciation for the splendid work the Southern Regional Council is doing. I lean heavily on the materials you make available for keeping me in touch with all that is happening at this time.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Katharine DuPre Lumpkin

Katharine DuPre Lumpkin
Professor of Sociology

file
Lw
Gr corresp

June 15, 1964

Miss Flora Belle Ludington
South Hadley,
Massachusetts

Dear Flora Belle:

June has come and with it, I suppose, retirement. You don't need me to say it, though I worked in many bigger libraries than yours, I never worked in one as intelligently run.

You will, I hope, keep us informed of your whereabouts.

Linda will be, next year, a senior at Swarthmore. Peggy joins me in sending our very best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
(Journal of Politics article)

SAMUEL LUBELL
845 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

NOV 3 1955

Nov. 2, 1955

Dear George,

Enclosed you'll find a draft of my Southern chapter which I'd appreciate your reading in as critical a mood as you can muster.

Probably before I'm finished I'll break up this material into two chapters but this will give you a good idea of what I have to say.

Also all the figures need a final re-checking but they are substantially correct, of course.

I'd particularly like your judgment on ~~as~~ the theme I tried to develop of the rise of the town and its drive for ~~nonformity~~ conformity; also the relation to prohibition and the growing influence of women--the pages around 29-32.

Also your judgment on my point that the towns hold the balance of voting in the South today as it is constituted.

You can scribble your comments in the margins if that will be more convenient.

The more critical you are the more helpful you will be.

Many thanks for your kind help and best regards.

Sincerely yours

Sam Lubell

Sam Lubell

Enclosed stamped - addressed envelope /
Ms L.

November 8, 1955

TO: GSM

FROM: GSM

Sam Lubell, in his new book on Southern politics, has a neat summary of the county unit situation. "the forty Georgia counties which are 50% or more Negro, have only 13% of the State's population. In appealing to those counties, however, Talmadge [he means Eugene] stands to win 88 unit votes, while the eight most populous counties, with 35% of the State's population, count for only 48 unit votes."

eab/

November 8, 1955

Mr. Samuel Lubell
845 West End Avenue
New York 25, New York

Dear Sam:

I profited from reading your manuscript, and thank you for it. I have no quarrel about the theme of prohibition and the growing influence of women.

I agree in general that the towns hold the balance of voting power.

The only thing that I differ with you a lot on is the probable future drive of Negro voters in cities. On page 44, you even push the Negro urbanite into the middle class.

To begin with, I think we have seen only the first start of Negro voting, city and country, in the South. In my judgment Negro people are hopping mad about the failure of elected authorities to comply with the law of the land on desegregation. And I think they are going to register and vote in rapidly mounting numbers. And I think it will make a lot of difference.

There is the other possibility, out in the country. If and when quite substantial numbers of Negro citizens register and vote in the counties over-represented in the legislature, the members of the legislature from those counties will come tearing into the legislature asking for reapportionment in order to cut down the strength of push-up and largely Negro opinion.

The whole picture right now is blurred by the spirit of the White Citizens' Councils. I don't know what they are going to do, but I expect something quite bad.

I did commas and apostrophes from place to place where I thought they were needed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Ms.

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

SAMUEL LUBELL
845 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

PA - As I recall, you're to side head on this, once MP returns stuff.
H

Jan. 7, 1956

Dear Harold,

Here is the Georgia draft back along with a manuscript Paul Anthony left me have and wanted me to return.

I'll be looking for other parts of the registration and voting study as you can make them available to me.

Thanks and best regards.

Sincerely

Sam Lubell

January 21, 1957

Mr. Samuel Lubell
845 West End Avenue
New York 25, New York

Dear Sam:

Florence Irving's letter forwarding our registration figures must have crossed yours in the mail. We will send you more material as soon as we get it back from our writer.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

SAMUEL LUBELL
845 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

RECEIVED JAN 18 1957

Jan. 18, 1957

Dear Harold:

While I was in your office Florence Irving said she would send me immediately the figures you had of the Negro registration by counties for the individual Southern states. I got the impression these tables were mimeographed and that extra copies were available.

I'm rather anxious to have them quickly since I'm doing a county by county analysis of the vote in all the Southern states and the information on Negro registration would be most useful to me right now.

Best regards and many thanks.

Sincerely yours

Sam

Sam Lubell

SAMUEL LUBELL
845 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK 25, N Y

Jan. 22, 1957

Dear Morris,

My brief stay in Atlanta did spark one idea for a public opinion survey which I am proposing to the Fund for the Republic, as you will see from the copy of the letter enclosed.

I'd be grateful for your reactions to the idea.

As you know I feel quite strongly that some basis on which moderate opinion on desegregation can stand must be re-established in the South, or things there will grow steadily worse.

What I'm proposing is a systematic study to find out what that basis could be, both in terms of which groups of Southerners might be drawn to such a program and what sort of program of proposed action would be most acceptable.

At the same time I believe my survey could outline the wisest public relations strategy that should be followed to improve the present atmosphere.

I can see a number of advantages to having the study sponsored by some independent, citizens group, possibly even the Southern Regional Council. I have not raised this possibility with the Fund; nor have I raised it with the Council people since the idea for the survey did not hit me until after I had left Atlanta.

Needless to add at this stage of things the idea and my letter to the Fund should be kept in strict confidence.

It was good to see you and Jane and Helen and I are looking forward to your next visit to New York. Many thanks and best regards.

As ever

Jan. 22, 1957

W.H. Ferry,
Fund For the Republic,
60 East 42nd Street,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Ferry:

At your Chicago meeting you will recall our discussion of the need to revive public debate in the South on the possibilities of a gradual approach to desegregation.

While I was in Georgia recently one editor remarked to me, "There must be a lot of good Christians in the South who don't believe in segregation. I often ask myself how many such people are there? I wish I knew."

This remark sparked the thought that a good way to prepare the ground for an effort to reopen public discussion of a moderate approach to those issues would be to make an intensive survey of just how much potential support there is in the South for a program of gradual desegregation.

One level of people interviewed would be those who might be called the community leaders, like editors, church leaders, politicians. To encourage them to express themselves freely these talks could be off-the-record.

Supplementing this would be the systematic interviewing of a cross-section of the population, embracing all of the important social, economic and religious groups.

The questioning would be directed to bring out not only how people feel about desegregation in general terms but their reactions to specific, detailed proposals for gradual desegregation. For example, what would be the response to a proposal that schools be integrated just a few grades at a time, over a period of say ten years?

Would there be less opposition from parents whose children would escape integration because of the staggered time of desegregation? Similarly how do feelings vary on different aspects of desegregation-- schools, buses, housing etc.

The whole problem, of course, is one which lends itself particularly well to the survey techniques I have developed for my political reporting.

I see two main benefits from such a survey. First, the results might serve as a springboard for advancing a specific

program of gradual desegregation which, in turn, could alter the terms on which the issue is being debated in the South. At present, particularly in states where officials have sought to foreclose any possible compliance with the Supreme Court's decision, people are being made to feel that the choice is an all or nothing one. Putting forward an alternative to extremism might might change the atmosphere.

Even if it were not possible to frame such a gradualist program and the prospect ahead would be for a generation-span of bitter, even bloody attrition, the survey would reveal how the people in the South feel. This knowledge could serve as a basis for a much-needed strategy of public relations that might lessen today's atmosphere of friction and hatred.

Perhaps I should make one other point. I do not believe that the real feelings of the Southern people is one of complete opposition to desegregation on any basis and for all time. During the last presidential campaign, as well as in recent years, I have done a fair amount of interviewing in the South. These interviews leave little question in my mind that many Southerners are torn in self-conflict over the problem. That the white supremacists have had to use such stringent methods to silence dissent reflects how deep this conflict runs.

I would estimate the cost of the project between $50,000 and $75,000. The study could be made directly for the Fund or for some sponsoring organization interested in the field. My findings would be presented in the form of a confidential report which could be made public, of course. In addition I would want to be free to use my findings in my own writings after the report was submitted.

Sincerely yours

Samuel Lubell

Lubell

Harold Fleming has read your letter to me and your proposal to Ferry (fully understanding that they are confidential) and was very favorably impressed. He made the point that the organizations trying to carry on positive programs of race relations have had to rely on observation, impressions, and a few superficial polls for their evaluations of Southern opinion. He shares your view that what is needed is opinion research in depth, concerned less with what people say their attitudes are than with the determinants of what they will do under different circumstances. In short, a survey aimed at diagnosis and prediction.

The Southern Regional Council, Harold says, is constantly trying to assess the effectiveness of its activities, the importance of one approach as against another. A mature opinion survey would give a basis for such program decisions that doesn't now exist. If the survey were refined enough, it might distinguish the most promising opinion-making techniques for such specialized groups as the religious organizations, labor unions, business leaders, and so on. Many of these groups feel the urgent need to play a constructive role with their constituents but hardly know how to proceed. Such a survey as you suggest might be expected to make clearer the conflicting attitudes and values that nearly every white Southerner harbors, and thus locate the points of leverage where positive pressure will pay off most readily.

This is enough, I think, to indicate that Harold is very much in tune with your ideas, and I'm sure he would want the Council to cooperate in whatever ways seemed indicated.

This conversation makes me feel all the more strongly that an early conference with the Fund for the Republic people, with Harold sitting in, is the logical next step in advancing the proposal. As I said on the telephone, I'd be glad to take part, too, if you like.

COPY

LAW OFFICES OF
HEYMAN, ABRAM & YOUNG
1504 HEALEY BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

ARTHUR HEYMAN (1867-1951)
HERMAN HEYMAN
MORRIS B. ABRAM
ROBERT G. YOUNG
CHARLES F. WITTENSTEIN
HELEN T. HARPER

February 6, 1957

Mr. Samuel Lubell
845 West End Avenue
New York 25, New York

Dear Sam:

Harold Fleming has read your letter to me and your proposal to Ferry (fully understanding that they are confidential) and was very favorably impressed. He made the point that the organizations trying to carry on positive programs of race relations have had to rely on observation, impressions, and a few superficial polls for their evaluations of Southern opinion. He shares your view that what is needed is opinion research in depth, concerned less with what people say their attitudes are than with the determinants of what they will do under different circumstances. In short, a survey aimed at diagnosis and prediction.

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This conversation makes me feel all the more strongly that an early conference with the Fund for the Republic people, with Harold sitting in, is the logical next step in advancing the proposal. As I said on the telephone, I'd be glad to take part, too, if you like.

I might add that I hope you are giving some thought to the current and temporary financial matters of the Council. Never has the opportunity been greater, or the Council better equipped; yet it is absolutely imperative that they get some short term support.

My best regards to Helen and the boys.

Sincerely,

Morris B. Abram

A/c
BC: Harold FLeming

Gallery
Fidelity Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

February 8, 1957

Mr. Samuel Lubell
845 West End Avenue
New York 25, New York

Dear Sam:

Morris Abram has showed me your confidential letter outlining a possible opinion survey in the South. I think it is very much to the point and hope I will be hearing more about it.

Meanwhile, I gathered from Morris that you are almost on the eve of your lectures at Howard, and I am aware that our progress with the voting report hasn't been rapid enough to serve your purposes. Therefore I am enclosing a thermo-fax copy of a draft that Margaret Price has been doing for us, undertaking to summarize the various state reports. As you will see, it is very rough and I don't even know at this point what final form some of it will take. But I thought it might help you to flip through it. When it has served your purposes, please mail it back to me.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

The lectures are in the Materials File under Suffrage. -FBI

SAMUEL LUBELL
845 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

Received ~~DELIVERED~~ MAR 8 1957

March 5, 1957

Dear Harold,

I've asked Howard University to send you copies of three lectures I delivered there last week on the Negro's political future.

Aside from sending them to you for your own personal interest, I'd welcome your comments, the more critical and detailed the better, of what I said.

I intend to expand and revise the lectures into a book but am by no means completely satisfied with my thoughts as they now stand. I'd be particularly interested in your reaction to the progress versus national character theme I tried to develop in the last lecture.

Also if there are any factual data in the way of events or developments around your way which bear on my talks I'd be grateful for anything you send along.

Many thanks for your help in this and best personal regards.

As ever,

Sam

Sam Lubell

P.S. - I'm afraid there won't be much doing on the Fund for the Republic ~~see~~ and the survey - they seem headed in another direction under this reorganization.

SAMUEL LUBELL
845 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

April 2,1957

Dear Harold,

Here is a somewhat more detailed outline of the desegregation study we've talked about. As you will see specific mention is made in it of the possibility of attracting labor or business groups. It also is a somewhat more detailed exposition of what I would do.

My thought is to circulate this memorandum among a few people and see what interest I can draw. I'll be talking to the Twentieth Century Fund people next week.

While you were up here you mentioned a labor study that your people had done. I meant to ask you what its scope was and its findings. Would it be of interest to me in expanding and revising my Howard University lectures for a book?

On this -- additional material for the expansion of the lectures-- I noticed that in the current issue of New South that Florence Irving talks of some state officials taking the position that their states would have to comply with the Supreme Court decision when it was first made. I'd like to get any specific references and details of this sort of thing to show how the mood of the South changed in the months that followed.

Many thanks and best regards.

As ever

Sam

From Samuel Lubell

Attitudes to Racial Problems in the South

While I was in Georgia recently one editor remarked to me, "There must be a lot of good Christians in the South who don't believe in segregation. I often ask myself how many such people there are. I wish I knew!"

That remark sparked the thought for a survey I would like to undertake which might make an important contribution to easing our racial problems.

Briefly, I'd like to determine how much potential support there is in the South for a program of gradual desegregation.

One level of people interviewed would be those who might be called the community leaders, like editors, church leaders, politicians. To encourage them to express themselves freely these talks could be off-the-record.

Supplementing this would be the systematic interviewing of a cross-section of the population, embracing all of the important social, economic and religious groups.

The questioning would be directed to bring out two main things:

(a) What kind of Southerners are least opposed to desegregation?

(b) What specific features of a gradual program of desegregation would command the greatest support and by whom?

Co-Educational Schools

For example, would opposition to desegregation be lessened if schools in the South were not co-educational?

Again, in my interviewing in the South during the last campaign, I came across some people who admitted they believed desegregation inevitable but who wanted to delay the change until their children were out of school. This suggests that opposition to desegregation might be reduced if integration were carried through a few grades at a time, over a period of say ten years.

Similarly the survey would search out the variations in feeling on different aspects of desegregation--schools, buses, housing, jobs, etc.

In every case the reaction of people would be sought not merely in general terms but in how people feel about specific, detailed proposals for gradual desegregation.

A Blow to Extremism

I see two main benefits from such a survey.

First, one of the really great needs today is to revive public debate in the South on the possibilities of gradual desegregation. As things now are moving in the South people with moderate racial views have been virtually silenced. Public thinking is being hammered into an extremist mold, which seems to be hardening steadily. Particularly in states where officials have sought to foreclose any possible compliance with the Supreme Court's decision, people are being made to feel that the choice is an all or nothing one.

The results of my survey might serve as a springboard for advancing a specific program of gradual desegregation which could

reopen public discussion in the South of a gradual approach to these issues. By bringing forward specific alternatives to extremism the whole atmosphere might be changed.

New Strategy Molded

Second, even if it were not possible to frame such a gradualist program, the findings of the survey would be of considerable value. If gradualism loses out in the South the prospect ahead would be for a generation-span of bitter, even bloody attrition. The knowledge of how different groups of Southerners feel about detailed aspects of racial segregation could serve as a basis for a much-needed long-range strategy that would lessen today's atmosphere of friction and hatred.

The fact is that the turn the racial problem has taken in the South since the Supreme Court's decision has not been what was expected. A re-thinking of the problem is needed and the facts of how Southerners feel would aid considerably in this re-thinking.

Effect of Violence

As part of this survey I would want to check the effect of acts of racial violence in a community. Do they operate to advance a demand for law and order? Or do they serve to intimidate "liberal" opinion?

Particularly intensive efforts would be made to see how the attitudes of younger people differ from those of their parents.

Effect On Other Issues

I would also want to check how racial attitudes are influencing people's feelings on other things. For example, is the

intensified racial feeling spilling over into anti-semitism or anti-Catholicism?

Are attitudes towards race affecting feelings towards foreign policy and vice versa? The positions being taken by Talmadge and other Southerners warns that racial bitterness may be channelled into opposition to foreign aid, for example.

Job Integration Problems

The survey could also be organized so that special attention can be paid to the special problems of various groups.

For example, the survey could go into the problems that some of the larger corporations face in getting a more equitable integration of jobs between white and Negro workers. What would be the most effective approach that could be taken by these employers?

Many opportunities to advance job integration are being lost because company managers do not know how best to proceed.

Similarly, the problems that labor unions are facing with their membership on these issues could be gone into so as to determine what would ease racial antagonisms between white and Negro workers.

Trends For the Future

In organizing the survey I would also want to measure the potential effect for the future of the more important social and economic changes going on in the South. For example, take the question of whether an improvement in the Negro's economic status can be looked to as a possible force for future racial progress.

To be able to measure this I have been analyzing the main forces responsible for economic change among Negroes. As far as

Negro farmers are concerned rural electrification seems a key influence. One effect of electrification has been to make the Negro a good customer for all sorts of electrical appliances. And so in picking out the areas of the South where the interviewing would be done I would take several where rural electrification has progressed most rapidly. In these areas I would make a special point of interviewing merchants who are profiting from the Negro's expanded purchasing power. Are these merchants, who are consciously aware of their interest in the Negro's economic advancement more moderate in their racial views than other Southerners?

In much the same way, the effects of all of the more important social and economic changes going on in the South could be weighed.

Self-Conflict Evident

The whole problem, of course, is one which lends itself particularly well to the survey techniques I have developed for my political reporting.

Perhaps I should make one other point. I do not believe that the real feeling of the Southern people is one of complete opposition to desegregation on any basis and for all time. During the last presidential campaign, as well as in recent years, I have done a fair amount of interviewing in the South. These interviews leave little question in my mind that many Southerners are torn in self-conflict over the problem.

That the white supremacists have had to use such stringent methods to silence dissent reflects how deep this conflict runs.

My findings would be presented in the form of a confidential

report which could be made public, of course. In addition I would want to be free to use my findings in my own writings after the report was submitted.

NOTE ON WORKING METHODS

As to working methods I would be happy to present a more detailed prospectus if that is desired. But I might make these quick points:

Do Homework First

1. Before any interviewing is done, a detailed itemization of possible measures of gradual desegregation would be worked up to serve as a basis for much of the questioning. In putting these measures together the advice would be sought of Negro leaders and knowledgeable agencies in this field such as the Southern Regional Council; also of the labor unions, corporations and others most concerned with the issue.

2. The field interviewing would be done by myself with a small staff of skilled assistants working under my direction.

3. The areas to be gone into would consist of a number of communities, both urban and rural, carefully selected because of their special sensitivity to various aspects of the problems involved. In several states public referenda have been held on amendments designed to maintain school segregation. These votes would be used as a means of scaling the differences in feeling on racial issues in various parts of the South. Particular attention would be paid to communities whose voting indicates that the people living there are

April 9, 1957

Mr. Samuel Lubell
845 West End Avenue
New York 25, New York

Dear Mr. Lubell:

At the suggestion of Harold Fleming, we are enclosing reproductions of portions of two recent issues of The Citizens' Council.

You will note in these papers the section, "A Manual for Southerners" - teaching materials being prepared by the Mississippi WCC for use in the public schools. These manuals express much of the current white thinking and illustrate the type of thinking now being promoted by a considerable group in the region.

As other manuals are issued we will send them to you if you feel they will be of any value.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/hs
Encls

November 8, 1957

Mr. Samuel Lubell 7
845 West End Avenue
New York 25, New York

Dear Sam:

I was delighted to receive the recent news release and to learn of your new appointment. It is good to see that the negotiations you were engaged in when I saw you last have come to such fruitful conclusions. My first thought, of course, is what this means in terms of the kind of opinion research in the South that we have discussed. I judge from the release that your projects will be pretty localized, though I wasn't sure whether that meant localized in the New York area.

When time and your new duties permit, let me know if there is any possibility here of our working together on mutual interests. The next time I am in New York, perhaps I can do a better job of getting together with you and discussing this possibility.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

January 17, 1958

Mr. Samuel Lubell
845 West End Avenue
New York 25, New York

Dear Sam:

The news of your impending swing through the South is welcome indeed. I hope the test run in March does lead to a full-scale study of The Problem.

We're hard pressed (as we should be), so I see little chance of cutting loose any staff members as temporary field workers. I do know of one or two possibilities whom I will sound out and, if they're available, will refer to you.

The question of gradual desegregation is an interesting, if complicated, one. It seems to me that the cumulative evidence to date adds up to this: Projecting a gradual program may help the educational and political leaders of a community decide to go ahead, but it may be more harmful than helpful in carrying out the decision. Militant segregationists appear to see a gradual, drawn-out program as a sign of weakness and lack of commitment by official leadership, hence an invitation to mobilize resistance that will halt or turn back the process. Nashville is in just that kind of trouble now, and to a lesser degree so is Greensboro. And, of course, there could be no more gradual program than that developed in Little Rock.

A show of firmness and unequivocal determination by school and police officials seems to be much more a precondition of success than the gradualness of the program.

Getting advance acceptance of the change is another matter, but I believe that too hinges on the role of leadership. As I think you would agree, the general run of people get their images of public events, notions of their "proper" role and "acceptable" attitudes on an issue, from those opinion leaders who mean the most to them. An exploration of this process would be most rewarding and useful in diagnosing the heart of the problem. I know nothing about the psychology of casting questions in a way that will elicit the most meaningful response. But in straight language, here are some of the questions that occur to me: (These assume pro-segregation views.)

1. When did you first become actively concerned about the prospect of integration?

2. Did any particular incident cause this?

3. Do you recall any specific speech, public statement, newspaper article, etc., that made a deep impression on you?

4. What public figure or figures best express your views on segregation and integration?

5. If this person (or persons) should endorse a gradual plan of desegregation, would you be inclined to go along?

6. What is your understanding of the terms of the Supreme Court's school integration decision? (If necessary, multiple-choice characterizations might be used. But an open-end answer would best illustrate the degree of distortion, misunderstanding, and myth-making that are prevalent.)

7. (If objection is based on intermarriage or sexual grounds) Would you agree (or disagree less) with a desegregation plan under which boys and girls would be separated?

8. (If objection is on grounds of health, cleanliness, etc.) Would you agree (or disagree less) with a plan that screened pupils according to these standards?

9. (If objection is to lowering of educational standards, "differences" in intelligence) Would you agree (or disagree less) with a plan that admitted to white schools only Negro pupils who tested average for that school? Or who tested superior by city-wide standards?

10. Do you know, or know of, any Negro children that you wouldn't mind having attend school with your children?

11. How far would you be willing to go in resisting integration? (Armed resistance, shutting down schools, exhausting all efforts in courts, setting up a three-way public school system, establishing private schools for white children, etc.)

12. Do you think most Negroes in your community want desegregated schools?

13. If the law were changed and segregation made voluntary, do you think many Negroes would enroll in desegregated schools?

This might go on and on, but this is enough to suggest the tenor of my thinking. As to the questions from number 6 on, I'm afraid they would serve more to point up the irrationality of attitudes than to suggest ways of getting consensus. But the irrationalities, being basic, need to be better understood.

I hope these hasty comments are of some use and that we will soon have an opportunity to sit down together for a full discussion.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JAN - 7 1958

SAMUEL LUBELL
845 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

Dec. Jan. 3, 1958

Dear Harold:

Forgive my long delay in answering your Nov. 8 letter but these last weeks have been hectic ones for me.

While we are going to concentrate our Workshop surveys in the New York area at the start, this will not preclude our doing work elsewhere. Also at this stage the Workshop will be taking only part of my time which will leave me free to work the whole country.

As a matter of fact I'm preparing now for a swing around the country around March to get how people feel about the current crisis. I intend to do a good deal of work in the South on integration problems directly and indirectly-- ie their effect on the attitudes people have on other issues.

I don't know yet but I may have enough funds at my disposal to use a couple of field workers. Would you have anyone who could be used for that sort of assignment? It probably wouldn't run very long in point of time but whoever did it would pick up a good deal of valuable knowledge. They would be paid, of course, while working for me.

Second, what questions would be worth asking to find out whether Southerners favor a gradual program of desegregation? A couple of questions that I have in mind are whether people would feel any differently if schools were not co-ed, also if integration were done one grade at a time to be staggered over ten years. Are there any other specific suggestions for gradual desegregation which have been advanced which would be worth testing?

I still have not abandoned hope for raising the funds for a full-scale study of the problem. My present thought is to use this other safari that I am planning as a means of conducting a test run which can be used to show that the larger study is worth undertaking.

Best regards and best wishes for the new year.

As ever

Sam

Sam Lubell

over

re: field workers for Sam.

1. John Constable –
2. Bonita Valien –
3. Chris Mercer
4. Leo McMillan ?

SAMUEL LUBELL
845 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

Feb. 21, 1958

Dear Harold:

My present plan is to get into Atlanta either late Thursday night or early Friday to stay through to Sunday night.

One thing that would help me considerably would be a census tract map for the city of Atlanta and any descriptive data to go with it. There may be some welfare council or city planning outfit that has such a map and the data-- there usually is someone in a city with this material. I want to use it to correlate with the voting areas which, on the basis of my study of Atlanta voting, should stratify very sharply.

Many thanks and best regards.

As ever

Sam

SAMUEL LUBELL
845 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

February 22, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Harold,

As Sam made a complete reversal of plans and dashed for the plane for San Francisco, he asked me to write you asking these favors.

Would you make a reservation at the Dickler(if that is the correct name?) Hotel; for Thursday the ~~[illegible]~~ 27th of February through the 1st of ~~February~~. March

He is arriving on the 5 PM plane from Dallas, Texas, which should arrive at 8:28 PM. Flight 100, Delta AA.

Sam would like to have dinner with the chap you have lined up to assist him. If not dinner, Sam would like to see him at the hotel that night, Thursday the 27th.

One last request and that is, can you get the Census tract map. He said he would be most grateful if you were able to get it and leave it at the hotel so he could check it when he comes in.

Many thanks says Sam and me too.

Oh yes, he will be at the Statler-Hilton in Dallas, Tuesday through Thursday.

Again, many thanks,

Sincerely,

Helen Lubell

Helen Lubell

HCF -
res. made at Dickler
2/27 thru 3/1
PA

MEMORANDUM February 27, 1958

To: Mr. Samuel Lubell

From: Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

:

I am leaving the census tract map with this memorandum at your hotel. Enclosed is a memo explaining the data available from the Metropolitan Planning Commission and the way in which it can be obtained.

I understand Bob Young is to meet you at the hotel this evening at 8:30.

I trust these arrangements are satisfactory. We will, of course, be at the office in the morning if we can be of further help.

:

LWD

MA ✓
pls handle

SAMUEL LUBELL

July 19, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar

Sorry but your check got mis laid.

Thanks for the trouble.

Since these Florida returns were so badly blurred Could We possibly have another copy - or even have the figures written in.

Thanks so much

Helen Lubell

wrote in figures + mailed MA 7-21-61

845 West End Ave
New York, NY.

Ruth has check

December 3, 1963

Mr. Samuel Lubell
845 West End Avenue
New York 25, New York

Dear Sam:

I am sending you, enclosed, a copy of the Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis. We have only file copies of this report, and so I would appreciate your returning this one.

Under separate cover, some other things.

Over the weekend I read further into my stack of accumulated odds and ends, and in the process read one thing which I recommend to you strongly. It comes as close as anything, I believe, to answering the specific question you raised with me about job patterns. It's a manuscript by Ray Marshall, Professor of Economics, University of Texas, titled, Racial Factors Influencing Entry Into the Skilled Trades. Ray inscribed a note on the manuscript saying that it was to be published as a chapter in a book coming out from the Johns Hopkins University Press. As my copy is mimeographed, I would assume that Ray could send you one if you wrote to him.

Reading his paper reminded me of another which might be of interest to you. It is titled, A Survey of Discrimination in the Building Trades Industry, New York City, and was prepared by Don Shaughnessy for the New York Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Don teaches history at Columbia University.

It was good meeting you finally, and I am sorry I did not have answers for all your questions. I do look forward to a chance to comment on your outline.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Intimidation report)
Separate mailing:
March 31, 1963 "Chronology of Violence....in Mississippi"
Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Mississippi Advisory Committee Report on Mississippi
May 1962 NEW SOUTH, "Negro Employment in Miami"
Atlanta, Chattanooga, Houston Employment Studies

December 17, 1963

Mr. Samuel Lubell
845 West End Avenue
New York 25, New York

Dear Sam:

It should be quite a book. I've put numbers in the margin, and the notes attached refer to them.

Let us know if we can do anything.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure

1. Don't slough over the plurality of leadership. Did the NAACP, e.g., seek actively such a showdown? And what of Negro educators, businessmen, etc.? For that matter, how long and consistently has King consciously sought it?

2. Do you think in 1954 and 1955 the Court consciously "intended" to effect a split?

3. GOOD!

4. Yes.

5. City and suburbs, economic rigidities, welfare state -- objective realities. Loss of individualism -- theory. Moreover, what collective nostalgia is it which makes all of us so ready to agree about this "loss of individualism?" Certainly, the present reality is less than the dream of the past.

6. I'm not sure. Your outline implies a division between old rural and old urban attitudes which didn't clearly exist. A good bit of such progress as we've made comes from the withdrawal of urban areas from -- if not the attitudes, then -- the action patterns of 20-30, even ten, years ago, of cities as well as country.

7. So? Maybe inevitable?

8. This may happen. It is certainly one of the reasonable hypotheses. Another hypothesis, or maybe just another way of stating the same one, is that southern politics is being nationalized, and that means party competition. The point is, that I think it at least reasonable to assume a possibility that Republicanism can grow in the South without being racist. To the degree that it does grow the National Republican party will be nudged away from Eisenhower-Dewey-Nixon toward a Goldwater-like position; but I don't think this necessarily implies anything but a less activist race policy through executive action. I don't think the Republicans can get a big part of the South without veering conservative; economically and without roughing up our foreign policies some. The Democratic party can (or at least could for years) contain a dissident South, but to offer southern conservatives the same status in the Republic party isn't enough incentive to leave the ancestral home and fortress.

9. There are complex reactions and interactions here, but, between Garvey and 1962, hasn't the militancy expressed itself most often in the South?

10. I believe migration slowed considerably during the 30's.

11. Who were these "more militant leaders" fighting "alone without friends?"

12. Was there much of this before 1961-62?

13. It's been interesting to hear, in the last few months, how frequently the SNCC workers refer tothis sort of thing, and speak, in almost identical words, of the "system being against Negroes". They are right.

14. This I am eager to read.

File
Lubell, Sam.

January 9, 1964

Mr. Samuel Lubell
843 West End Avenue
New York 25, New York

Dear Sam:

I have not answered your letter of December 21 because the registration figures we are working up have not yet got done. You should receive them before the end of this month.

I am not sure how helpful I can be with some of the more analytical questions in your letter of December 21, but I'll try, when I reply to your letter of January 8 which, with its tiny enclosure, decended on me today. I'll do my best to meet your deadline.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

See "Lu" Gen. corresp.

January 16, 1964

Mr. Samuel Lubell
845 West End Avenue
New York 25, New York

Dear Sam:

I like the manuscript of your first six chapters very much. It will make an important book, I think.

I find that I have only one quarrel sizeable enough to be notable. This has to do with your assessment of Martin Luther King, Jr.

To bring this up at all is to risk the likelihood of misunderstanding. I happen to have the very highest regard for MLK as a man, as a prophet, as a philosopher, and as a leader who has in a remarkable way kept his head. My disagreement, if it is that, with you is that as I read the southern developments it is a serious misunderstanding to see them as responsive to the leadership of any one person, or, indeed, as responsive to the leadership of any one set of ideas. For this reason the wording of the last paragraph of Chapter 5, page 27, for example, worries me because I think it invites an unreal conception on the part of your readers of what is happening here.

I have noted some remarks in the margins which may be of slight interest to you. You will find them on page 2 of Chapter 1, on page 8 of Chapter 2, on pages 1, 9, and 10 of Chapter 3, on page 7 of Chapter 4, on pages 12, 17, 24, 30, 33, and 35 of Chapter 5, on pages 2, 13, and 20 of Chapter 6. Enclosed is a copy of a pampmlet by Ken Morland which may be helpful to you in completing page 3 of Chapter 2. Incidently, I recall that a few years ago (about 1959) both John Fischer of Harpers and a Judge Liebowitz of New York did talk of bringing the Negro migration to the cities of the North under control; see page 9 of Chapter 1.

Now to try to answer some of your specific queries.

Chapter 1, page 5 - other "illusions"
I think you have pretty well covered the field though you might want to consider as another the oft expressed notion that Negroes are just another minority and that they can be absorbed as other minorities in the past have been. In fact I think the illusion pops up at the end of page 33, Chapter 5, of your manuscript.

Chapter 5, page 12 - liberals and their difficulties
Enclosed is a memorandum regarding the Southern Manifesto and an excerpt from Howard Quint's book dealing with Chester Travelstead. These might be helpful.

Chapter 5, page 17 - drift into the cities
I don't know what I can add. I took a swipe at this same point a couple of years back in the enclosed Phylon article; see pages 251-252.

Chapter 5, page 23 - Atlanta stratification
I think you have done it pretty well. In point of accuracy the Negroes do not so much lie "between" the two white sides. They sort of funnel out to the west, like this (see left margin). The only point I think worth adding to a short description is that for reasons of topography, railroad tracks, expressway location, the situation of downtown, and
cleve clever design there is for the present and future far less "threat" of Negro housing expansion to the north side than to the south.

Chapter 5, page 28 - Atlanta Negro community
Again I think you have done excellently within the limits of a short description except - and it's a pretty big except - you have given hardly any mention to what is undoubtedly one of the basic things and that is the influence of the Negro colleges. This is registered not only through their presence and through the attraction of the student body, but through the large number of their graduates who live here and through the civic leadership which comes out of the faculty.

Chapter 5, page 4 - Negro voter registration
I am enclosing a copy of a page of New South, June-July 1948, which indicates 1940 and 1947 registration estimates. See also page 15 of Changing Patterns in the New South, enclosed. (There may be some other things in this pamphlet of interest to you.) I shall send before the end of the month the best late registration we can come up with.

Chapter 5, page 35 - the student activists
I don't know that I can be of the help you need. We do have a load of stuff in our Voter

Education Project files that is not exactly what you want. It runs more to the kind of thing shown in the article by Penny Patch in the enclosed New South for November-December 1962. I am enclosing also the New South for September 1961; see Maggie Long's piece beginning on page 2 about Henry Thomas. This ought to be what you want. So also should the enclosed National Observer piece by George McMillan about some of the Orangeburg demonstrators. So also should be Robert Coles' chapter (beginning at page 188) of Youth: Change and Challenge, edited by Erik Erikson. See also John Poppy's article in Look, May 21, 1963. See also John Fischer's less perceptive piece about Bob Moses in Harper's,

Chapter 5, pages 36 and 37 - Orangeburg, Tuskegee, and Haywood County

Barbara Patterson, our research assistant, will get a note off to you shortly.

And I'll get the registration figures for you as soon as I can. I am dubious I can do much with your question of December 21 about the urban and rural counties but we'll see. At any rate before sending up the figures I'll study over both your queries of December 21 and January 8.

On question in your letter of December 21 I can answer, and should have answered before. The Voter Education Project does not do any field work itself directly. We make grants to other agencies, both the big ones and the local ones. With the local ones we are able to do a considerable amount of consultation and planning. All agencies to date which have received VEP support have been predominantly Negro groups. Off the record, we would be delighted if some group would ask for VEP assistance in a white registration project; one or two have, as a matter of fact, but for quasi-registration jobs which we had to turn down. On the other hand, some of the important recipients of VEP support, such as CORE and SNCC, use a lot of white workers.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:bp
Enclosures (9), and manuscript

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Samuel Lubell Associates

Jan. 8, 1964

Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les,

Although you didn't answer my last letter, I still would like to impose on you to ask you to read the enclosed chapters of my book.

All of it needs one more polishing and some pulling together. The more unsparing you are in your criticisms the more helpful you will be.

Apart from the copy as a whole there are some specific holes that need plugging and which I'd be particularly grateful if you could send me any data that you might have.

Ch. 1 P 5-- Any other "illusions" I can impale?

Ch. 5-- This is the one on the south and the the one I need your help most on. If you're rushed for time, as I expect you are, perhaps you'd go through this chapter first.

P. 12-- Any data that comes readily to mind showing how Liberals in the South found it increasingly difficult to speak out for integration.

P. 17- anything helpful or interesting on the drift of Southerners into the cities.

P. 23-- Here you will see I've tried to do a quick sketch of the three-way stratification of Atlanta. If you can add anything to the descriptions of any of the three areas that would be helpful, any additional details, color, even anecdotes.

P 28- begins a sketch of Martin King and the Atlanta Negro community he came out of. Anything that comes to your mind of interest here would be helpful.

P.4- You will see I need that table on Negro registration in the South over the years that I wrote you about on Dec. 21. As a pointed out then I'd like one source for all the figures which means I need the Southern Regional Council estimates for 1940, 1960,1961,1962

P. 35- here I really need your help. I'd like to get some picture of what these student activists in the South are like-- their family backgrounds etc.

On this it seems to me your own voter registration project might ~~make~~ give me the stuff I need. If you ran down the list of young people who have been running these voter schools etc. what are they like-- how many are college graduates, what are the occupations of their parents, where are they from etc.

P. 36- Could you give me a couple of paragraphs on the Orangeburg boycott and where it stands now, showing the staying power of the Negro community there?

Also of the Tuskegee protest against the redistricting of Macon county. Where does that protest stand now?

Are there any other examples of Negro staying power in the face of threats etc.

P. 37-- what ever happened to the croppers who were dispossessed in Haywood County? Do they make an effective contrast of how much more vulnerable Negroes are in the rural areas than in an urban community?

something late

Need I add that I'd like all this done by yesterday? Seriously I'm trying to lock up the whole thing by the 15th at the latest.

Many thanks-- which is indeed an inadequate way of expressing my appreciation.

As ever

Sam Lubell

Samuel Lubell

845 West End Ave.,
New York. 25, N.Y.

Samuel Lubell Associates

Dec. 21, 1963

Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les,

First many thanks for your comments on the book outline.

The Goldwater prospect envisioned when I did the outline has faded, naturally, with Johnson coming to office. The immediate Johnson impact, I suspect, will be to blur things and shelve many of the prevailing resentments in the South.

We'll have to wait to see what the long-time effect will be.

When I saw you in Atlanta you mentioned that you were working up a new set of state-by-state figures on Negro registration in the South. I'd like to get the table so I can update the figures that I will be using in my book.

Would you be able to tell me what proportion of the newer registration gains in the last few years has come in urban counties and what proportion has come in rural counties? For example, is one figure available, or can it be put together, showing how much of an increase in registration has taken place in the Black Belt counties, either the whole list or a number of them for which figures are available, or perhaps the black belt counties in some specific state?

Also could you check your files and send me the estimate of voter registration that you have for these past years-- 1940, 1960, 1961, 1962? My problem here is that I find in my files varied estimates of Negro voting from different sources. It seemed best to try to get a year-by-year count from <u>one</u> source.

Again many thanks for your help.

Sincerely

Sam

Samuel Lubell

845 West End Ave.,
New York, 25, N.Y.

P.S.-- I'd appreciate getting your thoughts, suggestions etc. on why Southern Negroes are showing so much more militancy today and in recent years than through the Twenties and Thirties. What has changed? In your voter project do you use only Negroes? What kind of kids are they, family background, father's occupation, urban or rural , etc?

File: "Lee" Gen. Corresp

Samuel Lubell Associates

MA
MJ
file letter

June 11, 1964

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 5

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Sorry to be so late in returning this booklet to you.

Nothing enclosed
Mailed separately

The book should be out soon.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely,

Helen Lubell
for S. Lubell

845 West End Avenue
N ew York, N.Y. 25

(returned Intimidation, Reprisal & Violence)

File
Lubell, Samuel

September 15, 1964

Mr. Samuel Lubell
845 West End Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Sam:

I have -- finally -- read White and Black (of course, I had read a rough portion of it earlier). I had the rare experience of finding nothing to disagree with (though your Presidential Peace Commissions are almost surely not going to happen, and we had better be thinking up other devices). But, -- and, though agreement is no praise, this is -- it was not because I had already thought everything you had put down. It is a most instructive book, Sam.

I always resent, from whomever and for whatever, the tag "everyone should read etc." I do think that the people who have to make the decisions, including those who govern us and those who have been thrust into leadership of the civil rights movement, need urgently to read your book.

Because I am deep into the Negro registration drive, it's important to me that you know how I regard this. There is no disagreement between us about the insufficiency of voting or even about its potential political hazards. I do think that (a) empirically, a significant Negro vote is the sine qua non of any local progress; (b) is the only doorway

to emancipation of southern politics from basic concern with defense of racialism; and (c) is a prerequisite to dignity that makes possible the individual acceptance you so correctly come down for.

Incidentally, one of the unlovely consequences of the registration drive showed up here last week in the local election. In an intensely heated, long and much talked about race, where a prominent, popular Negro was pitted against our notorious and blatant segregationist judge, only 50% of the Negro vote turned out (and consequently the Negro candidate failed to make the runoff). The registration drive here (and elsewhere) has registered people who aren't really interested, and unless well-oiled machinery can be built to get them to vote, the registration drives will be of little worth.

Congratulations on a fine job.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Miss Genevieve Young

HARPER & ROW, PUBLISHERS
INCORPORATED

49 EAST 33D ST., NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-1900 • CABLE: HARPSAM

July 9, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Under separate cover I am sending you an advance copy of Samuel Lubell's new book, WHITE AND BLACK: TEST OF A NATION, which we are publishing on August 12th.

Mr. Lubell brings to his discussion of the race problem the insights of a reporter-historian. You may know of Mr. Lubell as a pioneer in the field of the public opinion survey: he has always probed far beyond the "yes" and "no" headcounts to achieve a record remarkable for its accuracy.

We would welcome any comment you might have to make on this book.

Sincerely,

Genevieve Young

Genevieve Young
Assistant Managing Editor

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

GY:pb

HARPER & ROW, PUBLISHERS
INCORPORATED
1817
49 EAST 33rd ST., NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-1900 • CABLE: HARPSAM

File Lubell, Samuel

Read 9/21/64

File

September 18, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Thank you for the copy of your letter to Mr. Lubell. We are delighted to know that you thought well of his book.

Might we quote from your letter in our advertising for the book? We might use something to this effect: "It is a most instructive book...the people who have to make the decisions, including those who govern us and those who have been thrust into leadership of the civil rights movement, need urgently to read it."

I'm enclosing a self-addressed postcard for your convenience in replying.

Sincerely,

Genevieve Young (DB)

Genevieve Young
Assistant Managing Editor

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

GY:db

encl.

cc for: Samuel Lubell

See Lubell, Samuel

June 25, 1965

Mr. Samuel Lubell
Samuel Lubell Associates
845 West End Avenue
New York, New York 10025

Dear Sam:

I am sorry to be so slow about replying to your request. I have been on a brief vacation; don't know why someone else didn't answer it.

Enclosed is a sheet of figures that we put out last November, which represents the last estimate we have made. We are working now carefully on what might be called an audit of all the VEP data. From time to time soon we should have, and be able to send to you, figures state by state. I am enclosing also the release we did last fall on the 1964 voting; so far its assertions seem to have stood up. All the best.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
Enclosures
1. "What Happendd in the South"
2. Southern Negro Voter Statistics (Chart)

Rec'd 6/17/65

Samuel Lubell Associates

June 16, 1965

Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les,

I'm updating "White and Black" for a paperback edition. Would you have a state-by state table showing how many Negroes were registered to vote in the South on the eve of the 1964 presidential election?

I'd appreciate your sending me the best figures you have.

Many thanks and best regards to you and Margaret Long.

As ever

Sam

845 West End Ave.,
New York, N.Y., 10025

Sam Lubell

in considerable conflict over the racial issues.

Other communities would be chosen because of how they have reacted--both for and against--to various aspects of desegregation.

Still other communities will be gone into because they are particularly sensitive to some trend of social and economic change, such as where unionization has made considerable progress; where the agriculture is being shifted from cotton to cattle; or where new industries have come in; where the labor supply is relatively tight, etc.

Most of this analysis of voting returns and economic data has already been completed.

4. In each of the communities where the public is being interviewed, I would also interview the key community leaders. Among other things this would enable us to judge the effect of leadership in this whole problem. In addition key leadership circles would be sampled through the South generally.

5. It would be my hope to be out in the field during early September when the new school year opens. If any situations of special interest crop up we would go into those areas to gain a better understanding of what lies behind whatever happens.

- - -

PAGE (s) MISSING

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Samuel Lubell Associates

our new office
address and telephone number is

3200 New Mexico Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
(202) 362-3230

February 2, 1954

Mr. Albert E. Lovejoy
Lynchburg College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Lovejoy:

I will be at your service on the 17th and at Dean Wells' service on the 16th.

I don't know anything about criminology, though I could talk a little bit about policemen and how they ought to behave. Ten o'clock and one o'clock classes could be manageable.

Would you now do me a favor? Call Belle Boone Beard at Sweet Briar and tell her what my schedule is and offer me to her for any interstices that you and Beard and Wells can mutually agree upon. I have to leave the night of the 17th and get myself back down to Atlanta for the morning of the 18th. But that Sweet Briar place has a way of ganging up the girls in a sit-down tea party when they can be talked at. It is only because I promised Miss Beard that I would let her know of any Lynchburg trip that I try to carry through.

Sincerely,

Geroge S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

LYNCHBURG COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DIVISION OF SOCIAL STUDIES

January 28, 1954

RECEIVED
JAN 29
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George H. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 433
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Dean Wells tells me that you are going to be on the Lynchburg College campus February 16th and 17th and that possibly you could give some time to several of my sociology classes. Though I have no pertinent classes on Tuesday, the 16th, on Wednesday, the 17th three classes would benefit greatly by your speaking to them. They are Criminology at 8 o'clock in the morning, Problems of Sociology at 10 o'clock, and a freshman class in Social Studies at 1 o'clock. If you could visit any or all of these, I should be delighted and deeply grateful. In the first, Criminology, we would be interested in any phase of crime in the Southeast that pertained to Negro-white relations or to Negro life exclusively, for that matter. In the second and third classes you, of course, could choose any of the almost limitless phases of race relations problems for our thinking and enlightenment.

Very sincerely,

Albert E. Lovejoy

Albert E. Lovejoy

via air mail

June 23, 1960

file

Mr. Louis M. Lyons
Harvard University Nieman
Foundation for Journalism
44 Holyoke House
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Lyons:

You will have received by now a copy of our new publication, Racial Crisis and the Press, co-authored by Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer. Sylvan particularly wanted you to see it.

We are planning to distribute the booklet to the members of the Southern Nieman's Association, as well as to Journalism schools throughout the country. If, after looking the booklet over, you have suggestions for further complimentary distribution, we would be grateful for them.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Lyn file general

file

INITIAL SIGNERS OF A NATIONAL STATEMENT ON THE STAUGHTON LYND CASE
(partial listing as of September 20, 1967)

Rev. Daniel Berrigan, S.J.
Ray A. Billington, past President, Organization of American Historians
Robert Brustein, Dean of the School of Drama, Yale University
Robert S. Cohen, Chairman, Department of Physics, Boston University
Barry Commoner, Professor of Botany, Washington University
Ivan Dee, publisher, Quadrangle Books
Theodore Draper, Hoover Institution, California
Thomas Emerson, Lines Professor of Law, Yale University
Paul Goodman
William Hackett, Vice President, Bobbs Merrill Publishers
Michael Harrington, Chairman, League for Industrial Democracy
Irving Howe, Editor, Dissent
H. Stuart Hughes, Professor of History, Harvard University
Horace M. Kallen
Milton M. Klein, Graduate Dean, State University College, Fredonia, New York
Howard LaMar, Chairman, Department of History, Yale University
William Leuchtenberg, Professor of History, Columbia University
Leonard W. Levy, Earl Warren Professor of Constitutional History, Brandeis
Bishop John Wesley Lord, Methodist Church, Washington, D.C.
Henry May, Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley
Edmund Morgan, Sterling Professor of History, Yale University
Merrill Peterson, Chairman, Department of History, University of Virginia
David Reisman, Henry Ford III Professor of Sociology, Harvard University
Muriel Rukeyser, poet
Andre Schiffrin, Pantheon Books
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Albert Schweitzer Professor of Humanities, City University of New York
Carl E. Schorske, Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley
Studs Terkel, WFMT, Chicago
Norman Thomas
Mark Van Doren
William A. Williams, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin
C. Vann Woodward, Sterling Professor of History, Yale University

SIGNERS OF A STATEMENT INITIALED BY ILLINOIS PROFESSORS
(partial listing)

Benedict M. Ashley, President, Thomas Acquinas Institute
Sister Mary Olivia Barrett, President, St. Xavier College
Julian P. Boyd, Editor, The Jefferson Papers, Past President, American Historical Association
Henry Steele Commager, Professor of History, Amherst College
Irving Dilliard, member Board of Trustees, University of Illinois, 1961-67
Franklyn Haiman, Chairman, Illinois American Civil Liberties Union
Robert J. Havighurst, Professor of Education, University of Chicago
Richard Hofstadter, DeWitt Clinton Professor of History, Columbia University
Walter Johnson, Editor, Papers of Adlai Stevenson, University of Hawaii
Oscar Lewis, Professor of Anthropology, University of Illinois
C. Herman Pritchett, University of Chicago, American Political Science Ass'n
Rev. Joseph Sittler, School of Divinity, University of Chicago
George Watson, Dean, Roosevelt University
Alan Weaver, President Illinois Conference, Amer. Ass'n University Professors

NATIONAL STATEMENT ON STAUGHTON LYND CASE

In mid-July, the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities of Illinois rejected the appointment of Staughton Lynd as associate professor of history at Chicago State College. [In mid-September the Board reaffirmed its earlier decision.] This action raises important questions of academic freedom which may go unnoticed in the wake of the hectic events of the summer. We have joined in this appeal because we fear that the Board's rejection of Lynd is an indication that a new McCarthyism may emerge from the tensions of the Vietnamese war, blighting once again the intellectual and political life of the country.

The Board's action is a particularly flagrant invasion of academic freedom. In rejecting Lynd's appointment, the Board substitutes political for academic standards of fitness and overrides the judgment of those best qualified to determine the professional competence of teachers. Lynd, who is on leave from Yale University, was recommended for a one-year appointment by the unanimous vote of the department of history and by the president of the college, Milton Byrd. President Byrd pointed out to the Board of Governors that there was an "enthusiastic consensus" for Lynd, among both the faculty and the administration, as "an historian of prodigous and imposing scholarly productivity" and as "an exceptionally talented college teacher." His recommendation was endorsed by Richard J. Nelson, chairman of the Board of Governors, who wrote that Lynd "is not only well qualified to teach in his chosen discipline but there is substantial evidence to suggest that he is a superior teacher."

The Board ruled nevertheless that Lynd was not qualified to teach at Chicago State College. It did "not question Dr. Lynd's ability as a scholar and as a teacher of history." But the Board "feels that his public activities, which included a visit to North Viet Nam and China without a valid passport, and his statement that 'deliberate law breaking through non-violent civil disobedience is a valid, and should become a routine form of democratic dialogue,' go beyond mere dissent." One member of the Board is quoted as saying that he had read magazine stories about Lynd and come to the conclusion that his views "were not healthy." Another expressed fears that Lynd's "philosophy might indirectly influence students."

Appalling in its own right, the Board's action takes on added meaning when seen as one of a series of incidents, all of which suggest that academic freedom in the public institutions of higher education in Illinois is becoming increasingly precarious. Earlier in the year Lynd had been recommended for appointment by the department of history at the

Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois, only to have the appointment rejected in the higher ranks of the administration. At a third state institution, Northern Illinois University at DeKalb, the department of history was similarly thwarted by the administration in its effort to offer an appointment to Lynd, even though the appointment would have been unanimous.

A fundamental issue in the case of Staughton Lynd is whether an individual who subscribes to the philosophy of nonviolent resistance to unjust laws, and to civil disobedience as a tactic for effecting social change, may be allowed to teach. We do not necessarily endorse Lynd's opinions or his activities; on the contrary many of us completely disagree with them. But we recognize that there are many individuals in our colleges as in our churches, as in American life at large, who believe that nonviolent civil disobedience is not only a legitimate course of action but that it is a duty imposed by conscience, when obedience to certain laws and practices seems to implicate a man in evil.

Whatever we think of such a philosophy, we must remind ourselves that its history forms a part of the American tradition, from Henry Thoreau, whose famous essay "On Civil Disobedience" inspired the philosophy of Tolstoy and Gandhi, to labor unions who conducted sit-down strikes in the 1930's, to enemies of segregation who resorted to sit-ins in the early 1960's. The founders of the Republican party included men who advocated a "higher law" than the Constitution which then sanctioned slavery; and Illinois was the home of men who deliberately violated the fugitive slave act. Obedience to the higher laws of God, even if it means disobedience to man-made law, forms part of the tradition of Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism and has occupied the attention of the greatest theologians and philosophers for centuries. Surely there is a place for the advocates of this venerable tradition in the colleges and universities of America, a country that prides itself on being an open society.

Not only is civil disobedience an ancient philosophical tradition, but its advocacy is constitutionally protected under the First Amendment. In a well-known series of decisions, the Supreme Court has ruled that advocacy of ideas which might be considered much more radical than Lynd's is constitutionally protected speech. (Dennis v. U.S., 1951; Yates v. U.S., 1957; Noto v. U.S., 1961) And while these decisions have established merely that constitutionally protected speech cannot be made a criminal offense, the courts have held in other decisions that public employment may not be burdened with unconstitutional conditions. In Johnson v. Branch (4th Circuit, 1966), a case involving a North Carolina school teacher whose contract was not renewed because

the school board objected to her public activities against segregation, the United States Circuit Court ruled that "however wide the discretion of school boards, it cannot be exercised so as to arbitrarily deprive persons of their constitutional rights." Finally, the courts have recognized the particular importance of academic freedom. As the Supreme Court said in Sweezy v. New Hampshire (1957), "To impose any strait jacket upon the intellectual leaders in our colleges and universities would imperil the future of our Nation." Members of the Board of Governors may personally disagree with Lynd's opinions, but they can hardly deprive a man of public employment if in advocating his opinions he is exercising a constitutional right.

As for the right of travel, the Supreme Court has ruled that travel to a country designated as off-limits by the State Department is not a criminal act provided the traveler holds a valid U.S. passport, and cannot under existing legislation result in the imposition of criminal penalties. (U.S. v. Laub, 1967) The Board of Governors charges that Lynd did not "stay within the laws of this country" by traveling to North Vietnam and China. It is clear, however, that the Board is in error on this point. Lynd held a valid passport at the time of his trip and violated no law. The Board cannot constitutionally cite Lynd's trip to Hanoi as grounds for disqualifying him from public employment.

Taken as a whole, the Board's action is chilling in its implications and its potential consequences for academic freedom. Will future candidates for appointments to the state universities of Illinois be held up while boards of governors inquire into their political activities and opinions? Will teachers already employed in state universities be investigated to see if their "public activities" resemble Lynd's? The Board of Governors, among other pronouncements, has laid down the novel doctrine that "all the publications of a professor even if outside his field of specialization should reflect the same scholarship expected within his specialty." Does this mean that the Board intends to examine the articles and utterances of several thousand professors who take part in politics, sign petitions, and make speeches? What will be the effects of such scrutiny on the political life of the country as a whole?

The United States is passing through a troubled time when it desperately needs bold, fresh, adventurous approaches to the critical issues that confront the country both abroad and at home. One of the worst things that could happen at such a time would be a new wave of timidity and repression. The more our problems--unprecedented problems of urbanization, poverty, race and class antagonisms, and foreign difficulties--are allowed to accumulate unsolved, the greater will be the demand for violent solutions, until nonviolence itself may come

to seem respectable by comparison. We cannot confront these problems in an atmosphere of fear. On the contrary, intellectual freedom has become, as never before, the condition of our survival as a decent society. "Our nation," Mr. Justice Brennan has written on behalf of the Supreme Court, "is deeply committed to safeguarding academic freedom, which is of transcendant value to all of us and not merely to the teachers concerned. That freedom is therefore a special concern of the First Amendment, which does not tolerate laws that cast a pall of orthodoxy over the classroom."

We urge the Board of Governors to approve the appointment of Staughton Lynd.

[In the event of another rejection by the Board on September 17, delete preceding paragraph and read: We call on the Board of Governors to adopt it as a principle of policy that teachers will not be judged by their "public activities" and that the responsibility for the selection of teachers rests fundamentally with the faculty and administrations of their institutions. We call on all other such governing bodies, in Illinois and throughout the rest of the country, to do the same. We believe that in the perilous times ahead, governing boards instead of harrassing teachers should protect them in the full exercise of their constitutional rights.]

The Staughton Lynd Case--A Fact Sheet

On July 17, 1967, the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities rejected a recommendation from the administration of Chicago State College to appoint Staughton Lynd Associate Professor of History for the 1967-68 academic year. The following pages summarize the salient facts in the case and reprint the major documents.

Background-Yale: In the Fall of 1964 Staughton Lynd was appointed to a five year term as Assistant Professor in the Department of History at Yale University. His courses were an undergraduate seminar in American History from the Revolution to the Civil War, a graduate seminar on the Revolution, and an undergraduate lecture course on the History of the South. For the academic year 1966-67 he received a Yale research fellowship to complete the writing of a book on the intellectual origins of early American radicalism. In the Spring of 1966, he was informed by Yale that his five-year appointment would probably be terminal. He subsequently received a second, unpaid leave of absence. His appointment at Yale expires at the end of the 1968-69 academic year.

University of Illinois and Northern Illinois University: Late in 1966 Lynd expressed an interest in academic employment in the Chicago area. He was interviewed by the Departments of History at Northern Illinois University, where he had inaugurated a series of lectures on the theme of Dissent in American History, and at University of Illinois, Chicago Circle. At Northern the Department was prepared to recommend an appointment (which would have had unanimous support) but was thwarted by the administration. At the Circle Campus the Department made a unanimous recommendation only to have it held up through the Spring of 1967 and then rejected by the administration.

Chicago State College: In the Spring Lynd received inquiries from Chicago State College (then named Illinois Teachers College: Chicago South). On April 24, Irwin J. Sulloway, Dean of Arts and Sciences wrote Lynd: "We are pleased to offer you a position at this college as an Associate Professor beginning September 1, through June 1968." On April 29 Lynd accepted. On May 17 Dean Sulloway wrote "We are delighted that you will be joining our staff next fall and will do all we can to make you feel at home on the campus. At at later date probably at the end of June, you should receive an official contract tendered on behalf of the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities. Our commitment to employ you is already firm but the signing and returning of the contract by you is a necessary formality. Your physical examination can be administered after you have taken up your duties here. Any questions concerning living accommodations, teaching programs, etc., can best be answered by your department chairman. If I can be of any help before or after your arrival on campus, do not hesitate to let me know."

Meanwhile Lynd turned down inquiries as to his availability for full and/or part time employment at three private universities in the greater Chicago area, assuming that the commitment from Chicago State College was "already firm." He had already accepted an invitation to teach in the summer NDEA Institute at University of Illinois Chicago Circle on the History of the Negro. He also accepted a graduate seminar at Roosevelt University for 1966-67.

In the course of interviews with prospective employers, Lynd made clear that one of his interests in coming to Chicago was to take part in the work of the Center for Radical Research and School of Community Organizers. In the summer of 1964 he directed the "freedom schools" in Mississippi. He is quoted (New York Times, July 18, 1967) as saying "a principal reason for coming to Chicago was 'to get back more closely to that king of teaching.'" Early in July he moved to Chicago with his family renting a house for a year. He moved, he stated later, (Chicago Daily News, July 18, 1967) "on the strength of the Chicago State College's promise that I was hired."

Board of Governors Action: In its regular monthly meeting, July 17, the Board rejected the recommendation from the administration of Chicago State College to appoint Lynd. The first inkling Lynd had of controversy over his appointment was during the preceding week when news stories indicated that Richard Nelson, Chairman, was campaigning for Lynd's appointment against opposition. The vote in the Board was as follows: in favor, 1 (Nelson); absent, 1 (Charles Davis of Chicago); abstaining, 1 (Leland Webber of Wilmette); opposed, 6 (William Allen of Bloomington, Public Information Officer Illinois Agricultural Ass'n., Ray Page, Sup't. of Schools, Albert Imle, Assistant Finance Director, State of Illinois, J. Bon Hartline of Anna, Dr. W. L. Taylor of Canton, R. A. Stipes of Champaign, and Mrs. Marion Lemet of Warsaw).

Statement of Board of Governors: (July 17, 1967) "The Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities, which has jurisdiction over Chicago State College, after careful consideration, voted not to approve the appointment of Dr. Staughton Lynd as a Professor at Chicago State College. The Board of Governors has, by statute, the ultimate responsibility for employment.

"The Board, in doing so, does not question Dr. Lynd's ability as a scholar and as a teacher of history. It further believes that all the publications of a professor, even if outside his field of specialization, should reflect the same scholarship expected within his writing in his specialty. But in assessing his ability to make a contribution which would be for the best interests of the College, the Board feels that his public activities, which included a visit to North Viet Nam and China without a valid passport, and his statement that "deliberate law breaking through non-violent civil disobedience is a valid, and should become a routine, form of democratic dialogue," goes beyond mere dissent. The Board in no way denies Dr. Lynd's right to dissent on any issue, nor his freedom to speak and support the causes he espouses. But beyond dissent, the Board believes that the teacher has a responsibility to support and to stay within the laws of this country." [The citation is from Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden, The Other Side, N.Y., New American Library, 1966, p. 232.]

Statements by members of the Board of Governors: William Allen: "We in no way quarreled with Dr. Lynd's right to dissent. But he went beyond dissent--engaging in and supporting unlawful activity. And right is right, and law is law. It is as simple as that" (Chicago Daily News, July 18, 1967). According to Newsweek (July 21), "J. Bon Hartline, a fruit grower from downstate Anna, Illinois, said he had read magazine stories about Lynd and decided the professor's views 'weren't healthy'. Dr. W. I. Taylor, a physician from Canton, feared that Lynd's philosophy 'might indirectly influence students.'" State Senator Robert Mitchler (Rep-Oswego) revealed on the "At Random" TV show (August 5, 1967) that he had written the Board of Governors in mid-June to protest the appointment of Lynd.

Memorandum of Milton Byrd, President, Chicago State College to the Board (July 11, 1967)". . . I have examined Dr. Lynd's credentials and interviewed him at great length. My conclusions are: (a) that he is an historian of prodigious and imposing scholarly productivity, (b) that he is an exceptionally talented college teacher, (c) that he is by personality a gentleman, gracious, modest, and unassuming, (d) that he is a Quaker and a pacifist who has expressed in thought and action his commitment to certain persuasions, (e) that he regards himself now and in the future as principally a scholar and a teacher rather than as a militant advocate in language or action, and (f) that his espousal of an unpopular position has in no way adversely colored his teaching or his scholarship. In short, on the issue of professional qualifications and personality characteristics I conclude that Dr. Lynd has much to offer our campus.

"I have also examined the difficult and challenging question of the long-term adverse effects on the College of an appointment at this time for a controversial personality. . . It is clear to me, at the same time, that my refusal to support such an appointment might characterize the College, rightly or wrongly, as one fearful of diversity of opinion, particularly unpopular opinion, as one hostile to the free and open exchange of ideas, as one skeptical of the pluralism of our democratic society, as one indifferent to excellence in teaching and scholarship, as one in which faculty judgment is disregarded by the administration with impunity, as one unmindful of an honest and engaging rapport among the faculty, students, and administration. We have been saying, the faculty, the students, and the administration, that we are committed to the growth of our small teachers college into a distinguished urban university, addressing ourselves, openly and freely, not only to the traditional task of instruction in higher education but also to the special problems of the urban community and its present and future crises. Should we withdraw and act timidly before the opportunity to appoint a brilliant, if controversial, young teacher, scholar, and idealist, our efforts to sow a growing rapport and engagement among students, faculty, and administration for the task before us would fall on barren ground."

Memorandum of Richard J. Nelson, Chairman of the Board: (July 11, 1967) In the first section of an 8 page memorandum to the Board, Nelson reviews several documents that discuss the concept of responsibility for faculty appointments. In section 2 he takes up "Staughton Lynd as a Teacher and a Citizen," as follows:

"The faculty and administration at Chicago State College have carefully reviewed Lynd's qualifications as a teacher of American history. I have done some further checking. I agree with the faculty and the administration that Lynd is not only well-qualified to teach in his chosen discipline but there is substantial evidence to suggest that he is a superior teacher. His colleagues at Yale University affirm that never to their knowledge has he used his classroom improperly to attempt to indoctrinate students on any subject.

"If Lynd's competence and integrity as a teacher is accepted, the issue would then seem to resolve itself into one of whether his writings, utterances and conduct with respect to the war in Vietnam and on other contemporary issues are such that he should be adjudged not qualified to teach at Chicago State College. I direct your attention to the fact that he is available to teach at Chicago State College only because he is on leave of absence from Yale, one of the world's distinguished universities, where he is an assistant professor of history. Last year, after teaching only two years at Yale, he was awarded a Morse fellowship by Yale College because of his "fine teaching record" and "scholarly promise."

"I am informed in a general way of Lynd's views on Vietnam and of the fact that he took a trip to North Vietnam with two persons identified as communists, and that he has been an activist in domestic causes. I am also advised he is a Quaker, a pacifist and a civil libertarian. Although I do not share all of Lynd's views or approve of all of his conduct I am not prepared to reject the recommendation of the faculty and the administration that he be hired. They are informed about his activities, have discussed them with him, and are satisfied that they would not interfere with his teaching. On the contrary, it is my understanding that they feel that Lynd would bring a challenging personality to the campus and stimulate healthy discussion, a condition which I am sure you will agree is not incompatible with the functioning of a good college."

Lynd Statements: In response to questions from television and newspaper reporters Lynd has made three points: First, "My off-campus activities are not the proper concern of my employers." (N.Y. Times, July 18, 1967). Second, "He defended his position on passive resistance saying that 'the law grows through breaking unjust laws'. He said the board's action meant that they would not have accepted Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Thomas Jefferson, or Socrates as Professors at the former teachers college" (Sun Times, July 18). In the same vein he said: "The Board's action is not consonant with Illinois' claim to be the Land of Lincoln. During the period before the Civil War some of Illinois' leading citizens practised civil disobedience by openly violating the Fugitive Slave Act. Now the board is saying that persons such as this cannot teach in their colleges and universities. This is a narrow-minded, provincial view detrimental to the education of thousands of young people and harmful to every teacher in this state." (Chicago Daily News, July 18, 1967). Third, he has said his legal consultants inform him that the letter he received from Chicago State College is "conclusive evidence" of a "contractual agreement" which the Board violated and has filed a suit against the Board, which at this writing is before the courts.

Protest: At this writing we are informed that protests have been sent to the Board by: AAUP; American Civil Liberties Union, Illinois Division; American Federation of Teachers (Cook County); from Chicago State College by the Dep't. of History and Faculty Senate; by members of Dep't. of History at University of Chicago; by public school teachers who attended the University of Illinois summer institute at which Lynd taught. Professors at a dozen universities in the northern Illinois-Chicago area have formed an ad hoc Committee for Academic Freedom in Illinois which is seeking signatures for a public statement in colleges in Illinois and outside the state and from leaders in public life. (see What Can be done--Back Page)

AAUP Action: National AAUP was requested to conduct an inquiry by Lynd, Chicago Area Council, the state President, and chapters at CSC and Northern Illinois. Bertram Davis, General Secretary of National AAUP, urged the Board to "promptly confirm the appointment which was offered" to Lynd. He also informed Lynd that he "could reasonably look upon the offer" as "a firm one subject to rejection after your acceptance of it only for adequate cause and through the procedures of academic due process". In response to a request from Chicago Area AAUP, the Board, after a telephone poll of its members, announced August 11, it had voted not to reconsider the case. Chairman Nelson explained that the request did not provide new information and that it would be inappropriate to hear arguments while litigation was pending. National AAUP is holding action pending the immediate disposition of the court cases. It is prepared to enter into negotiations with the Board to effect a resolution, and that failing, to consider a full scale inquiry by its Committee on Academic Freedom which could result in censure.

Legal Action: Two cases have been filed by Lynd and Cook County Teachers Union, Local 1600, AFL-CIO against the Board, both seeking the recognition of the appointment of Lynd. They offer three separate legal doctrines, here summarized by counsel:

The first is that a binding contract presently exists between Lynd and the Board on the basis of the exchange of letters between C.S.C. and Lynd. The Board knew that C.S.C. made appointments by sending letters containing firm offers such as the letters sent to Lynd. Whether or not the College had statutory authority or explicit authority from the Board, the Board in fact knew that such offers were being made. The Board cannot now, after having implicitedly given the power and authority to make binding contracts to its academic staff, be allowed to repudiate a contract.

The second theory is given the legal title, the doctrine of equitable estoppel. President Byrd and Dean Suloway gave Lynd to understand that they had the authority to execute a binding contract and according to the practices, customs and usage of the academic profession, they did have such power. Lynd believed that the President and Dean had power to enter into a binding contract, and after the exchange of letters, understood that it existed. Although this understanding may not have been a correct assessment of the facts, Lynd had a reasonable basis for concluding that an appointment existed. If a contract does not exist between himself and C.S.C., Lynd will be harmed both professionally and financially. The Court should therefore estop the Board from denying the contract.

The third argument is constitutional. The Board refused to approve Lynd's contract because: 1. He took a trip to North Vietnam and China. 2. He was co-author of a book which contained the statement on "non-violent disobedience". Both these activities are protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution. The Supreme Court has held in various cases that advocacy of any political doctrine including violent, let alone non-violent, defiance of the law, is protected by the First Amendment and cannot be used as a basis for denying public employment. The Court has also recently held that travel to a country designated as off limits for travel by those holding U.S. passports is not a criminal act and cannot result in the imposition of criminal penalties. Lynd, despite the Board's statement to the contrary, had a valid passport at the time he went to North Vietnam and China.

In the first suit, Lynd's counsel filed for Writ of Mandamus. On August 22 the court dismissed this on the grounds that a Writ of Mandamus could not be used to enforce a private contract. The second requested the court to issue an emergency injunction since the school year begins September 11. On August 28 the Court took the motion under advisement, received a motion from the Board to dismiss the suit and indicated that it would render a decision on Thursday, August 31.

The Illinois ACLU entered an amicus curiae brief in which it argued that "public employment may not be burdened with unconstitutional conditions". Its brief also stresses the precedent of Johnson v Branch (1966) in which a public school teacher contended her contract was not renewed "for exercising her constitutional right to protest racial discrimination". The U.S. Court of Appeals upheld her maintaining that "however wide the discretion of School Boards, it cannot be exercised so to arbitrarily deprive persons of their constitutional rights".

What Can Be Done

* Sign the statement of Principles being circulated by the Committee. This will This will be published as an advertisement and sent to the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities, Springfield, Illinois, and to the four other boards governing Illinois public colleges.

* Send a financial contribution. The committee seeks a fund of $10,000 to publicize the case and contribute to Lynd's legal defense. It may be necessary to appeal the case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

* Secure expressions of opinion from organizations. Inform the committee of actions.

The Committee for Academic Freedom in Illinois (ad hoc)
Co-Chairmen: Christopher Lasch (History) Northwestern University
Alfred Young (History) Northern Illinois University, DeKalb
Checks may be made payable to the committee, Robert Wiebe and James Sheridan, Treasurers, c/o Department of History, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

Issued August 29, 1967

July 14, 1969

Dr. Carey Brewer
President
Lynchburg College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Carey:

A year or so ago I happened to bump into you and Betty Ann on a Piedmont flight from Lynchburg to Washington. I am sorry there was not more of an occasion to talk or for us to become re-acquainted.

All the signs indicate that you have done a remarkable job as President of Lynchburg College, and I would both like to have had an opportunity to congratulate you on this, and to learn more about what is now happening there.

In the years that have past I have been priviledged to reach the stage of what is to me ultimate success; having become director of this agency which is, perhaps, the foremost interracial group in the nation. In the process, as I was taught at Lynchburg College, I have been radical, moderate, conservative. Rational, I think, is a good summation. This is said only

as a forerunner to the following observation which I can assure you I make most respectfully.

I have just finished reading the latest issue of the Lynchburg College magazine. Like those issues before it, it is incredibly white.

While I had gotten a little way along in the process of knowing people as people before I came to Lynchburg College, that was where I became educated under the magnificent leadership of Dr. Riley B. Montgomery. As a green kid from rural Virginia, thoroughly uneducated and unprepared for college life, I had a world opened up to me. In fact, it was two years, 1944-1946, of college before I realized that both the curriculum and the opportunities for interracial exposure was not a common-place part of the regular college life.

I am convinced that during that period the poor, struggling college, with a small student body and thoroughly inadequate finances, made a major contribution as an institution of higher learning.

Presumptious as it may be, I would like to remind you of how much "our school" educated many of us, and changed our lives. Again, without prejudice and/or prejudging, I do hope that you are sensitive to that magnificent heritage, and that the students at Lynchburg College are now as fortunate as we were twenty-five years ago.

Sincerely,yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Annual Report, 1968)
Pc: Dr. Riley Montgomery

file

LYNCHBURG COLLEGE

LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA 24504

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 17, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks so much for your letter of July 14 enclosing a copy of your annual report. I will certainly read this with great interest.

Sincerely,

Carey

Carey Brewer
President

RILEY B. MONTGOMERY
112 IRVINE ROAD
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY 40502

July 24, 1969

Dr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Geargia 30303

Dear Paul:

I appreciate receiving a copy of your letter to President Carey Brewer. I am delighted that you wrote him as you did for you express a concern which has also been mine.

Of course, I am flattered by your reference to me and to my leadership at Lynchburg College. It was not easy and got strong reactions as you well know. However, we have to have the courage to undertake what we know and believe to be right for all the people. Lynchburg is a very conservative city in most respects. The colleges there can change this situation if they will assume the leadership and responsibility. Confidentially, I feel that President Brewer has been seeking to secure financial support from some of the most conservative people for his building program and has been succeeding. In other words, he is following a course of expediency for the present. He is not himself conservative. I hope that he will lead in a more liberal and progressive ways from now into the future. Please, this is all confidential and has never before said or written to any one. I experess my feelings to you because of your good letter. and your life dedication to a great cause. I have been exercising restraint in making any comments about the program at Lynchburg College. I am pleased, of course, with the development of the campus with the many new and needed buildings. I had to devote all my efforts to remove an impossible debt that was threatening the life of the College.

With best wishes to you in your valuable leadership in a most urgent cause, I am,

Most cordially,

Riley B. Montgomery

May 22, 1940

Dr. Will W. Alexander,
Wardman Park Hotel,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Alexander:

You are faced with such momentous problems in your Government work that I am sure our worries here must seem quite insignificant to you. But, in our effort to carry on the work of the Commission to the best of our ability during your long absence, they seem quite important to us. That was what prompted me to call you this morning about the Walter White statement. I hope that you were not irritated by the call. (I also hope that you will read this letter!)

In order that you may have full information before you, I am enclosing a copy of Mrs. Ames' brief letter to Mr. Caldwell of the Associated Press, a clipping from The Atlanta Constitution based on the AP release, a copy of the N.A.A.C.P. release, and a copy of the Associated Negro Press story based on the latter release.

Of course, Walter White would cut Mrs. Ames' throat if he could, even if he had to crucify you to do it, for he knows that his future is doomed if the Antilynching Bill does not finally pass, and he resents the fact that the Association of Southern Women did not support the Bill. His telegram to you is so cunningly worded that no matter what kind of reply you sent I suppose he could have used it to advantage. I do hope that you are sending me a copy of your telegram today, so that we can let the women who are concerned about this matter (particularly Mrs. Turner, who came in to see us yesterday) know that Walter White used his imagination in reporting your reply. I wish, too, that he could be told that your <u>friends</u> think he has double-crossed you.

Maybe we need to have some sort of understanding as to the kind of statements or publicity that shall be given out from this office. You used to tell us, however, that whenever we used our best judgment and acted in your absence you would back us up, even though you might not agree with us fully. I cannot believe that your attitude in that connection has changed, either. But the N.A.A.C.P. statement has "messed up" your reply to their telegram in such a way that our friends and our enemies who read it will come to the conclusion, I fear, that our household is divided. That is why I am so concerned about it, and I am not alone in this feeling. If we waited for the Commission to "authorize" or "approve" the actions of the staff members, the work would have ended before now, for as you know it has been a whole year since we have had a meeting of either the Commission or the Executive Committee.

We are now receiving the finest cooperation that we have had since I have been with the Commission from volunteer workers over the South who are eagerly organ-

ising local interracial committees and calling on us for help in carrying out their programs — even in Tennessee and Florida, where we have no state work, and in a conservative little town like Milledgeville, Georgia. In view of this, it is especially distressing to have it appear that there is such discord within our own organization. I certainly do resent Walter White's distorted statement, which leaves this sort of impression. Couldn't you possibly "call his hand" this time and let him know that you realize he has misquoted you?

So far as we know, Mrs. Ames knows nothing about this controversy, as she has been away since the day after the Associated Press story was released. Furthermore, she would probably disapprove of my writing you, on the grounds that you might think it was a defense of her actions. It isn't that at all, but more a desire to be able to defend you and to get the facts, for I am always suspicious of the N.A.A.C.P. reports. Too often we have found them to be untrue, and I was sure that they were making a story to suit themselves in this instance.

Greetings and best wishes from all of us.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

MAY 17, 1940.

MR. WALTER WHITE, SECRETARY
NATIONAL ASSN. FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF COLORED PEOPLE,
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY.

I DID NOT KNOW MRS. AMES HAD MADE STATEMENT. WHATEVER STATEMENT WAS MADE WAS ENTIRELY ON HER PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY.

WILL W. ALEXANDER.

COPY

NEW YORK NY 1145 AM MAY 15 1940

DR WILL W ALEXANDER
CARE FARM SECURITY ADMN

WILL YOU AS DIRECTOR COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, WHICH, WE UNDERSTAND, PAYS EXPENSES AND SALARY OF MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES AS CHAIRMAN ASSOCIATION SOUTHERN WOMEN FOR PREVENTION OF LYNCHING, WIRE US IF MRS. AMES STATEMENT OF MAY 9 THAT THAT DATE MARKED END OF TWELVE MONTHS LYNCHLESS PERIOD WAS AUTHORIZED OR ENDORSED BY COMMISSION WHICH STATEMENT WAS INEXPLICABLE IN LIGHT OF KILLING BY KU KLUX KLAN MOBS OF SARAH RAWLS AND BENTON FORD NEAR ATLANTA ON MARCH 2 AND OF IKE GASTON ON MARCH 7.

WALTER WHITE

SECRETARY NAACP 69 FIFTH AVENUE

C O P Y

COPY

May 6, 1940

Mr. W. F. Caldwell
Associated Press
Atlanta Journal Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Caldwell:

I shall be out of the state from Saturday, May 11, to Saturday, June 1. During my absence if any mob violence threatens after office hours, I would appreciate it if you would phone Miss Emily Clay, He. 4562. I am leaving with her the list of women in the states to whom I phone when any difficulties arise.

Incidentally - but somewhat triumphantly - if May 8 passes without a lynching it will have been twelve months since the last one was committed!

Sincerely and appreciatively yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

(FROM THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS)

STATEMENT OF "LYNCHLESS YEAR" UNAUTHORIZED COMMISSION DECLARES

NEW YORK, May___ (ANP) The statement issued last week by Mrs. Jessie D. Ames, executive secretary of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching in which the past 12 months were described as a "lynchless year," was made without authorization of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and "entirely on her personal responsibility," it was declared this week by Dr. Will Alexander, director of the commission.

Dr. Alexander's reply, in answer to a telegram of inquiry from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, further said that Mrs. Ames' salary and expenses in connection with her work with the association was paid by the commission.

Coincident with the release of Dr. Alexander's telegram repudiating the "lynchless year" statement, the N.A.A.C.P. pointed out an article in the current issue of the North Georgia Review, which they described as an "adequate reply" to Mrs. Ames' statement. The article said in part:

> "And we let a Negro be killed so quietly the other day in Georgia that no one's sensitive feelings were bruised in the least .. for we are learning Mississippi's new technique of lynching like gentlemen .. with no fuss and notoriety.
>
> "After all, why not get these little necessary tasks done as quickly and with as little wear and tear on one's nerves as possible! It was crude of us, wasn't it, in the old days to have mobs milling around, to indulge our penchant for taking all the pieces of the victim save possibly his entrails, home with us as souvenirs. That was a bit excessive, caused talk and so .. so now we are learning more restraint. The point is, kill your nigger, but for God's sake be refined about it and don't leave any mess around to annoy the passers-by."

****

Lynching
ASWPL

April 24, 1944

Mr. Stetson Kennedy
1327½ SW 4 Street
Miami 35, Florida

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

I have been away since last Wednesday and this is my first opportunity to reply to your letter of April 17.

After searching through quite a number of lynching pamphlets published by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, I located a leaflet entitled "What We Know About Lynchings—and Mobs (1931-1935)" which is a part of a packet of leaflets entitled "Southern Women and Lynching." I take it that this is the leaflet which you refer to, and that you have put together items number 10, 14, 15, and 17 to compose the paragraph quoted in your letter. I am sure that you realize that the eighteen points in the leaflet are merely statements of fact which are based on such studies as Arthur Raper's The Tragedy of Lynching and "The Mob Still Rides." The author of the leaflet, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, certainly did not mean to imply any justification of lynching on her part. Points number 14 and 15, for example, were meant to be factual statements about mobs in the same sense that points 1 and 2 tell how many lynchings occurred and where they took place.

I hope that I have not misunderstood you, but it seems to me that you are in danger of misinterpreting the whole spirit of the work of the A. S. W. P. L. by bringing together certain points which have no necessary relationship and reading value judgments into them. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its subsidiary, the A. S. W. P. L., did a magnificent piece of work against lynching, and the Southern Regional Council will carry on that work. In order that you may have no doubt as to the character of the work and the motives behind it, I am sending you with our compliments several pamphlets on lynching. Incidentally, you will notice that the leaflet containing the eighteen points is in a ~~volume~~ folder which, when opened, reveals at the bottom the motto "We condemn lynching for any cause and repudiate it as necessary to the protection of women."

We follow the attacks by Talmadge in THE STATESMAN with great interest as well as amusement. We are getting attacked from so many sides that we feel that perhaps we really have something!

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Separate cover

1327½ SW 4 Street
Miami 35, Florida
April 17 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

In getting together my material for the chapter "James Crow, Esq." and "They're Hangin Around Here Yet" I came across a leaflet signed by the Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, but which came from your present address, and as I recall was sent to me by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

Apparently there are several different parts brought together for a leaflet. I have an article "Lynching" by Walter White (1931-35) and continued 18 [illegible] parts - also "Lynching"

In this leaflet I find such statements as: "Nearly 20 percent of the persons lynched were mental defectives. In considerable areas of the deep South, leading citizens believe lynching necessary. In these places, mobs are commonly made up of leading citizens. Mobs composed of leading citizens are 'quiet and orderly.' They rarely mutilate a victim."

Stupid!

That sort of "justification" of lynching as a means whereby leading citizens of the South resort to 'quiet and orderly' mobs for the elimination of 'mental defectives' without mutilation appeals to me not at all.

Ditto!

I wonder if you will be good enough to tell me what you can about this leaflet, and whether or not statements such as those quoted are at all indicative of the present attitude of the Southern Regional Council.

You are to be congratulated upon the attacks being made upon the Council by Talmadge in The Statesman.

Sincerely,

Stetson Kennedy

Stetson Kennedy

The printed matter has arrived, will be most helpful, and is greatly appreciated.

ef a

September 1, 1944

Mr. Henry Lesesne
The Associated Press
P. O. Box 1166
Charlotte 1, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Lesesne:

Your letter of August 19 addressed to Mr. Eleazer has come to my attention, and I am sorry that because of an extended absence from Atlanta I was not able to reply immediately.

You might be interested to know that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation merged last February with the newly organized Southern Regional Council, which will continue to work in race relations as one phase of a comprehensive program for social progress in the South. Mr. Eleazer resigned last year and is now connected with the Board of Education, Methodist Church, 810 Broadway, Nashville, Tennessee.

You have raised a number of interesting questions concerning lynching. On the number of lynchings in the past few years, let me call your attention to the table on page 33 of the pamphlet entitled The Changing Character of Lynching, which is being sent to you under separate cover. The following data will supplement the record since 1941:

1942—	5 lynchings,	15 prevented lynchings		
1943—	3 "	11 "	"	
1944—	1 "	reported up to September 1.		

I believe you will find The Changing Character of Lynching helpful in suggesting answers to several of your questions. At least two points stand out rather strongly: (1) the shift from old-style large mob lynching to small mobs or quiet groups bent on vengeance; (2) the importance of the work done by organized groups, notably the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its subsidiary, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

My personal opinion concerning the reasons for the decline of lynching is as follows: (1) There has been a sort of general, perhaps inevitable, downward drift of the lynching curve for the past 50 years. I believe that quite aside from the organized efforts to combat lynching, this is a trend comparable to the trend toward greater rights for women, labor, etc., and is indicative of a maturing of American culture.

(2) There has been a remarkable change in Southern public opinion on the subject of lynching during our own generation. I

presume it is both cause and effect of the trend which I have just mentioned. At any rate, it is true that scarcely any reputable newspaper in the South condones lynching any longer, and that many organized groups are willing to speak out openly against lynching.

(3) I can not help believing that the threat of a federal anti-lynching law has helped to reduce lynching. However, I believe that the threat of such a law is actually more potent than the law itself would be.

(4) During the war period when most potential lynchers and lynchees are either in the armed services or are regularly employed, and when we feel the necessity for national unity, we should of course expect a partial moratorium on lynching. Considering the fact that war conditions involving large-scale urban migration, housing problems, labor tensions, etc. actually increase the amount of racial tension, it is highly probable that this concern over national unity is the main factor in holding down the number of actual racial outbreaks.

I should also like to say something by way of cautions: (1) When lynchings get as low as three or four a year, it is difficult to draw any sound conclusions on trends. (2) The decline in lynching may be somewhat exaggerated because of the increasing popularity of small private lynching parties. (3) The "superiority" which the South now seems to have over the North in the matter of race riots is dubious. In the first place, it is probably temporary, and the situation may be just as bad, if not worse, in the South as soon as the war pressure is relieved. In the second place, the incidence of race riots is in large part a function of the difference between what the Negro expects and what he gets. In other words, in the South he is more easily controlled by the dominant group because he expects less, while in the North his expectations are much higher, but his realization falls so far short that his frustrations are relatively more acute.

These are just some personal opinions which may or may not be worth anything to you. Do not hesitate to write me if you think I can be of any further service.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover

P. S. You might want to write to Dr. Arthur Raper, who conducted the studies on lynching for the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and who is now with the Department of Agriculture. His address is 1805 North Madison Street, Arlington, Virginia.

Changing C. of I.
SRC #1

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
P. O. Box 1166
CHARLOTTE 1, N. C.
(DAY OFFICE)—NEWS BUILDING
(NIGHT OFFICE)—OBSERVER BUILDING

AUG. 19, 1944

DEAR MR. ELEAZER:

I HAVE IN MIND WRITING FOR THE ASSOCIATED PRESS A STORY ALONG THIS LINE: THAT WHEREAS THE EAST HAS HAD OUTBREAKS OF RACIAL TROUBLE (DETROIT AND PHILADELPHIA NOTABLY) THE SOUTH HAS BEEN RELATIVELY FREE OF ANY AND WHILE THE FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCH BILL LIES DORMANT IN CONGRESS LYNCHING HAS VIRTUALLY DISAPPEARED FROM THE SOUTHERN ~~XXXXXXX~~ SCENE IN THE LAST FEW YEARS.

WHAT I'D LIKE TO GET FROM YOU WOULD BE ANY FIGURES ON THE INCIDENCE OF LYNCHINGS IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, THE RESULTS OF ANY STUDIES THE COMMISSION HAS MADE, AND ALSO ANY COMMENT FROM YOU OR ANYONE ELSE PROMINENT IN THE COMMISSION'S WORK, ALONG THESE LINES:

WHAT ARE THE FACTORS IN THIS IMPROVED SITUATION? THE FACT THAT LYNCHINGS AND OTHER FORMS OF DEVILTRY ARE THE PRODUCTS OF IDLE MINDS AND THE WAR HAS TENDED TO PUT EVERYBODY TO WORK? THAT THE WAR IS PROVIDING AN EMOTIONAL OUTLET THAT HITHERTO WAS SPENT IN ANOTHER DIRECTION?

THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION, AND THE WORK OF THE PRESS AND THE CHURCH AND OTHER AGENCIES? AN INCREASED VIGILANCE ON THE PART OF LAW OFFICERS? THE GENERAL WORK GOING ON IN THE SOUTH LOOKING TO AN IMPROVEMENT OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RACES?

OR MAYBE YOU COULD OFFER SOME BETTER SUGGESTIONS.

THANKING YOU IN ADVANCE, I AM,

SINCERELY YOURS,

Henry Lesesne

HENRY LESESNE

STATE OF FLORIDA
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
TALLAHASSEE

SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
GOVERNOR

J. ROBERT McCLURE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

September 27, 1944.

Honorable Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you kindly for your letter of September 23rd expressing approval of the Southern Regional Council for the way we in Florida handled the troublesome matter in which the three negroes were convicted for committing the crime of rape in Gadsden County.

We shall direct our efforts in all cases towards the preservation of law and order and I regret that certain uninformed outside interests have seen fit to interfere as I am convinced that they are doing a great disservice to the law abiding citizens, both white and colored.

Assuring you I appreciate your letter and with kind regards and best wishes, I am

Yours faithfully,

Spessard L. Holland

Governor.

SLH/mj

September 23, 1944

The Honorable Spessard L. Holland
Governor of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Governor Holland:

I just wanted to drop you a line to express, in behalf of the Southern Regional Council, our gratitude and appreciation for your courageous action in preventing what looked like an almost inevitable lynching in Florida in connection with the recent case of assault.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

CC: Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr.

File

Emory University

Emory University, Ga.

Candler School of Theology

August 16, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
710 Standard Building
95 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for your memorandum to me relative to the threatened lynching in Florida and for a copy of Mr. Francis R. Bridges' letter. What he says of Governor Holland I am sure is quite true. As long as he is in Tallahassee and is correctly informed regarding all developments, justice will be assured if the powers of the governor can possibly carry justice through.

It is certainly comforting to me that we have in the South an active functioning agency such as the Southern Regional Council.

With very best wishes to you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Emmett S. Johnson

Emmett S. Johnson
Director of Field Work

ESJ:rl

COPY

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION
Tallahassee

August 10, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

This acknowledges your letter of August 9.

The case Phillips wrote you about is one of the worst in the history of this state, but there has been every assurance by Governor Holland that the Negroes will be protected. As I understand it, it is his plan to have the State Guard protect these men and, for your information, in a West Florida case where a Negro killed a sheriff and a deputy sheriff, the Guard performed in excellent fashion during two trials.

It may be that a change of venue will be approved in this case but under the Florida law the trial would have to be held in a county of this circuit. I do not think, however, that you need to worry concerning lynching, for Governor Holland is very sincere and I am sure that he will make every effort to protect these three men.

My only hope is that there will be no injection into the case of a lot of stuff by the northern organizations concerning Negroes. This was an actual rape case in which the three Negroes, driving an automobile, forced the white woman, unfortunately driving alone in her automobile, off the road. They all attacked her, wounded her twice with gun fire, and, believing her dead, piled brush on her body and left the vicinity. The Negroes were captured the next day, and at that time there was a lynching threat in the county in which they were captured, but the efficient action by State Highway Patrolmen in spiriting them to the State Prison at Raiford stopped that threat.

What I am hoping is that there will be speedy justice in this case, for if there is, certainly there will be more respect for the law in the element which might consider lynching.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Signed - Francis

FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR.

Copies sent
Bishop Moore
Mrs Emmett Johnson

Lynchings

207

August 9, 1944

Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
P. O. Box 1107
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Francis:

One of our friends here in Atlanta has received a letter from a young man in Quincy, Florida, J. Carlisle Phillips, Jr., concerning the trial of the three Negroes who recently attacked a white woman. Mr. Phillips is quite alarmed over the prospect of a lynching. He says that many people think that the Negroes will never reach the courthouse. He feels that there is very little that he can do because he is a newcomer, (I believe he is a Methodist minister at Quincy), but says that Rev. Ed Pendergrast of Tallahassee has been trying to get the trial transferred to another court.

I don't know how serious the situation is, and I doubt if it would do any good for any of us to come down there, but I knew that you would know exactly what is going on and would be in a position to do whatever is necessary to try to prevent a lynching.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

P. S. I still haven't heard from Charles Johnson about the date for a meeting of the Executive Committee. I am afraid that he has gone out to the west coast and that my letter hasn't caught up with him yet.

Lynchings - 1944

Dr. Emmett Johnson
Emory Univ., Ga.

Quincy, Florida
August 7, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I hesitated to write this letter, because I don't want to be an alarmist, but I am afraid some terrible things may come to pass here in the next few days. Perhaps you heard about the rape case a week ago Saturday. Three Negroes attacked a white woman and tried to ~~rape~~ kill her. They had some other offenses charged against them, also. The proceedings of the trial began Thursday here in Quincy. The Negroes, who have confessed, may not be brought in to town until Tuesday, August 15. Some think that they will never reach the courthouse. The churches of this town have taken no action. They are standing by complacently. One or two people, like Pendergrast in Tallahassee (Rev. Ed Pendergrast, District Superintendent of the Tallahassee district) have tried to get the trial held elsewhere, but other than that, it seems that little or nothing is being done to prevent a tragedy. I can't understand such lethargy on the part of the church. I don't know what to do myself. I feel that there is little I can do, being a newcomer and being in Wilson's church and not my own. (Rev. S. A. Wilson)

I don't know what will happen in the next few days, or if there is anything you can do. I just thought that you may be interested in this, and that possibly you may want to come down or get in touch with R. B. Eleazer in Nashville, who may want to come down, or the Secretary of the Interracial Commission in Atlanta, who may want to come down and be on hand.

Perhaps nothing will happen, but there is a strong likelihood that the church is standing idly by in the face of one of the worst possible lynchings that has ever happened in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. J. Carlisle Phillips, Jr.

(Rev. Phillips is an Atlanta boy, who ~~did~~ is now doing Extension work ~~at~~ Emory for a number of years, and ~~is now a~~ was - theological student at Yale University.)

Called Bishop Moore
Wrote Francis Bridges
8-9-44
RBE

Lynching, 1944

December 15, 1944

The Rev. S. S. Morris, Jr., President
Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance
P. O. Box 12
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Morris:

Thank you for your letter of December 11 with the enclosed copy of your communication of November 27 to Governor Prentice Cooper.

In behalf of the Southern Regional Council we wish to endorse the sentiments expressed in your letter to Governor Cooper concerning the lynching which took place at Pikeville, Tennessee on November 23.

On account of our limited budget we cannot make a practice of contributing to reward funds for the arrest and conviction of lynchers. However, if the lynchers are apprehended and there is need for supplementary counsel to assist in their prosecution we shall be glad to contribute something toward the legal expenses.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

Ira DeA. Reid
Associate Director

GBJ:j

cc to Governor Prentice Cooper

Rev. S. S. Morris, Jr.
President
Rev. J. L. Logan
Vice President
Rev. R. F. Warnick
Vice President

Rev. O. B. Anderson
Vice President
Rev. Fred O. Reid
Secretary

Rev. M. M. League
Assistant Secretary
Rev. T. W. Gaines
Treasurer
Rev. C. R. Hines
Chaplain

Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

COMMITTEES:
Rev. J. J. McNeil
Civic
Rev. C. M. Johnson
Program
Elder R. C. Maloy
Evangelism
Rev. R. F. Warnick
Radio and Press

P.O. Box 12

December 11, 1944

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

You have no doubt learned from the newspapers of the recent mob violence in Pikeville, Tennessee. In a democracy we have machinery especially set up to enforce the law - to see that criminals are apprehended, tried and punished. Not to protest the lynching of James T. Scales is to condone mob action as an instrument for meting out justice, and thereby do violence to one of the basic tenets of democracy.

Governor Cooper, by offering a reward of $500 for evidence leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible, has demonstrated his interest in the maintenance of law and order in the State of Tennessee. The Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance of Nashville is supporting the Governor by establishing a supplementary reward fund of $2000.

We feel certain that this opportunity to re-affirm, collectively, our faith in the democratic way will appeal to you your organization. We are, therefore, inviting you to endorse the enclosed statement addressed to Governor Cooper. Any contribution you desire to make to the reward fund may be earmarked and held in your own treasury or may be added to the general fund which is being held in trust with the Citizens Bank and Trust Company, Charlotte and Fourth Avenue, North, Nashville 4, Tennessee. We shall deeply appreciate your informing Governor Cooper, the press, and the Alliance of whatever action is taken by your organization in this regard.

To date $1306.00 cash has been added to the Governor's $500.00 making a total reward fund of $1806.00.

Thanking you in advance for this demonstration of your Christian spirit of cooperation, we are

Fraternally yours,
The Interdenominational
Ministers' Alliance

S. S. Morris, Jr.
S. S. Morris, Jr., President

M. M. League
M. M. League, Corresponding Secretary

SSM:es
Enclosure - 1

COPY

Nashville, Tennessee
November 27, 1944

His Excellency
The Honorable Prentice Cooper, Governor
State of Tennessee
Nashville, Tennessee

Your Excellency:

We, the Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance, wish to commend you for your prompt and praiseworthy action in your personal effort to apprehend and convict the persons responsible for the mob violence at Pikeville, which resulted in the death of James Thomas Scales on the 23rd of November, 1944.

As Governor of Tennessee and servant of the people of Tennessee, we believe your action one of integrity, and a noble example to all persons of Tennessee interested in her welfare and the preservation of law and order.

On the basis of inconsistencies in newspaper reports, there is a questionable doubt within our minds that James Thomas Scales was guilty of the crime which he is supposed to have committed.

If he were guilty, we disapprove of the act under the moral laws of God. We likewise disapprove of mob violence on any human life.

In the State of Tennessee there is a court of law, whose duty it is to decide the guilt or innocence of persons who have violated the law, and if guilty to set the penalty for the crime. On this point, Your Excellency, we think we all agree. James Thomas Scales was denied the American right of trial by jury. This mob in question set at nought the laws of Tennessee, which laws they themselves had a part in making.

Therefore, in order to protect the good name of our State and to safeguard law and order in the interest of all its citizens, we are supplementing the $500.00 which you offered with $566.27, which will be increased as other contributions are made, as a reward to the person or persons giving information which will lead to the arrest and conviction of the persons guilty of putting to death James Thomas Scales, who had not been tried for the crime for which he paid with his life.

Yours respectfully,
The Interdenominational
Ministers' Alliance

Signed: S. S. Morris, Jr.,
President.

M. M. League,
Corresponding Secretary.

Lynchings 1944

December 18, 1944

Governor Prentice Cooper
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Governor Cooper:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have sent to the Rev. S. S. Morris, Jr., President of the Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance of Nashville, with respect to the lynching which took place at Pikeville, Tennessee on November 23.

All thoughtful citizens will applaud your prompt action in posting a reward of $500 for evidence leading to the arrest and conviction of those who took part in the lynching. I trust that the increasing size of the reward fund will soon result in the discovery of the necessary evidence.

It seems to me that in addition to the tragedy of the brutal murder and the lynching which followed there are at least two other tragic points involved in situations of this kind. One is the fact that the police go about their work with such disregard of all of the principles of scientific examination of evidence that it becomes impossible to answer the question of the guilt or innocence of the accused. The other is that too frequently here in the South we make only token institutional provision for the incarceration and treatment of Negro delinquents and permit psychopathic persons with obviously dangerous tendencies too much freedom of movement in such institutions. As a Southerner who has devoted most of his life to the study of race problems and who has made a special study of the Negro and crime, I am particularly concerned with the record of the South in police and prison administration. I hope that the Southern states will soon undertake constructive measures for improving these situations.

The Southern Regional Council, which is an organization of Southern white and Negro leaders, stands ready to help, through research, consultation, and civic education, with a constructive approach to the problems of human welfare in the South.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

Enclosure --Letter to Mr. S. S. Morris, Jr. December 15.
cc: Mr. S. S. Morris, Jr.

lynching statistics

December 29, 1944

Mr. R. B. Kleaser
Special Worker in Race Relations
The Board of Education of the Methodist Church
810 Broadway
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Kleaser:

Thank you for your letter of December 21. Although we do not claim to be authorities on lynching statistics, we would say that there have been at least four lynchings during 1944. In addition to the Mississippi and Tennessee cases, I would certainly list the hanging of the Italian prisoner of war in Washington, and the shooting of Robert Lee by a member of a posse near Rock Mills, Alabama on November 3. This last instance is, of course, a sort of borderline case. It may be that Tuskegee Institute has good reason for not considering it a lynching, but it seems to me that when a posse member shoots a fugitive who was apparently armed only with a stone, it comes pretty close to being a lynching.

We are enclosing the "Negro police" list and the list of newspapers using news or pictures of Negro service men. As soon as we have done a better job of checking up on these things, we want to distribute the lists widely. In the meantime, make whatever use you can of these.

We appreciated your Christmas card. Mrs. Johnson and I send the very best of new year wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosures - 2
Police list
Newspaper list

Vm
12/29

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH
DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH
JOHN Q. SCHISLER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATHANIEL F. FORSYTH, ASSOCIATE SECRETARY

ROBERT B. ELEAZER
SPECIAL WORKER IN RACE RELATIONS

810 BROADWAY
NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

December 21, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I have been asked to prepare for the 1944 Yearbook of the Encyclopedia Britannica a brief article on the lynchings of the year. I have Tuskegee's report on the subject, listing only two incidents--that of Isaac Simmons, in Mississippi, and that of James T. Scales, at Pikeville, Tenn. I wonder if any additional cases have come to your attention; if so, it will be a great favor if you could inform me as to the facts.

I should like to know, also, whether you classify as a lynching the hanging of the Italian prisoner of war at Fort Lawson, Washington, a few weeks ago.

Your help will be very greatly appreciated, I assure you.

Yours very truly,

RB Eleazer

RBE:PP

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	✓	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
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Patrons should check class of service desired, otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206-B

R. B. WHITE, PRESIDENT
NEWCOMB CARLTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

October 15, 1945

Mr. Turner L. Smith
Civil rights Unit
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Urge you to investigate lynching which took place at Madison, Florida, October 11. Case seems to involve gross carelessness if not actual collusion on part of officers. Not generally known that another Negro who was under suspicion earlier narrowly missed being lynched several weeks ago.

Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

TLC:TLS:esw

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 16, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1945
Southern Regional Council

Lynching -

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This acknowledges your wire of October 15, 1945, to Mr. Turner L. Smith, Chief of the Civil Rights Section, in reference to an alleged lynching which took place at Madison, Florida, on October 11, 1945.

I am glad to advise you that this matter had already been brought to my attention, and I am causing an immediate investigation of the incident. Please do not give any publicity to this information as it might jeopardize or make more difficult the plan of the investigation.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General

Theron L. Caudle

THERON L. CAUDLE
Assistant Attorney General

FOR VICTORY
BUY
UNITED STATES
WAR
BONDS
AND
STAMPS

Civil Rights
Lynching

October 18, 1945

Mr. R. B. Eleazer
810 Broadway
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Eleazer:

I have not seen the story in The Nation for October 6, but I will try to get hold of a copy today. I will bring it to the attention of Ernest Arnold and urge him to take it up with the bus company in North Carolina. Incidentally, Arnold is resigning as Director of the North Carolina Commission. I don't know yet who is going to take his place.

I am enclosing a clipping on the Florida lynching which gives about as much detail as we know. I think there is no claim that the Negro actually raped the girl, but he is said to have abused her and caused her to contract a venereal disease. Mrs. Havens tells me that another Negro who was under suspicion earlier was almost lynched, and that this did not get into the newspapers at all. So far as we know, the lynching at Madison, Florida last week is the only one which has taken place this year.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

Chicago Defender clipping

Van

GENERAL BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH
JOHN Q. SCHISLER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATHANIEL F. FORSYTH, ASSOCIATE SECRETARY

DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL CHURCH SCHOOL WORK
WALTER TOWNER, DIRECTOR
J. A. GREENE
R. B. ELEAZER
ALLEEN MOON

METHODIST BUILDING, 810 BROADWAY,
P. O. BOX 871, NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

October 17, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson:
Director Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Doctor Johnson:

Have you seen "The Nation" of October 6 and the story "The Driver Was a Nice Guy"? Seems on its face to be the sort of thing that the North Carolina Committee might well check on and perhaps bring to the attention of bus line officials. I don't know Arnold's address, but maybe you will think it worth while to pass the word.

Also, do you have the low-down on the Florida lynching of October 10 and the actual or alleged crime of the victim? I have been asked again to write the year's record for the "Britannica" and will appreciate any information you can give me.

Cordially yours,

R B Eleazer

R. B. Eleazer

RBE:PP

Lynching

December 27, 1945

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman
Acting Director, Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

We regret very much that your letter of December 20 addressed to Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames did not reach us until today. The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching is no longer functioning as a separate organization, but its work is being carried on by the Southern Regional Council, which absorbed the Interracial Commission and its related activities. Mrs. Ames retired from active work in February, 1944, and is now living at Tryon, North Carolina. Our headquarters are no longer located at 710 Standard Building. This, plus the fact that our offices were closed over the holidays, explains the delay in receipt of your letter.

We are inclined to classify the killing of Sam McFadden of Branford, Florida, as a lynching. However, as you know, it is getting to be more and more difficult to classify some of the extra-legal killings which seem to be replacing the old-fashioned mob lynchings.

You have probably already issued your lynching letter. I have not seen it in the Atlanta papers yet, but I am expecting to see it within the next day or two. I am terribly sorry that there was not prompt delivery of your letter to Mrs. Ames regarding this matter.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF
RECORDS AND RESEARCH

December 20, 1945

RECEIVED
DEC 27 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Associations of Southern Women for
the Prevention of Lynching
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Ames:

If you still keep detailed records of lynchings, will you kindly check with the Department of Records and Research on the number of lynchings for 1945.

So far our record shows one certain lynching for 1945, that of Jesse James Payne at Madison, Madison County, Florida. The case of Sam McFadden of Branford, Suwanee County, Florida in which an officer of the law, a civilian and a soldier seem involved is in the process of being classified.

The data we have indicates that the officer of the law requested the soldier and the civilian to help him arrest a bad Negro. They put him in a car and drove toward the Suwanee River. This happened about September 21. On October 29 the body of McFadden was found floating in the river by two fishermen. On November 8 as a result of an investigation by Governor Caldwell's own investigator the officer and the civilian were arrested and placed in jail without bond. Later however "no bill" was found against them and they were freed.

The only question it seems to me here is that an officer of the law is involved. However, he seems not to have arrested the man, but to have participated in his murder outside the law. This appears from the evidence at hand to be a lynching.

There might be some question too concerning the source of information. All of our releases came from the Daily Worker with the exception of one, which came from the Norfolk Journal and Guide.

In reading over correspondence concerning lynching between you and Mr. Work when he was Director of this Department I find that he depended to a great extent on your judgment concerning these matters.

We expect to run our lynching letter on December 26. So if you could send your opinion concerning this case by telegram, collect, before that date I would greatly appreciate it.

Very truly yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman)
Acting Director

Lynching

January 10, 1946

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman, Acting Director
Tuskegee Institute Dept. of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

Thank you for your letter of January 3. We would indeed be pleased to cooperate on the matter of checking our lynching records early in December each year before you issue your annual report. If there are border line cases in the South which you would like for us to investigate, please call them to our attention.

The Florida Governor's statement was certainly off key. If he had removed the Sheriff at Madison and had not made his public statement about the 1945 lynching report, he really would have had a good record.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF
RECORDS AND RESEARCH

January 3, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I wish to thank you for your letter of December 27 and for the information concerning the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. I am pleased also to have Mrs. Ames' address.

After careful consideration we thought it best not to include the killing of Sam McFadden in the report for 1945. Later on if more definite evidence is obtained, we can revise this year's record. I am pleased however to know that you think as we do about the case.

We read with interest too your statements in the press concerning the 1945 lynching report. I do not see how the Governor of Florida could possibly think that the killing of Payne at Madison was not a lynching.

If you have no objection, we will be pleased to check our lynching records with you before we send out our report, and will get them to you about December 1 in order to have enough time for exchange of opinion.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman)
Acting Director

Jan. 10, 1946

Dear Dr. Elanger:

We are not inclined to classify the killing near Smithfield, N.C., as a lynching. Several people were present, but apparently one boy did the shooting. It is another borderline case which makes the term "lynching" hard to apply.

We had a thorough report on the Toombers, Ga., case, and it was certainly not a lynching. The posse was orderly, and tried to get the Negro to surrender, but he chose to shoot it out.

Writing you again soon.

Sincerely,

Guy B Johnson

810 Broadway
Nashville
1/1/47

Lynchings 1946

Rec'd. replied Yours

RECEIVED
JAN 2 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The Pittsburgh Courier of Dec 28 reports that on Nov 18 Dan Sanders, colored ex-soldier, was lynched by a mob near Smithfield N.C. I wonder if you have anything authentic on this case. If so please advise me, since I am asked to send the Britannica a story on the year's lynchings for its 1946 yearbook.

Thank you

Cordially
R P Elmer

P.S. And what about the enclosed from Fed Council News Letter? Without further facts it seems to me the headline assumes a lot.

Lynching

January 26, 1946

Mr. R. V. Coleman, Managing Editor
Album of American History
597 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Coleman:

Your letter of January 9 has been forwarded to me here. I resigned my position at the University of North Carolina two years ago to become Director of the Southern Regional Council.

It was very good of you to send me Mr. Adams' letter with the note on Judge Lynch of Ireland. This is a most interesting sidelight on the origin of lynching, and I am going to try to dig into the clue a bit.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

ALBUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY

A CO-OPERATIVE WORK BEING PUBLISHED BY CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

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JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

Managing Editor
R. V. COLEMAN

Associate Editor
LAURA RETTING WHITE

Art Director
ATKINSON DYMOCK

597 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

January 9, 1946

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am enclosing a letter from James Truslow Adams which contains a quotation which you will doubtless find interesting if nothing else.

Very truly yours,

R. V. Coleman

Dr. Guy Benton Johnson
Institute for Research in Social Science
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

RVC:MWM
Enclosure

Lynching

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS
SHEFFIELD HOUSE
SOUTHPORT
CONN.

December 19, 1945

Dear Coleman:-

Following our telephone conversation this afternoon, I am writing to quote from the letter which I have received from an English Lieutenant in the RAF who wrote to me about his interest in my book THE EPIC OF AMERICA. This is the part which may be of interest to you and to Guy B. Johnson.

""I was motoring on the west coast of Ireland in 1937 and on a house in Sligo, saw a plate let into a wall under a balconied window. After all this time, I cannot recall the exact wording but it was roughly "To commemorate Judge Lynch who apprehended his only son for piracy, tried him himself, condemned him, and hanged him by his own hand from this window.""

The old fellow evidently did a complete job and it looks to me very much as if this might be the original of our Lynch Law. At any rate, I think the quotation will interest you and Professor Johnson.

Sincerely,

James Truslow Adams

JTA:P

338 Mosher Hall
Ann Arbor, Michigan
January 28, 1946

Guy B. Johnson
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 31 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you so much for your letter of January 18. It was more than kind of you. I am afraid that I can't tell you adequately how surprised and pleased I was - that you should lend me your clippings files. From them I was able to reconstruct quite a complete picture of the whole affair. They were of inestimable worth to me in writing my paper.

I am returning them under separate cover. I hope that I did not keep them too long. Thank you again for all your help.

Sincerely yours,

Carol J. Siebert

Carol J. Siebert

Drf - Lynching

January 18, 1946

Miss Carol J. Siebert
338 Mosher Hall
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Miss Siebert:

I am glad that the material which we sent you will be of some help to you. I believe that the best way to give you more information about the Payne case at Madison, Florida, is to lend you some of our clippings. I am enclosing a set of clippings with the request that you return them to us as soon as you are through with them.

This lynching was an example of the sort of thing which is rapidly replacing the old time mob lynching. It was probably committed by a very small group—perhaps only two or three persons. The Governor and the Attorney General of Florida made a sincere effort to investigate the affair and find the guilty parties, but the investigators were not able to secure enough evidence to get a Grand Jury indictment or to prove that the sheriff was criminally negligent. The Governor reprimanded the sheriff in strong language, but did not remove him from office. Personally, I think that the Governor's moral position would be much stronger if he had removed the sheriff and had not made the sort of statement which he made when the Tuskegee lynching figures were released on January 1.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

338 Mosher Hall
Ann Arbor, Michigan
January 15, 1946

RECEIVED
JAN 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for your letter and your suggestions as to references. The printed material arrived today and will be a big help.

I particularly wanted to present an up-to-date picture of the problem and, in doing so, would like a more complete study of the Jesse James Payne case than has been available to me from the newspaper accounts of it here. I would appreciate it very much if you could give me any advice or information on this subject.

Thank you, again, for your letter and for the printed matter.

Yours very truly,

Carol J. Siebert

Carol J. Siebert

Lynching

February 12, 1946

Honorable Millard Caldwell
Governor of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Governor Caldwell:

Mr. R. B. Eleazer has asked us to send you some material on the definition of lynching and also some reports on lynchings during the past twelve years.

Under separate cover we are sending you some literature which we hope will be of some help to you. The Mob Still Rides and The Changing Character of Lynching will give you a review of the record of lynchings 1931-41. To supplement this record, we are sending the January, 1944, and December, 1944, issues of The Southern Frontier, both of which contain articles on lynching. On page 29 of The Changing Character of Lynching is a passage on the definition of lynchings.

If we can be of further service, please call on us.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

Lynching and what it means also enclosed.

BOARD OF EDUCATION
OF
THE METHODIST CHURCH

OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

RECEIVED
FEB 11 1946
Southern Regional Council

NASHVILLE, TENN. 2/7/46

Dear Doctor Johnson:

Governor Millard Caldwell, of Fla. wishes to know what are the criteria that define a lynching; also wants reports on all lynchings of the past twelve years. I suggest you send him a copy of "The Mob Still Rides" which reviews the record 1931-35 inclusive. Maybe you ~~co~~ have something later in accessible form. The governor by ~~this~~ giving needless

publicity to his answer to my inquiry of some weeks appears to have put himself out on a limb. I note Dime has been panning him by contrast with Gov. Cherry, and probably other papers have been paying him similar attention.

Cordially yours,

R B Glover

our daily bread," and no bread comes, they question both the love of God and the Christian sincerity of men, said Adolf Keller of the World Council, who is here for the National Christian Mission. Dr. Keller predicted that communism will fail in Europe as did fascism and that the church will lay the foundation of a better society on spiritual principles.

* * *

Questions Effectiveness Of Pastors

George B. Hammond, chaplain of Hollywood Presbyterian hospital during the past year, reports to his fellow ministers that the work offers a wide-open entry into people's lives on the deepest level. A hospital chaplain, he says, is given the chance to meet people he would never encounter in the usual course of things. He prays—it may be effectively—with the person who doesn't care whether he gets well, with the young mother whose baby has just died, with a Roman Catholic who gladly accepts his ministrations even though he knows the chaplain is not a priest. Quoting the remark of a well known professor of medicine, "I don't ever want to hear of a Stanford graduate spending less than an hour and a half in his first interview with a patient," Mr. Hammond suggests that it might be well for the minister receiving a new member into the parish first to get a full spiritual history and an understanding of the applicant's symptoms.

* * *

Open Clothing Center

The southern California council of churches is opening a united Church Service Center at 7110 Compton St., Los Angeles, where clothing and blankets will be processed and forwarded to the material aid section of the Federal Council of Churches for shipment to Europe and Asia. The church federation is arranging collections within metropolitan Los Angeles.

ALLAN A. HUNTER.

Brethren Heifers Arrive in Poland

The first shipment of heifers to Poland by the Church of the Brethren Service Committee has, according to Religious News Service, arrived in that country.

Announcing

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Georgia Debates Future of Arnall

Progressive Governor to Retire Unless Law is Changed—Tuskegee Says Only One Lynching in 1945

ATLANTA, Feb. 6.—The Georgia legislature is in the midst of a battle over a bill that would permit Gov. Ellis Arnall to run for re-election this summer. The present law does not permit a governor to succeed himself. Friends of former Governors Talmage and Rivers and of Speaker Roy Harris, all three of whom aspire to the office, are seeking to block the change. Progressive forces throughout the south are interested in the continuance of the forward-looking program that has been led by Governor Arnall. Under his administration the poll tax has been abolished, education appropriations have been increased 50 per cent, a pension system for teachers has been established, the university system freed from political control, a new liberal constitution adopted, a state debt of $36,000,000 paid and a surplus of $10,000,000 put into the treasury.

* * *

Prohibit Employment Of Children

A new child labor law has just been signed by Governor Arnall. Children under 16 are prohibited from employment during school hours and are limited to 40 hours with a maximum of 8 hours on Saturday. Night work is prohibited. Work certificates from the state department of labor are required for all under 16 who seek employment in other than agricultural or domestic service or work for their own parents. The new law places Georgia among the more progressive states in child labor legislation.

* * *

Tuskegee Reports On Lynchings

Tuskegee Institute has announced that one lynching is on record for 1945. In 1892 there were 231. In 1933 there were 28 in 11 states. Recent years show 3 in 1939, 5 in 1940, 4 in 1941, 5 in 1942, 3 in 1943, 2 in 1944. Commenting on the 1945 record, Guy Johnson, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, says: "The record is not as good as it looks because there have been several cases of a borderline nature which are difficult to classify. When the killing of a person accused of crime is done quietly by two or three persons rather than by a mob, it is indeed hard to draw the line between lynching and homicide." However, the old style mob lynching is definitely on the way out. Gov. Millard Caldwell of Florida has stated that, in his opinion, the 1945 lynching listed by Tuskegee "did not come within any recognized definition of lynching."

* * *

Discuss Future of Family Living

Alarmed by the increase in divorces the Atlanta Christian council recently sponsored a conference under the leadership of Lester F. Wood of the commission on marriage and the home of the Federal Council of Churches. Social workers, judges and

Case of: JESSE JAMES PAYNE
Madison, Florida

When Dr. Rufus E. Clement was in our office on February 18 he gave me a report of a conversation which he had had with the woman who is the owner of the Consolidated Van and Storage Companies, Inc., 220 Ivy Street, N. E., Atlanta, concerning the case of Jesse James Payne. (Not knowing her name, I'll call her Mrs. Blank.)

Dr. Clement went to the storage company in December to pay a bill for his sister. When Mrs. B. learned who he was, she followed him out to his car and said that she would like to talk with him about this case.

Mrs. B. and her husband own property in Florida adjacent to the property on which the Negro was accused of assaulting the white child. She says that in her opinion this was a murder, committed by a man whose name Dr. Clement thought is Levy Goodman. It resulted over an argument about Payne's tobacco money.

Mrs. B. says that two white men in the community who know the case and who she thinks would be willing to talk with outsiders about it are David Lanier and Colin Kelly.

Dr. Clement said that it would be all right for us to talk with Mrs. B. about the case and to tell her that he had referred us to her. She feels that further investigation should be made and that some effort should be made to punish the man who killed Payne. It is her opinion that the whole thing was a frame-up.

E.H.C.

February 20, 1946

Copy to
Mr. Haynes
Mr. Dugs

This copy addressed to A.S.W.P.L. c/o SRC.

Lynchings Madison Fla. case

STATE OF FLORIDA
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
TALLAHASSEE

MILLARD F. CALDWELL
GOVERNOR

JOHN T. WIGGINTON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

March 6, 1946

Rec. 3-9-46

Tuskegee Institute
Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Attention: Jessie P. Guzman

I have your letter of February 19 in which you advise that in determining whether a given case constitutes a lynching you observe the criteria adopted at Tuskegee in 1940 which follows:

> "There must be legal evidence that a person has been killed and that he met his death illegally at the hands of a group acting under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition."

It seems apparent that (1) Tuskegee ignored the criteria in classifying the death of Jesse James Payne in Madison County, Florida, as a lynching or (2) that Tuskegee has legal evidence not now available to me to sustain the finding that Payne met his death at the hands "of a mob" and that the "group", if more than one person participated, was motivated by the "pretext of service to justice, race or tradition."

At my request a Special Grand Jury was empaneled to investigate the case and I sent a special investigator into the county for the same purpose. Neither the Grand Jury nor the special agent was able to ascertain whether more than one person participated in the crime.

I have noted that the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching took issue with the classification as a lynching, by Tuskegee and the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of the slaying in 1939 of a taxicab driver in Volusia County, Florida, by two brothers of the twelve-year-old victim of a fatal traffic accident, who took the accused from the custody of a constable. The association seems to have questioned whether two persons constitute a mob. I am not advised whether they also questioned this classification on the ground that the two brothers represented themselves only and acted on a motive of personal revenge--that they did not act for society, the community or their race.

Definitions in all the dictionaries I have consulted contain the requirement that the motive of lynching is punishment. I interpret punishment as an attempt at correction by authority or by those who assume authority and act without personal interest on the pretext of service to community or segment of society. This coincides with the criteria, if wisely and cautiously applied. The publication of the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation's report dated July 1942 of the findings of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching points out the weakness of the criteria above cited on the grounds that, in effect, it "could be made to convert into a lynching the death of every Negro at the hands of white persons." That such a result actually materialized is demonstrated by the North Carolina case cited in the report on which the noted liberal editor of the Raleigh News and Observer, Jonathan Daniels, commented that it was "reducing lynching statistics into silliness." Under the proposed federal bills there is no lynching unless the "mob" consists of at least three persons.

All the evidence in the Madison case suggests that the person or persons responsible acted with revenge as a motive and from personal interest, by reason of blood or family relationship or friendship with the victim and not under a pretext of service to society or racial group. I am

confident that in the interest of justice and in the integrity of your own records you will be willing either to furnish me with the legal evidence of mob or group action or to amend your records to show this crime to have been a murder. Please advise me of your decision.

Sincerely,

Governor

MFC/CLG

COPY

Info on Elko lynching

April 1, 1946

Mr. Charles R. Lawrence
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lawrence:

Your letter of March 28 was not received here until April 1 because it was addressed to the Standard Building and our offices are no longer there.

The alleged lynching at Elko, South Carolina, was reported first to the Atlanta Daily World. After investigation, the issue of the same paper for March 6 gave the true story of the incident, which, briefly, is as follows: Raymond Reed, an ex-sailor and estranged from his wife, Doris Reed, returned to Elko to visit her. A family argument ensued, after which Mrs. Reed's two brothers reported that her husband had died during a struggle. They said that they had not intended to kill him. In order to avoid suspicion, the brothers hanged the body on a cross so that the appearance of suicide might be made. It was discovered at dawn by a passerby and thus the "lynch" rumor originated.

If you will refer to the Daily World of March 6 you will see the full story. We have no further information concerning the story.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:m

FISK UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

MONTHLY SUMMARY OF
EVENTS AND TRENDS IN
RACE RELATIONS

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

STAFF
PEARL L. WALKER
CHARLES R. LAWRENCE, JR.
RACHEL B. NOEL
ALMA G. FORREST

March 28, 1946

Postmark Mar. 29
Rec'd April 1

Dr. Harold Trigg
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

According to an Associated Negro Press release of March 6, 1946, a South Carolina social work institution executive reported, upon arrival in Atlanta, that he and his wife had witnessed the lynching of a Negro man at Elko, South Carolina.

In order to complete our records for the MONTHLY SUMMARY, we would like to get either a verification or denial of the report, as well as further information, and are in hopes you will be able to help us out.

If there is validity to the report, we may use it in our April issue of the magazine. Therefore, if possible, we would appreciate hearing from you prior to April 6.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Chas. R. Lawrence Jr.

Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.
Associate Editor

CRL:b

May 7, 1946

The Rev. J. H. Flye
Saint Andrew's School
Saint Andrews, Tennessee

Dear Rev. Flye:

Your letter of May 3, addressed to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has come to our attention. The Commission was absorbed by the Southern Regional Council when it was organized in February, 1944.

Here are a few facts about the lynching of Cordie Cheek which took place in Maury County, Tennessee, December 15, 1933. Cheek, a young Negro, was arrested on suspicion of criminal assault on an eleven year old white girl. (Cheek's age is stated differently in various reports, as 14, 17, and 20. The Interracial Commission's report gave his age as 20.) The Grand Jury considered the case, but did not make an indictment. Cheek was released, but his family knew that his life was in danger, so they took him to Nashville, where he stayed in the home of his uncle. A group of white men found out where he was, went to Nashville, and abducted him from his uncle's home. He was taken back to Maury County, and according to the best information we could find, was hanged on the Columbia-Lewisburg Road in the presence of a mob of spectators. Someone took down the number of the kidnapper's automobile and found that the car belonged to one of the Maury County officials. It was also alleged that this official was one who actually did the hanging. Pressure was brought by the NAACP and other agencies for indictment of this man, but nothing ever came of it.

This is not a very detailed report, but unfortunately, it is all the information I can lay hands on at present.

Incidentally, we have made a thorough investigation of the Columbia affair which took place in February, 1946, and we are publishing a report soon.

Enclosed is a list of our publications. You will note that we continue to publish such Commission pamphlets as <u>America's Tenth Man</u> and <u>Understanding Our Neighbors</u>. We also took over the <u>Southern Frontier</u>, but we recently changed its format and changed its name to <u>New South</u>. A

sample copy is enclosed.

You may be interested to know that the Southern Regional Council is a membership organization, and that we are trying to build up a mass membership of progressive people all over the South. We would be delighted to have you as a member. The dues are $2.00 a year. Members receive all of the Council's publications.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl. - Apr. New South
The South Is Yours
Price list

Saint Andrew's School

Saint Andrews, Tennessee

May 3, 1946

PRIOR
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HEADMASTER
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ASS'T HEADMASTER
MR. A. C. REID

TELEPHONE
TELEGRAPH
EXPRESS
FREIGHT
SEWANEE, TENN.

RECEIVED
MAY 6 1946
Southern Regional Council

Commission on Interracial Co-operation
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta

Dear friends:

I would like to know facts and details about the lynching of a Negro boy, Cordie Cheek, which took place in Columbia, Tennessee about twelve years ago. Do you publish data of this sort and have you anything on this ? Or if not, will you tell me if you know where I could write to get such ?

And if you have a little list of your booklets and other publications will you please send me one ? I got some material from you a few years ago. I am a teacher and interested in promoting goodwill and good human relations generally.

With best wishes,

(Rev.) J.H. Flye

defer Lynching

July 10, 1946

Miss Lilly Berkowitz
9905 Parkgate Avenue
Cleveland 8, Ohio

Dear Miss Berkowitz:

Thank you for your letter of July 6 concerning the paper which you are writing on the New Deal and federal anti-lynching bills.

Under separate cover, we are sending what published material we have on the subject of lynching, but I am afraid that this will not bear very directly on the problem as you have stated it.

The term "New Deal" covers a lot of ground. It includes Republicans and Democrats and includes a lot of people who are liberal on some things and not so liberal on others. I am thinking, for example of the Southern congressmen who were down the line for the New Deal on nearly everything, but fought against the passage of a federal anti-lynching bill.

I suggest that the best source for information on the subject you have in mind is the Congressional Record. It would take a long time to go through it, but it might be worth it. There is nothing like it for getting the lowdown on Congressional battles over controversial legislation.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Ladies and Lynching
Toward Lynchless America
Changing Character of Lynching
Mob Still Rides

✓ m 7/10/46

LILLY BERKOWITZ
9905 PARKGATE AVENUE
CLEVELAND 8, OHIO

RECEIVED
JUL 8 1946
Southern Regional Council

July 6, 1946

AIR MAIL

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

As a northern member of the Southern Regional Council I am turning to you for some assistance. I am writing a seminar paper, for some graduate work, on Civil Rights and the New Deal. Since the field is so brad I have narrowed it down to "What was the attitude of the New Deal to the federal anti-lynching bills", and am interested in the period from 1933 to 1940. Of course I understand the relationship between the anti-lynching bills and the political and economic set-up in the South. I would greatly appreciate any material you can suggest or send me about this matter.

The element of time is involved so I hope I can hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Lilly Berkowitz

Lilly Berkowitz (Miss)

Lynching

Mixed audience approx 105 in attendance — W.B.B

MEMORIAL SERVICE
for
THE VICTIMS OF MOB VIOLENCE

Moorland Branch Y.M.C.A. 12:00 Noon

Monday, August 5, 1946

SILENT MEDITATION	(10 Minutes)
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS	Mr. Cecil J. Partee
DEVOTION	Rev. Brooks E. Joshua Munger Ave. Baptist Church
SOLO	Mrs. Margurite Anderson
MEMORIAL MESSAGE	Rev. B. T. Alexander Bethel A.M.E. Church
PRESENTATION OF RESOLUTIONS	Mr. J. Clarence Davis
HYMN	"Abide With Me"
BENEDICTION	Rev. O. M. Locust New Hope Baptist Church

ABIDE WITH ME

Abide with me! Fast falls the eventide, The darkness deepens Lord, with me abide! When other helpers fail and comforts flee, Help of the helpless oh, Abide with me.

Swift to its close ebbs out life's little day; Earth's joys grow dim, its glories pass away; Change and decay in all around I see; O Thou who changes not, Abide with me.

Hold Thou Thy cross before my closing eyes; Shine thro' the gloom, and point me to the skies; Heav'n morning breaks and earth's vain shadows flee! In life, in death, O Lord, Abide with me!

A RELIGION OF CHALLENGE

Comment by Leader: Today, amid the hazards and uncertainties of the post-war era, we speak not of a religion of comfort, but of a religion of challenge. It echoes its clarion calls for action, for courage, for decision, for daring, through all the cloistered chambers of the soul. Let us trace some lofty moments of challenge to individuals and to organizations in the religious literature of our fathers.

Responsive Reading

LEADER: "Now the Lord said unto Abraham - 'Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred unto the land that I will show thee.'"

RESPONSE: "And I will bless thee and make thy name great. And be thou a blessing."

LEADER: "The Lord spake unto Joshua saying - 'Moses my servant is dead. Now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, thou and all this people unto the land which I do give unto them.'"

RESPONSE: "There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life. I will not fail thee nor forsake thee. Be strong and of good courage for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest."

LEADER: "I, Isaiah, saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. And one cried unto another - Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts. All the earth is full of his glory! And the foundations of the house were moved at the voice of him that cried. And I heard the voice of the Lord saying 'Whom shall I send, and who will go for me?'"

RESPONSE: "Then said I, 'Here am I. Send me.'"

LEADER: "As was His custom, Jesus entered the synagogue on the Sabbath and stood up to read the lesson -

RESPONSE: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me. He has consecrated me to preach good news to the poor, release to captives, recovery of sight to the blind, to set free those who have been crushed by oppression, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

PRAYER (In Unison)

HELP US, OUR FATHER, TO RESPOND TO THESE CHALLENGES TO HIGH AND HOLY LIVING, TO THE WAY OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, JUSTICE, GOOD WILL AND BROTHERHOOD. BLESS US IN OUR RESPECTIVE TASKS IN THIS HISTORIC AGE, AS WE SEEK TO GUIDE OURSELVES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BALANCED CHRISTIAN PERSONALITIES, AND OF SOCIAL PASSION FOR ONE WORLD OF GOOD WILL. MAY WE IN OUR DAY HEAR THY CALL AND ANSWER WITH THE COURAGEOUS ONES OF OLD, "HERE AM I. SEND ME!"

RESOLUTION

We Southerners are gathered today in Memorial Service.

BECAUSE: We believe in liberty, justice and equal protection of the laws of these United States for all of its citizens.

BECAUSE: We hold that in a democracy every citizen should be respected first as an individual, as a child of God, only secondarily as a member of a racial or religious minority group.

BECAUSE: We are determined to do all in our power that there may be no more mob violence, that brotherhood and understanding be substituted for hate and intolerance.

We resolve to take the following steps:

1. To commend Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia for his prompt action to apprehend and punish the Monroe murderers, and to commend the Governor's effort to outlaw the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia:

2. To insist that President Truman use the full power of the federal government to protect the lives and safety of the Southern people by:

   --insuring that the Department of Justice act effectively to punish the Georgia lynchers

   ---outlawing, by Executive Order, the Ku Klux Klan and other hooded and masked organizations based on racial hatred.

We urge all the individuals and organizations in our community to take similar action, in this national crisis. We believe that only the strength of the people's voice can force prompt federal action and prevent further bloodshed and violence.

ANNOUNCING . . .

THE

"Y" 1946 MONSTER Forum Series

Begins January 6th

TEN SUNDAYS

4 P. M.

Ends March 31st

MOORLAND BRANCH
Y. M. C. A.

2700 Flora St.
DALLAS, TEXAS

IF YOU ARE
Not a Member
of

MOORLAND Y. M. C. A.

JOIN NOW

and

Help Perpetuate

Activities As

The Monster FORUM SERIES

Sunday, Jan. 6, to Sun., Mar. 31st

DR. L. G. PINKSTON, Chairman
Committee of Management

S. H. DAVIS, Chairman
Membership Committee

T. D. MARSHALL, Chairman
Religious and Education Committee

Purpose of a Forum

The Moorland Branch Y. M. C. A. throughout its existence has attempted to bring to members and friends programs and activities that always prove beneficial and challenging both from the standpoint of Education as well as Social and Recreational development.

Therefore the purpose of the Forum is to stimulate thinking upon the broad Social issues of the day which particularly affect the lives of minority peoples and has impeded the progress of Democracy.

The caliber of speeches chosen reveals that they will follow a liberal pattern of social action and education as set forth in the policy of the National Council of Y. M. C. A.'s.

This series has been endorsed by the Committee of Management and the Membership Committee of Moorland Branch Y. M. C. A.

We hope you attend all ten of these Lectures.

All members and friends of Moorland Y. M. C. A. are cordially invited.

WHO THEY ARE AND WHEN THEY APPEAR!

Sunday, Jan. 6th—4 P. M. BENJAMIN E. MAYS, President Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia. Born in Epworth, South Carolina. After finishing college he prepared for the church and was ordained a Baptist Minister. Served as Executive Secretary of Tampa (Fla.) Urban League; served as National Student Secretary of Y. M. C. A.; Dean of Religion, Howard University; elected 1944 Vice-President of the Federal Council of The Churches of Christ in America.

Sunday, Jan. 13th—4 P. M. CHANNING H. TOBIAS, Senior Secretary Y. M. C. A., New York. Born in Georgia. Years of work with many National Groups, National Advisory Committee Selective Service; Methodist Minister; lectured before the Southern Conference of Human Welfare; has visited with Gandhi and other international characters; great personality backed by dynamic leadership.

Sunday, Jan. 20th—4 P. M. WILLIAM R. BANKS, Principal Prairie View University of Texas. Native of Georgia. Graduate of Atlanta University; former President of Texas College; Vice-Chairman of Interracial Commission of Texas; member Texas Executive Committee on Tuberculosis; Chairman Southwest Area Y. M. C. A.

Sunday, Feb. 3rd—4 P. M. RAYFORD W. LOGAN, Native of Washington, D. C. Graduate of Wililams College. 1st Lieut. World War I; Interpreter of Second Pan-African Congress;Present Head of Dept. of History, Howard University; received Ph.D. from Harvard; has made three trips to Haiti; has many books of authorship to his credit; recently made a great research contribution to the San Francisco Conference.

Sunday, Feb. 10th—4 P. M. LANGSTON HUGHES, Great World Poet and Traveler.

Sunday, Feb. 17th—4 P. M. J. L. PATTON, JR. Principal Booker T. Washington High School; graduate of Prairie View College, New York University; speaker of force and stimulating thought.

Sunday, March 3rd—4 P. M. WOMAN'S DAY. Speaker to be announced later.

Sunday, March 10th—4 P. M. GEORGE S. SCHUYLER, New York Editor Pittsburgh Courier. Listed in Who's Who as a great columnist and public lecturer, wide travel and forceful leadership.

Sunday, March 17th—4 P. M. FELTON CLARK, President Southern University of Louisiana; a leader of great stature and magnitude.

Sunday, March 31st—4 P. M. CAREY McWILLIAMS, a California Attorney, interested in Labor and Agriculture. Made a report on Japanese Relocation Program; appeared on Chicago Round Table and Town Meeting of the Air; a great writer and lecturer.

November 8, 1946

Mr. Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Lawrence:

I am sorry that we do not have a report such as you mention, on "The Changing Form of Lynching Techniques We have commented on this subject from time to time but we really do not have anything new on it.

At our Executive Committee meeting last month Mr. Carter Wesley made a few remarks on what he considers to be a growing tendency for the news-gathering agenc to ignore or suppress stories about lynchings of the quiet type. He stated that he knew several instances in Texas which he would definitely classify as lynchings but which were not reported in the newspapers.

Mr. Wesley was speaking 'in the family' and I would suggest that you get in touch with him before quoting him to the above effect.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

FISK UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

MONTHLY SUMMARY OF
EVENTS AND TRENDS IN
RACE RELATIONS

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

November 5, 1946

STAFF
PEARL L. WALKER
CHARLES R. LAWRENCE, JR.
RACHEL B. NOEL
ALMA G. FORREST

RECEIVED
NOV 7 1946
Southern Regional Council

Special

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The Monthly Summary staff is interested in receiving a recent report made before the Council on "the changing form of lynching techniques".

We hope that it will be possible for us to hear from you within the next few days to enable us to meet our November deadline.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence

Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.,
The Summary Staff

CRL:b

Thanks for the Black Shirts & Columbian material. I shall return it within a day or so.

Lynchings

December 13, 1946

Dr. C. H. Hamlin
Atlantic Christian College
Wilson, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Hamlin:

We have had a request for information concerning the case of J. C. Farmer, reputed to have been killed by a posse at Sims or Bailey on August 3, 1946.

If you can provide us with any clippings or other information which might help to clarify this incident we would be grateful.

The question of the presence of officers of the law who had the authority to assemble a posse is paramount.

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

With every good wish, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:mp

Lynchings

Re: Slaying of Negro by posse near Wilson, N.C. Aug. 1946

Dr. Johnson & file

Atlantic Christian College
Wilson, N. C.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
C. H. HAMLIN

Dec. 14, 1946.

Dear Mr Trigg:

Your letter came today. I do not have any paper clippings relating to the case in question but recall the paper account and my brief investigation for Cyrus Johnson soon after the affair.

As I recall the facts were these: Near Simsbury in August (I think August 3rd) a party - J. C. Farmer - got on a bus. He was mentally deranged. He was armed. The passengers & drivers got off I suppose from fear. Then Farmer got off and left the bus. The police came in search of him. The party (Farmer) shot his pistol. Then the police fired killing him. He was then in a tobacco patch. A few people assembled with the police. It was not a lynching but a case of unnecessary killing. I do not know if he had been drinking or if his army experience had shattered his nerves. He had recently been released from the army.

When it happened I asked Samuel Vaughan of Wilson and they gave the above information. It was also in the local paper. I could not detect any racial slant. A few days later Cyrus Johnson of Raleigh wrote me about the report a version he had seen in the Durham paper published by Austin. It was badly distorted - at least from the best I could get. He was insane and should have been handled differently.

Sincerely, C. H. Hamlin

December 17, 1946

Memo to Dr. Guy B. Johnson

Subject: Conference With Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman on Lynchings for 1946.

On December 11, I called at the office of Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman, Director of the Department of Records and Research at Tuskeegee Institute Alabama.

Mrs. Guzman was compiling the list of lynchings for the current year. She seemed to be quite certain about six. Namely, the one of Leon McTady at Lexington, Mississippi on July 22, the four in Walton County on July 25, and the one at Minden, Louisiana of John C. Jones on August 8. She was not certain about the incident involving James Walker, Jr. at Alco, South Carolina on August 12, J.C. Farmer of Simms, North Carolina on August 3, and the one involving George Hill at Toombsboro, Georgia on October 18. She had listed as a lynching that of Alonzo Rush, Indianola, Mississippi May 11, 1946, electrocuted following a kingaroo court trial by a group of white men on the charge of intimacy with a white woman, who refused to press the charges and admitted that the relationship was voluntary on her part.

I gave her all the information which we had in our files on these cases and she decided to persue her investigation farther.

Mrs. Guzman gave me the definition of a lynching agreed upon by a group of persons meeting in Tuskeegee some five or six years ago. The Criteria are as follows: 1. There must be a dead body. 2. Death must have come through illegal methods. 3. At least three persons must have been involved in administering the punishmnet. 4. Under pretext of service to justice, race or tradition.

Mrs. Guzman is considering the advisability in compiling a list of instances of police brutality of the prevention of lynchings. I told her that I thought that both of these objectives would be in line with the major objective with the SRC for the coming year which is, law enforcement.

She also wanted to know if the SRC would collaborate with the Department of Records and Research of Tuskeegee on these three items for the coming year.

Lynchings

December 17, 1946

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Lynchings

December 17, 1946

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman,
Director, Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute,
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

I was happy to have the opportunity to confer with you on the question of the lynchings for 1946 during my visit to your office on December 11.

I have just received a letter from a very reliable person in Wilson County, North Carolina giving me rather complete details of the incident involving J.C. Farmer.

If what my informer says is true, this was not a lynching. I am anxious to know whether it is in agreement with information which you have probably received from the source suggested by me.

Dr. Johnson feels that a compilation of instances of police brutality and of the prevention of lynchings is worth while in every respect and expressed willingness to collaborate with you on these items. I would suggest that you write him directly and make any further suggestion which you consider pertinent.

With kindest good wishes, I remain.

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

Lynching

December 5, 1946

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman
Director, Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

Your letter of December 2 to Dr. Guy B. Johnson has been referred to me.

We have been thinking for sometime that it might be worthwhile for one of our staff to come over to Tuskegee and confer with you on this question of lynching. Dr. Johnson has given me this assignment and I can come any day next week except December 12. Please let me know when it would be convenient to see you.

We are in agreement on the six cases listed in your letter. Like you, however, we feel that one or two others are close enough to the line to warrant serious study.

If you will wire me at this address or call Atlanta, WAlnut-7963, I shall be able to plan a visit to your office.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:mp

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF
RECORDS AND RESEARCH

December 2, 1946

RECEIVED
DEC 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson:

Last year you kindly agreed to check with us on the matter of the number of lynchings for the year. The time is drawing near at which time we usually distribute information to the press and other agencies, in our annual letter. Up to the present time our records show 6 lynchings for 1946 as follows:

July 22, Leon McTatie at Lexington, Holmes Co., Miss.
July 25, Roger Malcolm, Dorothy Malcolm, George Dorsey and Mae H. Dorsey at Monroe, Walton Co., Ga.
August 8, John C. Jones near Minden, Webster Parish, La.

There are two or three other cases that have many of the characteristics of a lynching, but which for one reason or another we are not able to prove without some shadow of doubt that they should be so classified.

If you know of other cases other than those named above, will you kindly let us know. We would greatly appreciate this favor.

The reports which were given on the work of the Southern Regional Council at the annual meeting were very inspirational; and I share with many others deep regret over your indicated resignation, but I certainly hope that your health will improve upon your return to North Carolina.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman)
Director

C
O
P
Y

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

Office of the President

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

December 21, 1946

Please do not release until December 29, 1946

Dear Sir:

I send you the following information concerning lynchings for the year 1946. I find according to the records compiled in the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute that there were 6 persons lynched in 1946.

This is 5 more than the number 1 for 1945; 4 more than the number 2 for the year 1944; 3 more than the number 3 for the year 1943; 1 more than the number 5 for the year 1942.

There are 4 borderline cases which are not included in the total number of lynchings for 1946 because to date sufficient evidence concerning them has not been obtained.

There were at least 17 instances in which lynchings were prevented. 14 of these were by officers of the law and 3 were by persons not connected with the law. 16 of these instances were in the Southern States and 1 was in the Northern States. A total of 22 persons, 21 Negroes and 1 white person, were thus saved from death at the hands of mobs.

All of the 6 persons lynched were Negroes. The offences charged were: stealing a saddle, 1 (two other persons later confessed this crime); stabbing a man, 1; no charge, 3 (were in automobile with one of the victims); attempting to break into a house, 1 (jailed, but later released).

The States in which lynchings occurred and the number in each State are as follows: Mississippi, 1; Georgia, 4; Louisiana*, 1.

Very truly yours,

(Signed)
F. D. Patterson
President

*Another victim of the same mob later regained consciousness and escaped.

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF
RECORDS AND RESEARCH

File

December 28, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Trigg:

This comes to acknowledge your letter of December 17 and to thank you for coming to Tuskegee to talk about the matter of lynchings for the year 1946. Your visit was very helpful in the matter of clarifying in our minds data on hand on lynchings.

I wrote to the person indicated by you concerning the supposed lynching in North Carolina, but have not heard from him as yet. I am pleased, however, to know that the State of North Carolina will not figure in the number of lynchings for 1946.

Thank you for your suggestion concerning my writing to Dr. Johnson about police brutality and the prevention of lynchings. I will do this as soon as the whole matter has crystallized in my own mind.

Sincere good wishes for the holiday season.

Very truly yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

Director.

January 31, 1947

Mr. Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.
Social Science Institute
Nashville, 8, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Lawrence:

This will acknowledge your letter of January 28.

We were not able to obtain the data which would justify calling the murder at Smithfield a lynching. We use the same crieteria to determine a lynching that were worked out by the Bureau of Research at Tuskegee. The incident was brutal and unwarranted by the offense, but still did not meet the requirements for a lynching.

It is possible that we did not have all of the facts. I would suggest that you write Mr. W. R. Collins, Principal of Johnston County Training School, Smithfield, North Carolina. I am sure he will be glad to furnish you the local version.

It becomes increasingly difficult to determine what is a lynching. This new Civil Rights group appointed by President Truman will probably redefine the act.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

FISK UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

MONTHLY SUMMARY OF
EVENTS AND TRENDS IN
RACE RELATIONS

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

January 28, 1947

STAFF
PEARL L. WALKER
CHARLES R. LAWRENCE, JR.
RACHEL B. NOEL
ALMA G. FORREST

Dr. Harold Trigg, President
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

Have you any information which you might send us on the Smithfield, N.C., lynching case, reported in the Pittsburgh Courier of December 28th? A mob of white men armed with shotguns and led by a 16-year-old high school youth were said to have lynched an unarmed Negro veteran for allegedly stealing some hound dogs.

If you are unable to send us any data on the case, could you recommend someone whom we might contact in this regard?

We hope that it will be possible for us to hear from you within the next few days.

With appreciation of your assistance,

Sincerely yours,

Chas R. Lawrence Jr.

Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.
The Summary Staff

Write W.R. Collins

CRL:b

Lynching - Data

February 20, 1947

Miss Lucille Luce
Box 614
Florida State College for Women
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Miss Luce:

Your letters addressed to the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching and the Commission on Interracial Cooperation have come to our attention. Neither organization is in existence now, having been absorbed by the Southern Regional Council at its charter meeting in February 1944. The enclosed leaflet will tell you something of the program of the Council.

We are glad to know of your interest in the matter of lynching and are sending you, under separate cover, a number of pamphlets and leaflets dealing with the subject. These were published by the Commission and by the A.S.W.P.L. There have been no recent publications giving the data you are seeking, but I think the enclosed statistics taken from our files will help you.

You may be able to get further information from the Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama. The Department compiles lynching data and is considered an official source of information on such matters. Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman is Director of the Department.

In addition, you may find the following books helpful: Rope and Faggott, by Walter White; Tragedy of Lynching, by Arthur Raper; Lynching and the Law, by James Chadbourn.

Good luck in writing your paper. If we can be of further service to you, please let us know.

Cordially yours,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

Sent - Charge Chron
Wheld - [illegible]
Not Sent Back

M.P. 2/20/47

SRC
2/20/47

STATISTICS ON LYNCHING

1939--3	lynchings,	25	prevented	lynchings
1940--5	"	22	"	"
1941--4	"	22	"	"
1942--5	"	15	"	"
1943--3	"	11	"	"
1944--2	"		?	
1945--1	"		?	
1946--6	"	17	"	"

****

1942--1 Missouri;	1 Texas;	3 Mississippi
1943--1 Florida	1 Georgia	1 Illinois
1944--1Mississippi	1 Tennessee	
1945--1 Florida		
1946--1 Mississippi	1 Louisiana	4 Georgia

****

Year	White	Negro
1938	0	6
1939	1	2
1940	1	4
1941	0	4
1942	0	5
1943	0	3
1944	0	2
1945	0	1
1946	0	6

****

In 1944 the Mississippian lynched was a 65 year old minister-farmer (Negro). He was taken about a mile from his home and shot to death by a mob. The offence charged was hiring a lawyer to safeguard his title to a debt free farm through which there was possibility that an oil vein ran.

The Tennessean lynched in 1944 was a 17 year old trusty at the Tennessee State Training and Agricultural School (a reformatory). He was taken from jail and shot to death by a mob. The offence charged was murdering the wife and daughter of the superintendent of the reformatory. (From press release by Tuskegee Institute, Dec. 31, 1944)

****

1945 the Floridian lynched was Jesse James Payne, Negro. The charge was assault with attempt to rape.

The Mississippian lynched in 1946 was accused of stealing a saddle. Two other persons later confessed this crime.

Of the four Negroes lynched in Walton County, Georgia, in 1946, only one was actually accused of a crime--stabbing a man. The other three persons (one man and two women) were in the automobile with the accused. (All 3 shot)

The Negro lynched in Louisiana was accused of trying to break into a house. He was jailed but later released. (Another victim of the same mob later regained consciousness and escaped.)

*There are ~~4~~ borderline cases which are not included in the total number of lynchings for 1946 because to date sufficient evidence concerning them has not been obtained.

*There were at least 17 instances in which lynchings were prevented. 14 of these were by officers of the law and 3 were by persons not connected with the law. 16 of these instances were in the Southern States and 1 was in the Northern States. A total of 22 persons, 21 Negroes and 1 white person, were thus saved from death at the hands of the mobs." (From press release by Tuskegee Institute, for release December 29, 1946)

RECEIVED
FEB 14 1947
RECORDS
Southern Regional Council

Box 614 - Florida State
College for Women
Tallahassee, Florida
13 February 1947

Association of Southern Women
for the Prevention of Lynching
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Madame:

I am very anxious to obtain some recent information on the problem of lynching. I am at present doing an assignment on the subject of lynching, and I've been unable to find adequate material covering the period of the last decade, and particularly since 1940.

Specifically, I'm interested in obtaining information relative to the number of lynchings annually in the United States during the above mentioned period, the causes, and the court

action taken against the lynchers. Also, I would like to have material relative to efforts in passing federal anti-lynching legislation.

If you have any pamphlets or booklets on any of these phases of lynching, would you please send them to me along with a bill to cover expenses.

Thank you very much.

Yours very truly

(Miss) Lucille Luce

RECEIVED
FEB 14 1947
Library
Southern Regional Council

Box 614 - Florida State
College for Women
Tallahassee, Florida
13 February 1947

Commission on Interracial Cooperation
703 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

At the present time, I'm engaged in an assignment in one of my college courses on the problem of lynching, and I'm quite anxious to obtain some <u>recent</u> information on that subject. I've been unable to find adequate material covering the past decade, and particularly since 1940.

Specifically, I'm interested in securing information relative to the number of lynchings annually in the United States during the above mentioned period, the causes, and the

action taken by the courts against the lynchers. Also, I would like to have material relative to the current efforts in getting federal anti-lynching legislation passed.

If you have any pamphlets or booklets on any of these phases of lynching, would you please send them to me, along with the bill to cover costs of material and mailing expenses.

Thank you very much.

Yours very truly

(Miss) Lucille Luce

March 11, 1947

Governor J. Strom Thurmond
State Capitol
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Governor Thurmond:

I should like to express a word of appreciation for the splendid statement which you made concerning the lynching of Willie Earle. Such firm statements help to encourage the punishment of lynchers and help the relations of your state with the rest of the country.

I hope that the local authorities push the prosecution of the guilty parties with all the vigor at their command, and that we shall see some convictions before long. I believe that convictions of lynchers will do more than anything else to stamp out the crime of lynching.

The Southern Regional Council is a voluntary, non-political agency which is working toward constructive measures for the improvement of Southern life. We have members in thirteen Southern states and we count among our members some of the leading citizens of both races. The chairman of our South Carolina Division is Mr. Marion Wright of Conway.

With highest esteem and best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:ms

Lynching

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
COLUMBIA

J. STROM THURMOND
GOVERNOR

February 24, 1947

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I have received your letter of February 19 and wish to thank you for your sentiments concerning my stand in reference to the case of Willie Earle. Such incidents are not only flagrant violations of every concept of law and order, but they are a serious detriment to the welfare of South Carolina in her relations with the rest of the Nation. I have publicly stated that the decent people of the State will not tolerate mob rule, and I am happy that the response to this declaration sustains my views. I am determined to do everything in my power to render to the courts of the State those guilty of this atrocity, and it is hoped that we shall not have a similar occurrence in the future.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very truly,

J. Strom Thurmond

J. Strom Thurmond
Governor

JST:im

President
Mrs. A. Fletcher Spigner
427 Harden St.
Columbia (11), S. C.

Vice-President
Mrs. E. I. Terry
Rock Hill, S. C.

Secretary of Organization and Promotion
Mrs. A. M. Doggett
103 Kirksey Drive
Greenwood, S. C.

Recording Secretary
Mrs. J. A. Turner
1829 Senate St.
Columbia (5), S. C.

Treasurer
Mrs. Claude B. Free
1817 Heyward St.
Columbia (36), S. C.

CONFERENCE SECRETARIES

Wesleyan Service Guild
Miss Ruby Ott
3700 Heyward St., Columbia (39)

Spiritual Life
Mrs. Charles L. Rast, Swansea

Missionary Education and Service
Mrs. L. L. Wright, Honea Path

Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities
Mrs. L. B. George, Woodruff

Literature and Publications
Mrs. N. C. Clark, Waterloo

Supplies
Mrs. George W. Henry
402 Buncombe St., Greenville

Status of Women
Mrs. Benjamin F. Zimmerman
394 Magnolia St., Spartanburg

Student Work
Mrs. J. E. Merchant, Easley

Youth Work
Mrs. J. D. Rogers, Easley

Children's Work
Mrs. J. D. Kilgore
515 Whaley St., Columbia (12)

DISTRICT SECRETARIES

Anderson
Mrs. Floyd M. Stevenson
R. F. D. 3, Seneca

Columbia
Mrs. J. D. Leitner
1107 Lancaster St.
Columbia (28)

Greenville
Mrs. J. H. Armstrong
707 E. North St., Greenville

Greenwood
Mrs. L. G. McCullough
1828 Harrington St., Newberry

Rock Hill
Mrs. Clarence Cross, Chester

Spartanburg
Mrs. Lula R. Moore
26 S. Mountain St., Union

WOMAN'S SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

Upper South Carolina Conference

1829 Senate Street,
Columbia, 5, S. C.
February 21, 1947.

Governor Strom Thurmond,
State House,
Columbia, S. C.

My dear Governor Thurmond:

The Methodist Woman's Society of Christian Service of the two South Carolina Conferences commend you for your very definite part in the quick and effective action pertaining to the Pickens lynching case.

This action on your part and the action of other officials and of the court which will come must declare the fact that the citizens of South Carolina do not approve of mob rule.

We imagine that numerous church, civic, and other groups will write you regarding this matter. If publicity is given we would be glad to be listed among those commending your action. This kind of publicity would state the opinion of most of South Carolina's citizens.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. J. Ashby Turner
Acting Secretary of Christian Social Relations

Mrs. A. F. Spigner,
President, Upper S. C. Conference W. S. C.S.

Mrs. L. A. Hartzog.

Mrs. J. Ray Jones.

February 21, 1947

MEMORANDUM

FROM: ROBERT K. CARR, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TO: ALL MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

SUBJECT: FURTHER REPORT ON THE WILLIE EARLE LYNCHING CASE

A progress report has been received from Turner L. Smith, Chief of the Civil Rights Section, Department of Justice. He reports the following:

(1) Federal agents are pursuing their investigation of the case.

(2) State and local officers have arrested some twenty persons and have obtained confessions from twelve of these people. It appears that from 35 to 40 persons were involved in the lynching and that many of these were taxi drivers. (Earle is alleged to have assaulted a taxi driver).

(3) Thus far federal agents have discovered little or no evidence indicating that any members of the mob acted under "color of law" (a necessary element to a successful prosecution under Section 52). It appears that the jailer, an elderly man, made no attempt to resist the mob and opened the jail door, but thus far there is no evidence that he was a party to a conspiracy.

(4) In lynching cases where:
   (a) the evidence will not support a strong federal prosecution under Section 52, and
   (b) state authorities are making vigorous efforts to arrest and prosecute the guilty parties,

   it is the policy of the Department of Justice to continue its investigations but to make no effort to seek a federal indictment. As of the present moment the Department of Justice feels that the Earle case falls into this category.

Lynching

February 21, 1947

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Lyon Library

February 21, 1947

Mr. Chas. R. Lawrence, Jr.
The Summary Staff
Fisk University,
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Lawrence:

I am enclosing some clippings re Willie Earle. These are the best I could find.

Please return them for our files.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

Fisk University

Nashville, 8, Tennessee

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

February 19, 1947

Earl Johnson, R.O.
Write Gandy
N.+B 18,19

Dr. Harold Trigg, President
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

In order to complete our records for the Monthly Summary, we would appreciate your sending us all available facts which you have on the recent lynching case of Willie Earle of Greenville, S. C. Such data would be of assistance to us in preparing an accurate account of the incident.

We hope that we may hear from you by February 25, or as soon thereafter as possible, to enable us to meet our deadline.

With appreciation of your assistance,

Sincerely yours,

Chas. R. Lawrence Jr.

Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.
The Summary Staff

CRL:b

P.S. Thanks very much for your letter of January 31. L

April 25, 1947

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Maysville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

A friend here in Atlanta has sent me the enclosed editorial, which is said to have appeared in the newspaper published at Countain Inn, Greenville County, South Carolina. The editor is Mr. Robert Quillen, who I am told has some reputation as a Southern columnist.

He is obviously off on quite the wrong track. If someone could go and talk to him quietly about the difference between legal and lawful police handling of crime and illegal mob handling of crime, it might do some good.

It occurred to me that you might have some friend or acquaintance in or near Greenville who would be willing to talk with Mr. Quillen, merely with a view to straightening out his thinking.

Do you think you could explore this matter?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

CC: Mr. Alex Miller

4/23/47

FROM THE DESK OF

Alex Miller

TO Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
APR 24 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Attached is copy of editorial from newspaper edited & published (I believe) by Robert Quillen widely-known Southern columnist.

I think Quillen is the type of individual who might & should be educated & you might have someone in South Carolina who ~~cot~~ could do the job -

Regards

Alex

South Carolina

EDITORIAL THAT CAME OUT IN THE FOUNTAIN INN PAPER EITHER ON FEBRUARY 26th or 27th:

"COMPARISON"

A negro brute ravished two women in Fountain Inn. Women were afraid to leave home after dark. Parents were afraid to let their little girls to go anywhere alone, either night or day.

Yet no F. B. I. men came from Washington, nor New York Society took any interest in the matter. If any state constable came to investigate, nobody of my acquaintance saw them. No officials issued statements about the sanctity of the law. There was no cry of righteous indignation from any big shot or jenny wheel.

Then a negro brute in Greenville called a white taxi driver (as many another had done) and not only robbed but cruelly murdered him--stabbing him in the chest, abdomen, and the mouth. His victim never had a chance.

When white men in taxi cabs and other cars took the arrested negro from jail, stabbed him as the white man had been stabbed, and then killed him with a shotgun, the whole nation was aroused.

F. B. I. men came down. The governor, the sheriff, the constable, deputies, and police did their utmost to find the guilty men. Officials issued statements expressing their horror and shame and promised every effort to find the killer. Thirty one men were charged with murder.

The law must be upheld. The officials have done their duty in this case. Fountain Inn people are wondering why ravishing white women and terrorizing a community seemed less horrible than the lynching of the negro.

COPY COPY COPY

Lynching

June 10, 1947

Editor,
News and Courier,
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

In your very pointed editorial of May 29, 1947 under the title "Literate Ignorance and Lynching" it is stated that "until the Greenville crime there was in South Carolina none after 1930."

According to the record compiled by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching for the years 1931-1941 the following lynchings occurred in South Carolina:

Clinton, Laurens County, July 4, 1933, Norris Dendy, Negro, taken from the county jail, shot and hanged.

Aiken, County, February 19, 1933; George Jeter, Negro flogged to death by four white men, accused of stealing their boot leg liquor, selling it, and keeping the money.

Greenville, Greenville County, November 16, 1933: George Green Negro, shot to death by a masked, robed band of more than ten; no reason given.

In Ninety-Six, Greenwood County, October 9, 1933, Bennie Thompson, Negro, taken from the jail, beaten to death by four white men; accused of drawing pistol on one of the white men.

Andrews, Georgetown County, February 20, 1941, Bruce Tisdale, Negro, was beaten by five white men and died in hospital five days later; no reason given. Three of five convicted for manslaughter.

Greenville, S.C. - 28 acquitted in Earle lynching - 1947 (blood of our rights)

I am sure there was no intentional effort in your generally fair editorial comment to ignore such incidents. If these are not authentic, you will agree that the good name of South Carolina should be cleared.

Yours sincerely,

Rec 6809 DSM

Civil Rights
lynching

June 11, 1947

Mr. R. B. Eleazer
Methodist Building
810 Broadway
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Eleazer:

Mrs. Tilly has arranged for a friend of hers to visit Harris County and get the story that you refer to.

As soon as we have it straight we will write you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchel
Executive Director

M/s

GENERAL BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH
A WORLD SERVICE AGENCY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH
DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH
JOHN Q. SCHISLER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
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DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL CHURCH SCHOOL WORK
WALTER TOWNER, DIRECTOR
J. A. GREENE
R. B. ELEAZER
ALLEEN MOON
CHARLES C. TURNER, JR.
METHODIST BUILDING, 810 BROADWAY,
P. O. BOX 871, NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1947
Southern Regional Council

June 6, 1947

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Doctor Mitchell:

I note that the Pittsburgh Courier of June 7th reports the killing of a Negro, Henry Gilbert, in jail in Hamilton Harris County under the headline, "Man Lynched in Georgia Jail." The story is replete with rumors, but the facts do not seem to be clear. If you have been able to get any authentic information about the case I shall very much appreciate a report on it.

Yours very truly,

R. B. Eleazer (DCP)

R. B. Eleazer

RBE:dcp

June 12, 1947

Mayor Hurt Vann
Hurstboro
Alabama

Dear Sir:

Your action in preventing a possible lynching in your town a few days ago deserves the praise of the majority of law-abiding people throughout the South. The Southern Regional Council, an organization of citizens in thirteen Southern states, thanks and commends you for upholding the ideals of justice and human rights.

The South has need of more responsible and courageous officials who put respect for law ahead of prejudice. Certainly we shall never progress toward the better life of economic, educational and political advancement the South so badly needs until a majority, instead of a minority, of officials have the courage to fight for the basic rights of democracy.

Your action this week not only strengthened the good name of your town, but gave encouragement to millions of fair-minded Southerners who have watched with shame the recent tramplings of law and decency in other Southern states. You have set a high example which we earnestly hope may be followed on a wider scale throughout the South. We are sure that most Southern people are, as we, grateful for that example.

Yours sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

Lynching

July 3, '47

Mr. Rada Threadgill
Chief of Police
Carrollton, Georgia

My dear Mr. Threadgill,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter we have sent to Sheriff Kilgore.

We take great pleasure in adding our warmest praises to your own work, and that of your officers, in the matter treated.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Lynching

July 3, '47

Mr. B. B. Kilgore
Sheriff of Carroll County
Carrollton, Georgia

My dear Mr. Kilgore,

The action of two members of your staff in protecting a Negro from mob violence on Monday night, June 30 deserves and will get the special commendation of all those people who respect the law, and understand the strain and stress under which law enforcement officers work.

When Deputy Russell Lambert discovered the band of men journeying toward the jail, and with the cooperation of Deputy Otis King held the mob at bay while reinforcements arrived, he not only protected the right of the prisoner to trial by jury; he also preserved our American conception of the "dignity and majesty" of the law. The courage of this officer in the face of threats to his own life sets a fine example of devotion to duty.

The vast majority of people of both races in the South have an abhorrance for crime, especially that which involves violence to the person. At the same time they are shocked when inflamed passions cause men to take the law into their own hands and deprive any person of due process in a court of justice.

You deserve great credit for enforcement policies under which your officers are aware of the dictates of an enlightened conscience, and are alert to your own wishes as well as to the obligation of your office to uphold the law.

Every county in Georgia and in this country would be fortunate to have the services of your courageous force.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

July 21, '47

Dear Miss Berry,

We are delighted that you are going to reprint the Rebecca West article on Greenville.

Please do send us fifty copies. We will get them most usefully distributed.

Bill should come direct to the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/gsml

THE
NEW YORKER
No. 25 WEST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, 18, N.Y.

4

July 17, 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of July 7th. Since you were here it has been decided that we will reprint Rebecca West's article on the Greenville trial. We are only making 8500 copies, and 7500 of these will be sent to our promotion list. However, we will have a few to send to people who have written in to ask if we have a reprint and I am sure I will be able to send you 50 if you would care to have them.

Will you please let me know whether you could use 50.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Berry

Promotion Manager.

Lynchings

December 1, 1947

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman, Director
Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

I wish we could be of help in reply to your letter of November 12, about the possible lynchings at Oakwood, Florida, and in Georgia.

We have not been able to find either of these mentioned in our clipping files, but admittedly we are behind on filing, and the search has not been exhaustive.

When the Oakwood, Florida case was first reported we notified our Field Secretary in Florida. She kept her ears open, but heard nothing. We wrote her after your letter came in and asked her about it. She said the area is now under water, and no check could be made on it until the water goes down. We will ask her to go in when she can, and we will let you know of any findings.

My 1943 postal guide contains no Georgia town named Sardin, though there is a Sardis, in Burke County, about 40 miles from Augusta.

Someone in Philadelphia could check with Mrs. Carn.

On the Florida one, perhaps a letter to Mr. James C. Evans, Civilian Aide to the Secretary, War Department, would cause inquiry to be made as to whether the story checks with military records.

Please call on us for any help we can give. Sorry not to have more this time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

12.1.47

TO: Dr. Mitchell
FROM: M.Price
RE: Investigation of lynchings for Tuskegee

I can't find anything in our files about the two possible lynchings mentioned by Mrs. Guzman. Our clippings are unfiled, for the most part, and I have not been able to locate even the ones that Mrs. Guzman referred to.

I remembered hearing Mrs. Havens mention theone in Hollywood, Fla., so I wrote her for any details. The attached is her answer. I believe she must be mistaken about the Virginia newspaper--~~[illegible]~~ the story is written from Emporia, Va., but appeared in the Afro-American. I found the ~~newspaper~~ Afro for that date at the Atlanta University library and saw the article.

mp

Excerpt from letter from Mrs. Henry Havens, 11/28/47

"With regards to the "lynching" in Oakwood up to this date--we have found nothing. At the present writing it would be impossible to do any checking as that part of the world is almost all under water. We only found one notice of it and that was in a Virginia paper (not the Norfolk one). No other press report was made that Dr. Trigg and I could locate. I am wondering if it was not just one of "those stories". I should like to know what Tuskegee has on it--it might help us later after the floods are ovef and the people move back in there."

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

RECEIVED
NOV 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

DEPARTMENT OF
RECORDS AND RESEARCH

November 12, 1947

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

For the past two years the Southern Regional Council has been kind enough to collaborate with the Department of Records and Research on borderline cases of lynchings.

This year, to date, we have two such cases that need verification or additional information before they can be definitely classified.

In the Oakwood, Florida, case (See attached sheet) which was sworn to before a Notary Public, the shadow of doubt seems to rest on the fact that an additional body was found in the grave when it was opened; and though sworn to, sounds fantastic. We have only this one account which appeared in the Afro-American of May 24, 1947.

The other case (See also attached sheet) is rather vague, with not enough information about the events that led to the shooting or about the mob which is supposed to have committed the lynching. It also appeared in the Afro-American, and we have only this one account, from the June 14, 1947 issue.

If you have any additional data that may throw light on these or other cases, will you kindly let us know. We would greatly appreciate this favor.

Very truly yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman)
Director

Tale of Mysterious Lynching:

Father Tells How Two Sons, Farmhand Were Slain by 11

Emporia, Va. -- The tragic story of how his two sons, one a soldier, and his 19-year-old farm hand were lynched on his Florida truck farm, then buried, the GI in uniform, was unfolded here last week by a 66-year-old Ontario Center, N. Y., man.

The story was bared in an affidavit sworn to by Joe Marks, 66, native of Tuskegee, Ala., but for the past 11 years a resident of Ontario Center, before S. W. Tucker, local attorney and notary public-at-large for the State of Virginia and Greensville County.

Full text of the affidavit follows:

I am Joe Marks, age 66, was born in Tuskegee, Ala., and for the past 11 years have been a resident of Ontario Center, N. Y., where my post office address is c/o General Delivery.

Three years ago, Joe Rutley, white, late of Ontario Center, bought for me and in my name, a farm of 100 acres at Oakwood, Fla., which I have since cultivated as a truck farm.

Joined by Son on Furlough

On or about Jan. 1, 1947, I went to Florida with my son, Red Marks, 24, and Joe Wickerson, 19, and there the three of us operated the truck farm.

In the latter part of February or the early part of March, my younger son, Tobe Marks, 22, then a soldier in the U. S. Army, joined us at the farm to spend his furlough.

On Friday, April 4, about 8 a. m., I went via bus to Palm Beach (60 miles away) to get parts for my truck. I returned Saturday, April 5, about 6 p. m. and did not find my sons and Wickerson at home.

Seen Carrying Dinner

On inquiring, I learned from (Mrs.) Rose Wood, a colored woman through whose yard we always passed going to and from the farm, that on Friday morning, she had seen the young men, first Red, and later Tobe and Joe, carrying dinner on their way to the field.

I found pan, bucket and two jars containing dinner, indicating that Tobe and Joe did not get to the field.

On Tuesday, April 29, Charlie Jenkins, colored, told me what had happened:

That a mob of white men, 11 of whom Jenkins knew, had killed the young men--had killed Red with an axe while he was repairing the tractor and had shot the two younger ones while they were on their way to the field; and had then gone over to Jenkins' field and forced him (Jenkins) to take the bodies away in his truck and bury them.

Reports Case to MP's

On Wednesday, April 30, I went to Camp Blanton and reported the matter to the military police there. As I remember there were about four officers, one of them a captain, and several enlisted men.

With the MP's and guided by Jenkins, I went to the place where the young men had been buried and there found their bodies (Tobe in his Army uniform) and another body which someone identified as Red Henderson.

Jenkins is in protective custody of the military police at Camp Blanton. The captain said he would take no action until I should make report of the incident, but that he would keep what evidence they have.

Attempted to Withdraw Money

On Thursday, May 1, during banking hours, I went to the First National Bank at Hollywood, Fla., to draw $60 from my checking account and was told to come back the next day.

When I returned home, "Jamison," a man of Swedish accent from Ontario Center, came to me and asked whether I had been to the bank and what transpired.

He seemed to have known that I did not get my money.

Upon his suggestion that he had learned something and that I should not stay there any longer, I rode with him to Jacksonville and from there I have come to Emporia, Va. From Emporia, it is my intention to go on to Ontario Center.

There had been only two previous incidents which might have indicated possibility of trouble:

A white man, unknown to me, wanted to rent a part of my farm and I told him the land was not mine. Another time, a white man whose business is buying beans wanted to buy my beans and I told him that I shipped mine away for sale.

As far as I know or believe, neither of the young men had been involved in any unpleasant incidents of any kind.

Signed: Joe his x mark Marks

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 9th day of May, 1947. My commission expires Feb. 6, 1951.

Signed: S. W. Tucker,
Notary Public

(Notary seal and fingerprints of affiant included)

The Afro-American, Baltimore
5-24-'47

War Hero Refuses to Say 'Yes, Sir,'
Shot Down; Landowner Killed in Jail

Atlanta -- Georgia temporarily but bloodily snatched away the spotlight of racial pogrom from its "proud" rivals, North and South Carolina, last week, when revelations were made of two recent lynchings involving a Navy veteran and a wealthy independent farmer, and exoneration of one of two brothers who beat a Walton county lynching witness.

The Navy veteran, identified as Joe Nathan Roberts, 23, of 1909 N. Ridge Ave., Philadelphia, was shot to death by a mob in Sardin, Ga., because he refused to say "Yes, Sir," and "No,Sir," to whites.

Roberts had been in the South only a week when the mob "thanked" him with bullets of hate for saving them and their fellow Georgians from Adolph Hitler and his murderous gang of Nazi racists.

Visited Family

The veteran was studying radio, at Temple University under the GI Bill when he made the decision to visit his father and mother.

The unreported lynching of Roberts was revealed in a letter to Mrs. Evonia Carn, 923 N. 10th St., Philadelphia, from her mother who lives in Sardin.

Mrs. Carn and her husband were close friends of the Robertses.

The Afro-American, Baltimore
6-14-'47

22 - Lynchings

August 9, 1948

The Rev. Mr. H. D. Bull, Rector
Prince George Parish
Georgetown, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Bull:

We greatly value your thoughtfulness in writing us in regard to the questioned lynching of a Negro in Georgetown County, South Carolina, in 1941, as reported in "The Condition of Our Rights."

We have re-checked the matter in the Negro Year Book, 1947, (published by the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute, the nearest thing to an official keeper of statistics on lynching) and in the files of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

There was evidently some question of the murder's being considered a lynching, but on the basis of what constitutes a lynching as defined by a conference called by Tuskegee Institute in 1940, the case was so considered by the Department of Records and Research. A letter in the Commission files from the Court Stenographer of the 12th Circuit, who heard the case, says that the Negro died later from wounds received at the hands of the attacking white men, who were tried for manslaughter. He himself did not consider the case a lynching, however, attributing the murder to a fracas between the whites and Negroes over a matter of loud talking and cursing.

The Department of Records and Research considered the case a lynching on the basis of evidence that the Negro met death at the hands of three or more white men who were acting under the pretense of maintaining tradition--the tradition being that no Negro has a right to a job if white men want it. Evidence indicated that the two Negores who were set upon by the white men had recently been hired for work in a saw mill, and that when they were hired white men who did the same kind of work were discharged. The mill foreman testified at the inquest that one of the five men held for the death of the Negro had been discharged three weeks previously, and that when he came back for his pay check, he wanted to know "why the white men couldn't work and the 'niggers' could."

We have no record of the final disposition of the case. The Court Stenographer said that two of the men were convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to seven years. The case was appealed, however, and there seems to be no record of time served.

I hope this explanation will help to clear up the matter. It seems to be one of the "borderline" cases of lynching, of which there are many.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mp

jdh

22-lynchings

February 2, 1949

Senator Olin D. Johnston
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator Johnston:

Happening to be in Chicago last weekend, my eye fell on the attached story in the January 29 issue of the Chicago Tribune.

Our Council has for many years past kept careful records of lynchings, and it was my recollection that our files were at variance with your reported statement that South Carolina has had only one lynching in twenty years.

On return to the office, the following information was available:

LYNCHINGS IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1928-1948

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
April 24, 1930	Greene, Allen(Negro)	Walhalla, Oconee County	Attempted Rape
June 21, 1930	Jenkins, Daniel(Negro)	Union, Union County	Rape
July 4, 1933	Dandy, Morris(Negro) (Taken from county jail, shot, and hanged.)	Clinton, Laurens County	Striking white man
Feb. 19, 1933	Jeter, George(Negro) (Flogged to death by 4 white men.)	Aiken, Aiken County	Stealing bootleg liquor
Oct. 9, 1933	Thompson, Benj.(Negro) (Taken from jail, beaten to death by 4 white men.)	Ninety-Six, Greenwood Co.	Arguing with white man
Nov. 17, 1933	Greene, George(Negro) (Shot to death by masked, robed band of more than 10 men.)	Taylors, Greenville Co.	Cause unknown

Date	Name	Place	Accusation
Feb. 20, 1941	Tisdale, Bruce (Negro)	Andrews, Georgetown Co.	Cause unknown
	(Beaten by 5 white men and died in hospital 5 days later. 3 of the 5 white men convicted for manslaughter. The case was appealed, and there is no record of time served.)		
Feb. 16, 1947	Earle, Willie (Negro)	Greenville, Greenville County	Murder of taxi driver
	(All 28 defendents acquitted by Greenville jury although 26 out of the 28 had signed confessions of guilt.)		

According to our records, therefore, the total number of lynchings in the last twenty years in South Carolina was eight.

We of course recognize that the number of lynchings in South Carolina has dropped greatly from the much higher figures of twenty and more years ago. Nevertheless, we thought it right to bring to your attention the eight known cases of lynchings in the last twenty years.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

cc: Mr. J.M. Dabbs, Chairman
South Carolina Division
Southern Regional Council
Route 1, Mayesville, South Carolina

22 - Lynching

30 March 1949

Mr. R. Grann Lloyd
Department of Economics
Agricultural and Technical College of N. C.
Box 226
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Lloyd:

In answer to your recent request for information on lynchings, here is as much as we have readily available in our files:

1. Total Lynchings in Thirteen Southern States, 1882 - 1948

State	White	Negro	Total
Alabama	47	299	346
Arkansas	59	226	285
Florida	25	256	281
Georgia	39	488	527
Kentucky	64	141	205
Louisiana	56	335	391
Mississippi	41	533	574
North Carolina	15	84	99
Oklahoma	82	41	123
South Carolina	4	156	160
Tennessee	47	203	250
Texas	143	346	489
Virginia	16	83	99
TOTAL.....	638	3,191	3,829

2. Lynchings by Regions, 1882-1948 (Census classification of regions)

	Whites	Negroes	Total	% of US Total
Northeastern States	3	8	11	0.2
North Central States....	270	154	424	9.0
Southern States	661	3,247	3,908	82.8
Western States	358	18	376	8.0
TOTAL, ALL REGIONS....	1,292	3,427	4,719	100.0

3. Causes of Lynchings Classified, 1882-1946

Causes (Charges)	Number	Percent
Homicides	1,934	41.0

(Causes of Lynchings, 1882-1946 — Cont.)

Causes	Number	Percent
Felonious Assault	202	4.3
Rape	910	19.2
Attempted Rape	288	6.1
Robbery and Theft	231	5.0
Insult to White Persons	84	1.8
All Other Causes	1,067	22.6
TOTAL	4,716	100.0

All of the above data was obtained from the 1947 Negro Year Book and later releases, all published by the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.

The Council's files contain a partial list of convictions for lynching, a copy of which is enclosed. For complete information on convictions, method of convictions, and records of time served, however, the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee will probably be your best source.

I hope that this is the information you wanted. If we can be of further help, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

F. D. BLUFORD, PRESIDENT

E. R. HODGIN, SECRETARY-TREASURER

The Agricultural and Technical College
of North Carolina
Box 226
GREENSBORO, N. C.

March 23, 1949

RECEIVED
MAR 25
Southern Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Would you please be kind enough to help us with a difficult problem?

We are in need of some pertinent information. We know that you are very busy and cannot accede to all of the demands and requests made of you. However, we also know that you are one of the very few agencies able to really help us. Please do.

Please give us all the information you possibly can on:

1. The total number of lynchings that have occurred in the thirteen Southern States since 1882 (when lynching records were first kept).

2. The causes for the lynchings.

3. The number and/or per cent of lynchers convicted.

4. The number and/or per cent of lynchers convicted, and whether or not they were by state or federal law enforcement officers.

Suggest the Write Tuskegee

5. The ages of the lynch victims ---- the range, mode, or some such measure.

6. The ages of the lynchers ---- the range, mode, or some such measure.

7. In cases of conviction, are records of time served available?

We hope that you will forgive us for thus obtruding our problem upon your already busy schedule. Nevertheless, because of our abiding faith in your charity and generosity

we are constrained to believe that you will send us all the information you can, as quickly as possible.

Very gratefully yours,

R. Grann Lloyd

R. Grann Lloyd
Professor of Economics

RGN/hgm

22-Lynching

May 16, 1949

Mr. Robert A. Lachenauer
Teaching Aids Service
New Jersey State Teachers College
Upper Montclair, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Lachenauer:

In answer to your request we are sending you under separate cover "The Changing Character of Lynching" which contains the information you want with several explanatory maps through 1941. "The Condition of Our Rights" may also be helpful.

To supplement the above, the following table lists later data as given by the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute which keeps the most reliable and most nearly official lynching statistics.

Year	Place	Race	Accusation	Disposition
1942	Sikes County, Mo.	Negro	Attempted Criminal Assault	Dragged through streets behind auto and body burned
1942	Texarkana Bowie County, Tex.	Negro	Suspected of attempted rape	Dragged through streets behind auto and hanged
1942	Paris, Ill.	Negro	Charged with having "molested" people in community	Riddled with bullets
1942	Quitman, Miss	2 14-yr old Negroes	Attempted rape	Found hanged from river bridge
1942	Laurel, Miss	Negro	Received life automatic sentence when jury disagreed on punishment for murder charge	Taken from jail and hanged.

Year	Place	Race	Accusation	Disposition
1943	Newton, Ga.	Negro	Resisting arrest on charge of theft of truck tire	Beaten by sheriff, deputy and policeman. Died the next day.
1943	Marianna, Fla.	Negro	Killing white man in attempted robbery	Taken from jail by 4 masked men and clubbed to death
1943	Camp Ellis Fulton County, Illinois	Negro	Insulting white woman over telephone	Shot to death as he tried to escape from a farm house
1944	Liberty, Miss.	Negro	Hiring lawyer to safeguard his title to a debt-free farm through which ran a possible oil vein	Taken from home and shot to death by mob
1944	Pikeville, Tenn.	Negro	Murdering wife and daughter of reformatory superintendent -place where he was confined.	Taken from jail by mob and shot to death
1945	Madison, Fla.	Negro	Assault with attempt to rape	Removed from jail and shot to death by mob which apparently entered with a key
1946	Lexington, Miss.	Negro	Stealing a saddle	Flogged to death
1946	Monroe, Ga.	Negroes (2 men) (2 women)	One was charged with stabbing former employer-other 3 innocent of any charge-but one of the women recognized a member of the mob.	Riddled with bullets by mob
1946	Minden, La.	Negro	Attempt to break into house of white woman	Tortured and beaten to death
1948	Mt. Vernon, Ga.	Negro	Advancing on white man "as if he had a gun" when visited at home and asked to do some work	Shot to death by 2 white men on night of primary election-voted although advised not to do so. ("Borderline" case because of lack of evidence of conspiracy)

Year	Place	Race	Accusation	Disposition
1947	Greenville, S.C.	Negro	Murder of white taxi driver	Beaten, shot to death by mob
1948	Meriwether County, Georgia	White	Theft of cattle from landlord	Beaten to death, body burned
1948	Lyons, Ga.	Negro	Unknown	Shot to death by hooded mob

I hope the information will be helpful. Let us know if we can be of furthur service.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Director of Research

May 12, 1949

Gentlemen:

Would it be possible for you to send us, if available free, 30 copies of Lynching map of the U.S. — Lynching percentages — Lynchings 1930 - 1949

We should like to make this material available to our students and to teachers of this area who use our service. Thank you for your cooperation.

PLEASE ADDRESS MAIL TO:
Attention:
Robert A. Lachenauer

Very truly yours,

Emma Fantone
R.L.

Emma Fantone, Director
Teaching Aids Service
N.J. State Teachers College
Upper Montclair, New Jersey

14

MONTCLAIR
MAY 12
10:30 PM
1948
2

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Association of Southern Women
for the Prevention of Lynching
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

RALPH McGILL

Atl. Constit. 1-9-51

Lynchings, 1950, Notes Thereon

Tuskegee Institute has released its annual information concerning lynching for 1950, and the information sustains the hope and belief that, slowly but surely, law enforcement in this field of violence is becoming healthier because of the growing pressure of public opinion.

Governments and people, under a system whereby the citizens make decisions, move no faster than the people are willing. That's a weakness, but also a greater strength.

There were two lynchings in 1950, one victim being white, the other colored.

Seven lynchings were prevented in 1950. Of those rescued from mobs three were white and four were Negro.

In the two lynchings of 1950 the suspects were arrested, tried and found guilty.

The courts of 1950 also produced decisions involving crimes of previous years. South Carolina paid to the estate of Willie Erle, lynched in Greenville, S. C., in 1947, the minimum sum of $2,000 as compensation under a South Carolina law providing for such payments. The trial of the defendants in this case was one which shocked public opinion and the nation's sense of justice. It also produced, incidentally, some of the finest writing of that year. The British novelist Rebecca West covered the trial, which freed the defendants, and her reports remain perhaps the best writing ever done from a courtroom.

In Mississippi, Calhoun County, James Moore, white, was found not guilty in the slaying of Malcolm Wright, a well-respected Negro tenant farmer, whom Moore killed in 1949. The claim of self-defense was sustained by the jury.

John Wallace, white, was electrocuted in Georgia for the slaying of William Turner, white tenant farmer, in 1948. For this particularly ghastly slaying three other men are serving life sentences.

No Paralysis

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No Paralysis

Nowhere was there, in 1949 or 1950, the complete, cynical paralysis of law, such as the South has produced so often in the past and which has done the South the most damage in the eyes of the nation. The Walton County (Georgia) lynchings of some years ago, in which two men and two women were brutally murdered by a mob, is used in Communist Russia and her satellites as examples of American "justice." The law, save for the federal arm of it, was never believed to be greatly interested and to this day no suspect has been brought to trial.

If the shock of that ugly crime has produced the results of 1950, then the bullet-riddled dead have been of assistance, though at a great and cruel price.

The first 1950 lynching victim, according to the Tuskegee statistics, was Charlie Hurst, 39-year-old white store operator of Pell City, Ala. He was mortally wounded in his front yard by a group of unmasked men. The mob apparently was after another man, but following their error, did not go after the intended victim.

In a later trial, one defendant was sentenced to five years, but later released on an appeal bond. Three others under indictment were free on bonds of $5,000. One was tried and cleared.

The second victim of mob violence was Jack Walker, 40-year-old Negro of Meriwether County. Fishermen found his bullet-pierced body in a creek. He was said to have been mixed up in an illegal whiskey row. For that murder three white men all entered pleas of guilty. Two drew life, one five years.

In no instance was the law paralyzed or entirely impotent in these cases of mob violence. The law was able to function.

Pattern

The reports of these violences, and of others in the racial field but unconnected with lynchings, reveal a pattern familiar to students of the Southern scene, and sustain a thesis.

Violence is so confined to the old plantation area of the South that the exception merely proves the rule. It has come to be a truism that racial tensions, and the expectation of violence, are greatest in those regions where the pattern of old plantation economy yet remains.

Tensions and violence are least along the Piedmont plateau, curving through the South. In the Piedmont are more jobs, better wages; and, in general, a more informed population, with somewhat-to-be-expected superior race relations.

The Tuskegee report is not pleasant, but in comparison it is excellent and testifies to an improving social climate.

Georgia Had 2 Of 3 Lynchings Listed in 1949

12/31/49

Atl. Journal

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Dec. 31.—(AP)—Three persons, all Negroes forfeited their lives to the angry passions of lynch mobs in the United States this year, Tuskegee institute said Friday.

Two were in Georgia, one in Mississippi. Georgia was the scene of the two lynchings recorded by the Negro college in 1948, too. One victim was a Negro, the other a white man.

Seventeen other persons, including the crazed mass killer Howard Unruh, were marked for mob murder this year, the report said, but law enforcement officers saved 16 of them and one Negro got away by jumping in a river.

Ten of the incidents Tuskegee President F. D. Patterson called attempted lynchings were in Southern states, four in the North.

Unruh, who shot 13 persons to death and wounded three others at Camden, N. J., on Sept. 6, was listed as an intended lynch victim, Patterson said, because an angry, threatening crowd surged toward him after his caputre, but failed to break through a police line. Unruh was later judged insane.

Mob violence was averted at Winston-Salem, N. C., too, the Tuskegee report said, when police rescued a white cafe owner, O. L. Werst, from a mob of 500 Negroes. Werst was charged with shooting one of a group of Negroes who mistook his place for a dance hall.

New York with three lynching attempts—involving four white men and a Negro—had more than any other state, the report continued. Georgia and North Carolina had two apiece and Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, South Carolina and Tennessee one each.

First lynching of the year, according to the Tuskegee records, was in Wilkinson County, Ga., where Caleb Hill Jr., Negro chalk mine worker, was taken from jail at Irwinton and beaten and shot to death on May 29. He had been charged with creating a disturbance and resisting arrest.

Two white men, Dennis Lamar Purvis, 37-year-old cafe operator, and Malcolm Vivivian Pierce, 27, an electrician, were jailed on suspicion of murder, but an all-white grand jury held there wasn't enough evidence to bring them to trial.

The second victim was Malcolm Wright, 45-year-old Negro tenant farmer who lived near Houston, Miss., and who was found beaten to death July 2. The Tuskegee report said he was reported to have "hogged the road" and didn't move over fast enough to let a group of white men pass in an automobile.

A prosperous Negro landowner, Hollis Riles, 53, was the third man to meet death at the hands of a mob, Tuskegee said. His bullet-riddled body was found Sept. 2 after he had argued with a group of white men who were fishing in his pond near Bainbridge, Ga., without his permission.

Southern Officer's Credited With Averting 16 Lynchings

Christian Science Monitor 12-31-49

By the Associated Press

Tuskegee, Ala.

Mob murder claimed three southern Negroes in 1949, but vigilance of the law prevented 16 other lynchings, Tuskegee Institute reported in its year-end tally of violence.

Two of the lynchings, said the institute report issued Dec. 30, were in Georgia. The third was in Mississippi.

New York State led the nation in attempted lynchings, the report continued, with four white men and one Negro being rescued from mobs by police on three separate occasions.

Police also averted two lynching attempts in Georgia and North Carolina, and one each in Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee, said the summary by the famed Negro institute.

Actually there were 17 attempted lynchings during the year, but the law was involved in the prevention of only 16. The 17th potential mob victim escaped his tormentors by jumping in a river while they argued over who would kill him.

Threatened By Mob

Included in the total was Howard Unruh, who shot 13 persons to death when he went berserk in Camden, N. J., Sept. 6.

Unruh was threatened by an angry mob which rushed police lines in an effort to seize him, Tuskegee said.

Tuskegee classifies as a lynching only those murders which involve three or more persons.

Caleb Hill., Jr., a chalk mine worker in Wilkinson County, Ga., was listed as the year's first mob victim.

Mr. Hill, under arrest for creating a disturbance and resisting arrest, was taken from the Irwinton, Ga., Jail May 29 and shot to death, the report said.

Two white men subsequently were charged with the Hill killing, but a grand jury failed to indict them, holding there was not sufficient evidence and both went free.

Tuskegee named Malcom Wright, a Houston, Miss., farmer as victim No. 2.

Mr. Wright was found fatally beaten July 2. He was reported to have failed to move over and give the right of way to a group of white men on a road fast enough to suit them.

Georgia Landowner

The third man killed by mob action, said Tuskegee, was Hollis Riles, a prosperous landowner at Bainbridge, Ga.

Mr. Riles was shot to death, according to Tuskegee, after he had argued with a group of white men who were fishing in his pond without permission.

The institute also called attention to killings which were not considered lynchings in the strict sense of the word, but which "to all intents and purposes would seem to fall into this category."

Without going into detail the school said this would include murders by one or two persons, deputized posses bent on vengeance, and prisoners slain in jail.

A total of 4,722 lynchings have been recorded by Tuskegee since the institute began its report 67 years ago. The victims included 3,429 Negroes and 1,293 white persons.

All World 12/30/49

Three Lynchings Too Many

Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute, through the school's department of Records and Research, announced this week three lynchings for the past year. "This is one more than the number two for 1948; two more than the number one for 1947 and 1946, and two more than the number one for 1945," states Dr. Patterson.

Georgia, according to the figures, contributed two of these lynchings, while Mississippi contributed the other. Thus, for the five-year period from 1945 to 1949, 13 lynchings have been recorded.

Technically speaking, there should be other lynchings than the ones listed by Tuskegee. No mention is made of a 70-year-old man and two others, who were slain in a Macon, Georgia swamp last Spring. Again, no mention is made of a Negro tenant farmer in Mississippi only six weeks ago, who was reported shot to death outside of his home by law enforcement officials, who claimed he was apparently dissatisfied with the share he had received from his year's farming.

The record on its face, may indicate a slight decline in lynchings in the South. But as Walter White has said on many occasions, lynchings are really not declining as such, they are going underground in the form of official slayings by law enforcement officers, taking place in jails and otherwise in the hands of the law.

And thus, so long as there is a single lynching in the South all America stands to lose in prestige and influence. Repeatedly, the South has received a blackeye from northern jurists and governors who have refused extradition of escaped Negro prisoners because of such sordid stories as the Mallard murder trial, the Rome floggings and hundreds of other stories, which fail to command so much as a trial in many communities. The South needs to improve in its treatment and conduct toward the Negro, and if America hopes to reclaim its influence abroad, it too, must offer greater citizenship protection to Negroes by passing the Civil Rights program endorsed by both the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Man Rushed To Safety In Shadow Of Carolina Mob

All World 12/27/49

COLUMBIA, S. C. — Apparently due to the quick thinking and desire of police officials to protect their prisoner, James Wilson, 38 of Bluffton is alive today after being placed in safekeeping in the State Penitentiary, according to reliable sources released here this week.

It was reported that Wilson was rushed to the State prison for protection following an incident that caused the fatal stabbing of a Walterboro policeman, which took place the day before Christmas Eve.

Police officers in this small Carolina town became alive with alertness when more than 300 "outsiders" crowded into Walterboro, apparently bent on starting trouble after learning of the incident involving the death of the policeman.

Sheriff G. Haskell Thompson, made the report that officers in Walterboro were able to "sneak" their prisoner through the ranks of this alleged angry crowd to safe grounds without any trouble in the nature of mob violence.

The victim of the stabbing was reported as being officer M. C. Nettles about 62 years old, who died of stab wounds Friday night following an incident involving the arrest of Wilson on a charge of drunkenness. According to reliable reports, Nettles was able to notify officers who immediately organized a widespread hunt for Wilson, reported hiding away in the woods at the time.

Wilson was later arrested by officers after bloodhounds had been rushed from Columbia to assist in the search.

Apparently realizing that the prisoner would not be safe in Walterboro, he was rushed to Columbia and later placed in the State Peniteniary where he is reported as being held for the fatal stabbing of the Carolina policeman.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

12/1/49 Atl Journal

Charges Erroneous Impression About Lynchings Has Been Given

Editor, The Journal: In her article, "This I Remember," published in the December issue of McCall's magazine, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt writes:

"In July I made a trip to Lake Junaluska in North Carolina to speak before a group of Methodist women. . . .

"I had great admiration for the courage of Mrs. M. E. Tilly, of Atlanta, Ga., who was the executive secretary of the Methodist women's organization. I was told that whenever a lynching occurred as soon as she heard of it she went alone or with a friend to investigate the circumstances. Only a Southern woman could have done this, but even for a Southern woman it seemed to me to require great physical and moral courage. Mrs. Tilly is a Christian who believes in all of Christ's teachings, that all men are brothers, and, though she herself is a white Southern woman, she deeply resented the fact that white Southern women were so often used as a pretext for lynching. Later Mrs. Tilly served on President Truman's civil rights committee, where she has made a distinguished record and gained the admiration of Northerners and Southerners alike."

Mrs. Roosevelt's statement, "whenever there is a lynching," spreads the impression not only that lynching is a casual, routine practice in Georgia, but also that Southern women are often used as a pretext for lynching.

Doubtless, many Georgians who read the article in question are wondering when and where all these "lynchings" have been taking place Or is it possible that they have been too horrified and appalled by daily reading of the multiplicity of unspeakably atrocious crimes perpetrated in the oh-so-pious North to keep up with our own shortcomings?

JOHN G. THOMAS.
Decatur.

COLUMBIA AGAIN IN HEADLINES

CHATT TIMES 10/23/49

The pleasant city of Columbia, Tenn., gets another nation-wide flood of publicity. Columbians this time are portrayed as a people who were very keen on lynching a Negro who was convicted in the courtroom there Friday of the murder of an elderly white woman. News dispatches say "feeling was running high" and "knots of people gathered in the courthouse square." One person "lunged at" the Negro as he was being taken into the courthouse last Wednesday. The state highway patrol received "anonymous telephone calls" that the Negro would be ambushed while being taken to the Nashville penitentiary and would by lynched. The news dispatches say the "bloody racial disorders" in Columbia in 1946 were being recalled.

Certainly there can be no criticism of Mr. Sam Neal, state safety commissioner, for seeing that the prisoner was landed safely in the penitentiary. Mr. Neal and the state highway patrol had secured a helicopter which was to land on the roof of the courthouse and carry the prisoner to Nashville. That plan was canceled on account of rain. Instead a heavy escort of highway patrolmen took the prisoner by automobile to Nashville — an uneventful journey despite previous anonymous telephone calls.

Citizens of Columbia say that the big crowds were partly attracted by the sight of a large force of highway patrolmen being at the courthouse. They say that there was no indication that an organized mob was being formed or contemplated, nor was there any outward sign that anyone was offering to lead a mob. They feel a little hurt by the sensational references to the 1946 riots as "bloody," since in those riots only one person—a Columbia patrolman—was badly wounded and only two other persons slightly wounded. Two Negro prisoners were later killed by officers while under arrest.

The Negroes in the 1946 affair had barricaded themselves in Monk Slide, the Negro business street, and were shooting promiscuously. The state highway patrol moved in under the leadership of its then chief, Mr. Lynn Bomar. The highway patrol shot up Monk Slide pretty badly.

It is said that about fifty highway patrolmen were mobilized Friday to prevent any recurrence of the "bloody racial disorders" of three years ago and to prevent a lynching. If there was real danger of a lynching, certainly the use of a helicopter would have been justified and even a radar system for detecting the approach of any mob would have been advisable. Fortunately, the helicopter wasn't needed, since citizens say that the highway patrolmen were not molested when they took the prisoner out of the courthouse and placed him in an auto-

in the courthouse square." One person "lunged at" the Negro as he was being taken into the courthouse last Wednesday. The state highway patrol received "anonymous telephone calls" that the Negro would be ambushed while being taken to the Nashville penitentiary and would by lynched. The news dispatches say the "bloody racial disorders" in Columbia in 1946 were being recalled.

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Citizens of Columbia say that the big crowds were partly attracted by the sight of a large force of highway patrolmen being at the courthouse. They say that there was no indication that an organized mob was being formed or contemplated, nor was there any outward sign that anyone was offering to lead a mob. They feel a little hurt by the sensational references to the 1946 riots as "bloody," since in those riots only one person—a Columbia patrolman—was badly wounded and only two other persons slightly wounded. Two Negro prisoners were later killed by officers while under arrest.

The Negroes in the 1946 affair had barricaded themselves in Monk Slide, the Negro business street, and were shooting promiscuously. The state highway patrol moved in under the leadership of its then chief, Mr. Lynn Bomar. The highway patrol shot up Monk Slide pretty badly.

It is said that about fifty highway patrolmen were mobilized Friday to prevent any recurrence of the "bloody racial disorders" of three years ago and to prevent a lynching. If there was real danger of a lynching, certainly the use of a helicopter would have been justified and even a radar system for detecting the approach of any mob would have been advisable. Fortunately, the helicopter wasn't needed, since citizens say that the highway patrolmen were not molested when they took the prisoner out of the courthouse and placed him in an automobile. We shall never know whether those anonymous telephone calls were from cranks or whether they were based on a real threat. At any rate, we like the role played by the highway patrol in this latest "Columbia disturbance" better than the role played by it in 1946.

Any steps necessary to prevent lynchings should be taken and should be commended. We commend the state highway patrol for its part in the landing of the Negro in the penitentiary Friday. At the same time, we sympathize with the good citizens of Columbia who twice within three years have been pictured before the nation as a people with a lynching complex—certainly wrongfully so pictured in the 1946 affair, the "bloody racial disorders" recalled in the current news dispatches.

In Poet's Corner

EARTHQUAKE

From The New York Times.

Rippling like a muscle in a stallion's shoulder,
The earth slips and folds 'neath its hide,
Cracking through the ground with shale and boulder,
And tilting a hill on its side.

—LOIS UPSHAW.

Const. - 31 Aug 49

Wounded Ex-Con Hidden by Police After Mob Threat

BARTOW, Fla. — (INS) — A Negro ex-convict who was shot and captured by a posse Wednesday night was whisked away to an undisclosed location yesterday after anonymous telephone callers threatened to seize him.

Jesse Donaldson, the 38-year-old wounded Negro, was shot twice Wednesday night by officers who had sought him for three days in connection with the shooting of a Lakeland City policeman.

Polk County Sheriff Frank Williams said he received several phone calls warning that Donaldson would be seized by a mob.

The Negro was promptly removed from a Bartow hospital to an undisclosed spot.

Donaldson became the object of a wide search after Policeman J. M. Brannen was shot in the face by a shotgun blast Sunday while investigating a disturbance in a Negro section of Lakeland.

Greenville (SC) News - 2 Oct 49

Earle Claim Be Adjudged

First Appealed Divorce Suit Also Before State Jurists

COLUMBIA, Oct. 1. — (AP) — A Negro mother's $5,000 claim against Greenville County for the alleged lynching of her son will reach the State Supreme Court October 14.

The case, topping 15 scheduled October 10-14, arose from the February 17, 1947 slaying of Willie Earle, 22.

After he was arrested in Pickens County in connection with a stabbing, a mob broke into the jail, hustled him out and killed him.

His mother, Tessie Earle, filed suit against Greenville and Pickens Counties for $5,000 each, the statutory maximum damages in a case of that kind.

Earle's beaten, bullet-riddled body was found in Greenville County.

Judge Joseph R. Moss dismissed her complaint against Pickens County April 28. But he overruled a similar demurrer from Greenville County, which appealed.

Representing the mother are Thurgood Marshall, general counsel for the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, Franklin H. Williams, another NAACP attorney, and Harold Boulware, Columbia Negro attorney.

Atl. Const. - 20 Oct 49

Police Save Slay Suspect From Mob

COLUMBIA, Tenn.— (AP) —Fist-swinging state highway patrolmen yesterday blocked an attempted attack on a Negro charged with the criminal assault-slaying of an aged white woman.

The attack occurred as Paul Lacy, 38, was brought into the Maury County courthouse from Nashville, where he was taken Tuesday night for safekeeping.

State Highway Patrol Capt. J. J. Jackson said a man jumped from behind a concrete column as the handcuffed Lacy walked past between guards.

Patrolmen knocked the man to the floor, but a crowd of some 100 persons surged forward, some of them crying, "get him, hang him."

Jackson said he rushed Lacy to the third-floor lockup while patrolmen stood off the clamoring crowd. No arrests were made.

Lacy is charged with both rape and murder in the bludgeon death of Mrs. O. C. Brown, 67-year-old widow, on her farm near here Sept. 21.

Chi. Def. - 15 Oct 49

Escapes Lynchers; Asks Court Stay

OPELOUSAS, La.—Counsel for a man who was kidnapped from jail, but escaped death at the hands of a mob by jumping into a river while the would-be lynchers flipped a coin to determine who would murder him, asked the state supreme court, Thursday, for a continuation of an appeal to review his case.

The prisoner, Edward Honeycutt, was sentenced to die for the alleged rape of a white woman of Eunice, La., last December 1.

Atl. Const. - 20 Oct 49

Posse Shoots Suspect After 72-Hour Chase

AUBURNDALE, Fla.—(UP)—An armed posse of 500 police and private citizens using bloodhounds and guided by three airplanes last night tracked down and shot, after 72 hours of searching, a Negro ex-convict accused of wounding a Lakeland, Fla., city patrolman Sunday night.

The Negro, Jesse Donaldson, 28, was shot in a wooded area about one and one-half miles northeast of here.

Lakeland Det. W. M. Bryan and Polk County Sheriff's Deputy Carl Purvis fired on the fleeing suspect with pistols, wounding him in the shoulder and legs.

He was taken to a Bartow, Fla., hospital rather than to nearby Lakeland because feeling there was reported high and an estimated 1,000 persons had gathered at the police station.

Donaldson was operated on at Bartow, and hospital authorities said he would recover.

Court Weighs Mother's Lynch Suit

Chicago Def. 15 Oct 1949

Asks $5,000 Damages In Son's Death

COLUMBIA, S. C.—The $5,000 claim against Greenville county for the alleged lynching of her son made by Mrs. Tessie Earle will reach the State Supreme Court, October 14.

The case arose out of the slaying of Willie Earle, 22, Feb. 17, 1947. Earle was arrested in Pickens county in connection with a stabbing. A mob broke into the jail, carried him out, and killed him. His body was found in Greenville county.

Mrs. Earle filed suits against Pickens and Greenville counties, but the complaint against Pickens county was dismissed in April by Judge Joseph J. Moss.

Two NAACP lawyers, Thurgood Marshall and Franklin H. Williams, will represent the mother along with Harold Boulware, a Columbia attorney.

Greenville (SC) News

CAROLINA FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1949

Arguments In Earle Case Expected To Be Heard Before State Supreme Court Today

Arguments in Greenville County's appeal from the order by which Circuit Judge Joseph R. Moss held this county liable for exemplary damages in the slaying of Willie Earle, mob victim, are scheduled to be heard today in the State Supreme Court.

County Attorney J. D. Todd, Jr., will represent the county. Expected to represent Tessie Earle, who brought the suit as the representative of Willie Earle, will be Thurgood Marshall, general counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Franklin H. Williams, another NAACP attorney, and Harold Boulware, Columbia attorney.

Tessie Earle, mother of the victim, entered a complaint asking $5,000 each from Pickens and Greenville Counties. Judge Moss dismissed the complaint against Pickens County but ruled that the case against Greenville County should stand for trial "upon the issues of law and fact."

The woman alleged that her son was taken from the Pickens County Jail February 17, 1947, and taken to Greenville County and killed. She brought action under State Constitutional and code provisions that provide for payment of not less than $2,000 to the personal representative of a victim of a lynching in which death ensues.

Greenville County's contention is that the lynching took place at the time Earle was seized from the Pickens Jail and that a lynching would have taken place at that time even if Earle had not subsequently been killed.

Arguments In County's Appeal In Earle Case Will Be Heard Friday

MOTHER SEEKING $5,000 DAMAGES

County Appeals Ruling By Which Complaint Ordered To Stand For Trial

Arguments in Greenville County's appeal of the order by which Circuit Judge Joseph R. Moss of York let stand the complaint of Tessie Earle against this county in the alleged lynch-death of her son, Willie Earle, are scheduled to be heard by the State Supreme Court Friday.

The woman filed a suit asking $5,000 from Pickens County and $5,000 from Greenville County. In an order filed in April, Judge Moss dismissed the complaint against Pickens County but ordered that the complaint against Greenville County shall stand for trial "upon the issues of law and fact . . ."

Greenville County appealed Judge Moss' order.

The woman alleged that her son was taken from the Pickens County Jail February 17, 1947, and taken to Greenville County and killed. She brought her action under State Constitutional and code provisions that provide for payment of not less than $2,000 to the personal representative of a lynching in which death insues.

County Attorney J. D. Todd, Jr., represents the county. Attorneys for the woman are Thurgood Marshall, general counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Franklin H. Williams, another NAACP attorney, and Harold Boulware, Columbia attorney.

Girl Guards Plan

Atlanta Journal 9/25/49

Confessed Slayer Moved for Safety

COLUMBIA, Tenn., Sept. 24.—(AP)—A 25-year-old Negro held in the rape-slaying of a frail white widow has been taken to the Davidson county jail at Nashville to avert possible mob violence.

Sheriff Flo Fleming said Steve Paul Lacey was removed from Maury county Friday night after he signed a statement that he attacked and killed Mrs. O. C. Brown, 67, at her farm home near here Wednesday night.

The body of Mrs. Brown, who lived alone, was found in a ravine about 300 yards from her home late Wednesday night.

atl Journal
Sept. 25, 1949

Federal Probe In Lynch Effort Reported Here

By FRANKLIN NIX

The federal district attorney's office was reported Saturday to be conducting an investigation into the near lynching of a Negro defendant Thursday night in the Fulton county courthouse.

The Negro, Mercy McKay, 27, charged with the murder May 6 of Roy H. Chadwick, was saved from angry, threatening spectators by two Fulton deputies after a jury had returned a verdict of insanity.

Clerks in the criminal division of Fulton Superior court said Saturday that the district attorney's office had requested records in the case. They said the request came from a member of the district attorney's office who said he was asked to get the records by District Attorney J. Ellis Mundy.

Mr. Mundy could not be located immediately Saturday for comment.

Judge E. E. Andrews, who presided over the trial, said no one had questioned him about the incident, or had yet requested that he seek to take action against the demonstrators.

The judge declared that no specific action took place in the courtroom that would justify ruling of anyone's being in contempt of court. He said he had to yell for order after announcement of the jury's verdict, but that the demonstration took place in the corridors outside the courtroom.

Judge Andrews said he did not believe that an attempted lynching took place, since a lynching would have involved planned, concerted action by a number of men.

He declared, however, that he was convinced that a number of men, "between three and six, had it individually in their hearts to kill the Negro, and probably would have cut him to pieces if they had been able to get to him."

This, ni the absence of concerted action, would have been murder nistead of lynching, he said.

The deputies, Leroy Stynchcomb and Emmett Bell, eluded the mob, estimated at 25 or 30 men, by taking the prisoner out a side door and into an office immediately after the jury foreman read the verdict.

The Negro allegedly pulled out a pistol and shot Mr. Chadwick, for no apparent reason, at White Provision Co., where both worked. Mr. Chadwick lived near Lilburn, Georgia.

Prisoner Narrowly Escapes Lynching

AFI World 6/12/49

By ROBERT E. JOHNSON

A 27-year-old Atlanta Negro, declared mentally unable to stand trial for the murder of a white man and ordered, over the angry protests of a milling mob, to Milledgeville hospital for further observation is alive today chiefly for one reason:

The would-be mob, believed to be made up largely of spectators from Lilburn, Ga. (home of the deceased man), apparently didn't know their way around in the Fulton County courthouse.

Moreover, it was obvious that they did not know the numerical strength of the law enforcement officials present in the superior court room and the courthouse, generally.

Dominated by a collective emoton the mob action took off in high gear, a courthouse official said, when a trial jury returned the following verdict:

"We, the jury, find the defendent insane....."

The defendant, Mercy McKay, of 00 Meldon Ave., S. E. was charged withthe murder of a white packing plant worked Roy H. Chadwick of Rt. 1, Liburn, Ga., on May 6.

Immediately after the verdict was returned around 7 p. m. Thursday night two hours past the usual closing of courthouse activity, two Fulton county deputies the only law officials present swung into a counter-action to avert a possible lynching.

Deputies Emmett Bell and Leroy Stynchcomb forthwith frustrated the action of some 25 or 30 white men by removing the defendant from the courtroom by the way of Judge E. E. Andrews' judicial

Speedy Action Of Deputies Prevents Atlanta Lynching

chamber.

Deputy Bell said he made the move because he had heard relatives and friends of the victim threatening to cut the defendant's throat while the jury was locked up in a two-hour deliberation.

Judge Andrews had already sensed the impatience and unrest of some of the spectators and told the deputies that if the jury returned a verdict of insanity to get McKay out of the room as quick as possible.

The judge's instructions were being carried out when the mob influencing one another by an expression of alarm, began crowding in on the deputies and the defendant.

Meanwhile, the majority of mob, apparently under the imuression that the prisoner would be secorted out of the courtroom through the main entrance, made a concerted move in that direction.

It was then that the deputies made a piovt turnabout with the priosner and escaped a possible ynching by slipping in a side corridor and then into another rom. The ffice room was locked behind them until the mob scattered.

The prisoner was taken from the courthouse by the way of a comparatively unobserved prisoner's elevator facing the side corridor. A courthouse official then instructed the prisoner to lie down on the floor of his automobile and sped, with siren screaming, to the Fulton Tower, where the prisoner was left for protection.

During the trial, Defense Attorney Pierre Howard had sought to prove through testimony that his client was insane and, therefore, unable to counsel his attorneys and stand trial for the murder. He entered a special plea of insanity in behalf of the defendant and attempted to substantiate the defense position by expert testimony from Dr. Frank Eskridge, who had been observing

(Continued on Page 4 Column 5)

LAFF-A-DAY

"Of COURSE I can cook! Can you WASH DISHES?"

Prisoner

(Continued from Page One)

the prisoner for several months.

Dr. Eskridge testified that the defendent was insane. He said he reached this conclusion after a long study of the defendant. The doctor said McKay had, over a period of years, developed a persecution complex which had its root in a domestic problem that goes back several years. He said he was convinced that the defendant suffered from delusions.

Attorney for the State Young Fraiser, in cross-examining the doctor, asked for an example of a deluded person. Dr. Eskridge replied "If you told these people that you're Jesus Christ, you'd be suffering from a delusion." Attorney Frasier agreed

The State attorney had contended that McKay shot Charwick for no apparent cause while they were working together at the White Provision meat packing plant. Dr. Eskridge explained that it was possible for a deluded person to believe that he was threatened and, therefore, act on that basis.

Fulton Tower

Atlanta Journal
Friday Sept. 23, '49

Alert Fulton Deputies Prevent Court Lynching

Knife-Wielding Mob Seeks to Get at Negro On Jury's 'Insanity' Verdict in Murder Trial

Quick work by two Fulton deputies foiled a lynching Thursday night in Fulton Superior court when a mob rioted after a jury returned an insanity verdict against a Negro charged with the murder of a white man.

The deputies, Emmett Bell and Leroy Stynchcomb, outwitted a mob of 25 or 30 white men by taking a Negro, charged with the murder of a white man, out a side door in Judge E. E. Andrews' courtroom.

The Negro, Mercy McKay, 27, of 100 Meldon ave., S. E., had just been found insane by a jury. He was charged with the murder last May 6 of Roy H. Chadwick, 42, of Route 1, Lilburn, Ga., in the White Provision Co., where both worked.

Heard Threats

Mr. Bell said he heard friends and relatives of the victim threatening to cut the Negro's throat while the jury was out. Sensing the tension, Judge Andrews instructed the deputies that if the jury brought in a verdict of insanity, to get the Negro out of the courtroom as quickly as possible.

When the jury returned the insanity verdict, after two hours' deliberation, Mr. Bell said the mob started closing in on the deputies and the defendant. He said he saw "more than one knife" in the crowd.

Deputy Stynchcomb termed the demonstration a "first-class" riot.

"I've never seen anything like it before, except in the movies," he declared. "There were women screaming and men jumping over railings and chairs after us."

After the Negro was locked in the office, and the mob did not know where he was, Mr. Stynchcomb said one man, backed by the mob, brandished a long knife at him. He said tears were streaming down the man's face as he shouted, "You're protecting the Negro who killed my brother!"

For a moment, Mr. Stynchcomb said the mob seemed about to surge into the office where the Negro was hiding. He said he was afraid to draw his gun for fear he would be killed by the mob.

Mob Fans Out

He said the mob apparently thought the Negro had been taken down a staircase and fanned out on several floors looking for him. Then he said they returned to the courtroom with shouts of "Let's get the jury!"

All of the jurors, who had been huddled in a corner of the courtroom during the demonstration, got out safely, however. Other deputies were called to escort some of them from the building.

Mr. Stynchcomb said portions of the mob were all around the courthouse at the time he and Mr. Bell sneaked the Negro into a car, made him get down on the floor, and drove by them.

A number of the jurors called Judge Andrews Thursday night and asked to be excused from further service. Only 10 of the 12 showed up Friday, but on request of the solicitor, jury trials scheduled for Friday were canceled.

Judge Watches

During the demonstration Judge Andrews watched helplessly from the bench and vainly shouted for order.

Most of the mob had anticipated that the prisoner would be brought out the main courtroom doors. As they moved for those doors, the deputies made a quick turn with their prisoners for a side corridor door. Two of the mod succeeded in getting in front of them, but were brushed aside.

McKay was locked in an office behind the courtroom until the mob dispersed, then taken down the little-known prisoners' elevator facing the side corridor.

Sheriff A. B. (Bud) Foster Friday praised the two deputies and credited them with preventing a possible lynching in the courtroom.

Earlier, during the trial, Dr. Frank Eskridge, testified that the Negro was insane. He said he based his conclusion on several months' study of the defendant.

The Negro shot Mr. Chadwick for no apparent cause while both were working together in the meat packing plant.

4 • THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION • Friday, Sept. 23, 1949

Mob Here Frustrated In Quest for Killer

A mob of 25 to 30 angry persons tried to seize a 27-year-old Negro, charged with murder, in a Fulton County courtroom yesterday, after the jury returned a verdict of insanity.

Mercy McKay, of 100 Meldon Ave., S. E., charged with fatally shooting Roy H. Chadwick, 42, of Lilburn, last May 6, was safely whisked from the courthouse, however, and lodged in Fulton Tower.

Sheriff A. B. "Bud" Foster commended Deputy Sheriffs Leroy Stynchcombe and Emmett Bell for "preventing any trouble."

He said friends and relatives of the victim, who were armed with at least one knife, threatened to cut the Negro's throat.

Anticipating "trouble," Foster said the judge did not sentence the prisoner after the verdict was read. Instead, McKay was quickly locked in a room on the sixth floor near Judge E. E. Andrew's courtroom, where the trial was held.

After the mob had dispersed, the prisoner was slipped out by way of a private elevator.

Dr. Frank Eskridge, of Atlanta, had testified that he had observed the Negro for several months and was convinced the defendant was insane.

The Negro, according to police, shot Chadwick for no apparent reason last May while both were at work in a meat packing plant.

Alert Fulton Deputies Prevent Court Lynching

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Atlanta Journal 9/23/49

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The Negro shot Mr. Chadwick for no apparent cause while both were working together in the meat packing plant.

Gwinnett Tracks Woman's Assailant

Atl. Const. 18 Sept 49

By KEELER McCARTNEY

Scores of Gwinnett County citizens yesterday formed a huge posse in an unsuccessful attempt to track down a Negro man accused of attempting a sex attack on a young Luxomni housewife.

Bloodhounds from the County Prison led possemen on the trail for a considerable distance and then lost the track. Gwinnett Sheriff T. J. Johnson, a group of deputies, the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, and a number of volunteers continued the search after nightfall.

The attack—the third such incident in Gwinnett County in recent weeks—came 30 minutes after the husband left for Atlanta. Sheriff Johnson said the 25-year-old woman was lying on a sofa in the living room of the home when the Negro entered through a rear door and suddenly seized her arm.

As she fought and screamed, her five-year-old son dashed next door for help, Johnson related. She succeeded in freeing herself and fled to the home of a neighbor, who notified the Sheriff.

Johnson said the woman was frightened and hysterical, but uninjured.

Volunteer possemen by the scores gathered to aid deputy sheriffs in the search, Johnson said. The GBI was called in to aid in the investigation.

The trail led from the home through a wooded area.

Johnson said a similar incident occurred in Luxomni—about 25 miles northeast of Five Points—at about the same time last year. Investigators added two other attempted assaults were reported in Gwinnett County in recent weeks.

State Court To Hear County's Appeal In Willie Earle Case

TODD READY FOR OCTOBER HEARING

Appealing Moss's Decision Making Greenville Liable In Negro's Death

Hearing of the Greenville County appeal of Judge Joseph R. Moss' order making Greenville County liable for exemplary damages under the State Constitution in the slaying of Willie Earle, Negro, is scheduled before the State Supreme Court the week of October 10, it was learned yesterday.

County Attorney J. D. Todd, Jr., has prepared the brief he will submit to the state court two weeks prior to the October term.

The exact day for the hearing will not be announced until publication of court calendar for October.

In a suit brought January 28 against Pickens and Greenville Counties. Tessie Earle, mother of the Negro victim, brought action for exemplary damages under the State Constitution.

The constitution provides for payment of not less than $2,000 to the personal representative of a victim of a lynching in which death ensues, and she initiated suit for $5,000 from each county.

Both counties entered demurrers disclaiming liability.

At the April term of court here, Judge Moss issued an order saying Greenville county was liable. It is his decision that is being appealed.

Willie Earle, being held in the Pickens County jail for the stabbing of a Greenville cab driver who later died, was removed February 17, 1947 from the Pickens jail by a mob and fatally beaten, stabbed and shot on a road in Greenville County.

The trial of 31 defendants for Earle's death attracted nation-wide attention.

Greenville (S.C.) News - 10 Sept 49

Manhunt Called Off As Posse 'Too Big'

ORANGEBURG, Sept. 9.—(U.P.)—Authorities tonight called off a brush-beating manhunt for a Negro accused of shooting and slightly wounding his White employer. They said the posse got too big.

Instead, they planted a few deputy sheriffs near the home of the Negro, Willie Faust, about 50, who

FIRES ON DEPUTIES

ORANGEBURG, Sept. 9.—(AP)—A Negro fugitive tonight fired on two deputy sheriffs as they lay in wait for him at his home.

State Highway Patrolman R. O. Caffey, one of several score officers figuring in the manhunt for Willie Faust, said one of the deputies was hospitalized.

The two officers posted at Faust's home on the Barney Dempsey farm near here were Deputies T. O. Sweatman of Holly Hill and George Shuler of Bowman. Shuler was barely nicked, Caffey reported, while Sweatman was sent to Tri-County Hospital with an arm wound.

was accused of shooting W. Barney Dempsey, 45-year-old dairyman. Dempsey did not require medical aid.

Sent home were state constables, seven Orangeburg policemen, a dozen highway patrol cars and many carloads of armed civilians who tried unsuccessfully to trap the Negro in a swamp near here.

Highway Patrolmen R. O. Caffey said it was believed the Negro would return and surrender to a brigade of less terrifying size.

South Carolina authorities learned this lesson only a few weeks ago, at Gray Court, where hundreds of civilians formed posses to hunt Willie Tolbert.

By diverting the mob-resembling posses to other quarters, the authorities were able to capture Tolbert quietly. He had sought mainly to escape what looked to him like a prospective lynching.

At Gray Court the strategists told volunteer manhunters their prey had escaped to another area. Tonight they merely told everyone to go home.

LINE OF CARS FORMED

Mrs. Dempsey said a "line of cars a mile long" formed in front of her house shortly after the incident in which the Negro twice shot her husband.

Faust also was accused of later hitting a posseman with a shotgun pellet.

Dempsey did not even see a doctor about the slight wounds on his hand, ear and back made by shotgun pellets reportedly fired by the Negro. He joined the posse to help chase Faust.

Mrs. Dempsey said she saw Faust shoot twice at her husband from the yard of the Dempsey's dairy farm home five miles south of here. She could hear the hounds and men in the swamp nearby while the all-day search continued toward nightfall.

The Negro fired two shotgun blasts at Dempsey after "sort of an argument", Mrs. Dempsey said. Worst hurt were the two mules Dempsey was leading. They took most of the long-range blasts. Pellets only grazed the man.

Mrs. Dempsey said Faust was "a high-tempered, right mean" Negro and "Mr. Dempsey doesn't like to be talked to just any way by a Negro."

CAUTIONED HUSBAND

She said she feared hot remarks exchanged between her husband and the Negro, who is a sharecropper on the Dempsey farm, would lead to trouble. "I cautioned Mr. Dempsey he had a gun," she said.

Mrs. Dempsey said Faust went to his house and got the gun, returned to the yard of the Dempsey home and took two potshots at long range at her husband "while I just watched. He was just a few feet from me when he shot and I begged him not to," she said. "But I couldn't stop him."

The Negro walked calmly back to his house after firing the blasts, Mrs. Dempsey said. She said she quickly telephoned Sheriff George Reid, but when deputies arrived the Faust house was empty.

The State Constabulary in Columbia sent bloodhounds to the scene.

Atlanta Journal
9-4-49

Owner of Fishing Pond Slain Near Bainbridge

5 Men Ordered Off Property Shot Victim, Witness Tells Decatur County Sheriff

Special to The Atlanta Journal

BAINBRIDGE, Ga., Sept. 3.—Decatur county Sheriff A. E. White Saturday said he was investigating the murder of a Negro by five white men whom the victim had ordered off his fish pond.

The victim was Hollis Riles, about 53. His body was found Friday night propped up against a tree, where he had staggered after being hit with 13 buckshot, the sheriff said.

The murder scene was in the extreme northeastern corner of Decatur county, some 14 miles from Bainbridge.

Witnessed Shooting

Another Negro, Jesse Gordon, 52, witnessed the shooting.

He described to the sheriff how Riles had been fatally wounded as he tried to run from a hail of shotgun and rifle fire.

The sheriff said he believes it was "a case of premeditated murder." A coroner's jury after an inquest by flashlight Friday night found "death inflicted by unknown parties."

The sheriff said he was still investigating an incident of last May, when Riles' house was riddled with bullets fired from an unidentified automobile after he had attempted to keep several white men from fishing in his pond.

The pond is located on a 200-acre farm that Riles owned.

Carried Shotgun

The witness' story, as retold by Sheriff White, was that Friday afternoon Riles and Gordon went to the pond. Gordon intended to fish. Riles, who had feared for some months his life was in danger, carried his shotgun.

As they approached the pond they saw two white men lounging under a tree. Both had guns. At the pond they found two other white men. One of them had a string of fish.

He said Riles told the white men the pond was posted and they must either get off or pay for the privilege of fishing. He said one of the men gave the fish to Gordon; they said they did not know the pond was posted, and promised to leave at once.

A few minutes later, Gordon said, he heard shots and stood up to see four or five men shooting at Riles as he ran across a clearing. He said Riles did not return their fire.

About five minutes after the first shots, Gordon said he heard two more.

Two Cars Drove Away

He watched two cars drive away. One of them, he said, had its license plate covered. He said he could not identify the men, but he was sure they were not from that part of Decatur county.

Gordon ran to Riles' house a half mile away but later returned to the scene with the sheriff and Riles' wife. They found the fish pond owner in a sitting position against a tree. He had been dead more than an hour.

The sheriff also found three shotgun shells, some wadding and a tree that had been pierced by a rifle bullet. All of the pellets in Riles' body were 00 buckshot. Riles' gun was not found.

The sheriff said the investigation was made more difficult because, between the time the killers drove away and the time he reached the scene, a county road scraper had erased all tire tracks. He said he has asked the Georgia Bureau of Investigation to aid in the investigation.

NEGRO SLAIN; HAD BANNED POND USE

Riddled Body Propped Against Tree In Georgia; No Clues Found

Greenville (S.C.) News 4 Sept 49

BAINBRIDGE, Ga., Sept. 3.—(AP)—Four or five White men who a well-to-do Negro farmer ordered away from his fish pond shot him to death with rifles and shotguns, Sheriff A. E. White reported today.

White said the body of Hollis Riles, about 53, was found last night riddled with 13 buckshot and propped against a tree. He quoted a witness as saying the Negro was cut down by a hail of gunfire as he fled for his life.

The witness was Jesse Gordon, 52, another Negro. He told Sheriff White he had gone with Riles to the pond to fish late yesterday.

Gordon said the slayers were strangers to him and left hurriedly in two automobiles, one with its license plate covered.

The sheriff reported he was investigating but had no clues, since a county road scraper had erased all tire tracks.

White said he believed the slaying was pre-meditated murder. He explained that four months ago Riles' home was blasted by gunshots from an unidentified automobile after he tried to keep white men from fishing in his pond.

The Negro was owner of a 200-acre farm in northeast Decatur County, 14 miles from Bainbridge, in Southwest Georgia.

A coroner's jury held an inquest into his death last night by the flicker of flashlights. It found he was slain by "unknown parties."

Another 'Mallard' Case

Pitts. Cour. 8-20-49

LYONS, Ga.—Police Chief C. L. Keen revealed last week that Lemon Ricks, 50, a turpentine worker, was slain by a white man last Sunday.

Formal charges were filed against Woodrow Williamson, 25, in the shooting, while police arrested his father-in-law, Causs Williamson, 50, and Lester Mixon, 40, to be held as material witnesses.

According to Sheriff Robert E. Gray, the four men had been arguing. Williamson pulled a gun and fired once, slaying Ricks.

Just as in the Mallard lynching, Chief Keen immediately issued a statement that Ricks had a bad reputation and that he had recently been charged with arson. Nothing came of the Mallard lynching arrests and subsequent trial here.

Atl. Const. - 9 Aug 49

Negro Turpentine Worker Shot to Death in Lyons

LYONS—(AP)—A Negro turpentine worker was shot down and killed by a white man Sunday in this little Southeast Georgia town, scene of mob violence late last year.

Lyons Police Chief C. L. Keen said three white men were arrested yesterday, two as material witnesses and one for the actual slaying.

Sheriff Robert E. Gray said Woodrow Williamson, 25, has admitted shooting the Negro, Lemon Ricks, about 50. Formal murder charges will be filed today, he added

The Sheriff identified the others held as Causs Williamson, 50, Woodrow's father-in-law, and Lester Mixon, 40. All are farmers of near Lyons.

Gray said the four men had been arguing, but that none of the white men had said exactly what caused the shooting.

The Sheriff said Woodrow Williamson admitted shooting the Negro once with a pistol. The three white men then fled.

Several hours later, Gray continued, Mixon surrendered and on information from him the Sheriff went out to the Williamson home and arrested the other two men.

Chief Keen said he didn't know Ricks very well, but that his "reputation wasn't much." He said the Negro was charged with arson recently for setting fire to a white man's house. The house, he added, did not belong to either of the three men involved in Sunday's shooting.

It was in November last year that Negro Robert Mallard was shot down from ambush on a lonely road near Lyons. His widow, Amy Mallard, testified several white men stopped the Mallard car and shot her husband to death.

Two white men subsequently were charged with murder. One was tried and acquitted, and the charges against the others were dropped.

Greenville (S.C.) News

NEGRO SHOT TO DEATH; 3 HELD

8 Aug 49

Georgia Sheriff Says White Man Admits Firing Pistol Once

LYONS, Ga., Aug. 8.—(AP)—A negro turpentine worker was shot down and killed by a white man yesterday in this little southeast Georgia town, scene of mob violence late last year.

Lyons Police Chief C. L. Keen said three white men have been arrested, two as material witnesses and one for the actual slaying.

Sheriff Robert E. Gray said Woodrow Williamson, 25, has admitted shooting the negro, Lemon Ricks, about 50. Formal murder charges will be filed tomorrow, he added.

The sheriff identified the others held as Causs Williamson, 50, Woodrow's father-in-law, and Lester Mixon, 40. All are farmers of near Lyons.

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The sheriff said Woodrow Williamson admitted shooting the negro once with a pistol. The three white men then fled.

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It was in November last year that negro Robert Mallard was shot down from ambush on a lonely road near Lyons. His widow, Amy Mallard, testified several white men stopped the Mallard car and shot her husband to death.

Two white men subsequently were charged with murder. One was tried and acquitted, and the charges against the other were dropped.

Mother Routs Attacker With Ice Pick, Rifle

Atlanta Journal 8/5/49

MADISON, S. C., Aug. 5.—(AP)—More than 200 armed men combed the hills around this small South Carolina-Georgia borderline town Friday in search of a Negro who police said assaulted a white woman.

Sheriff Eddie Weathers reported the Negro had entered a Madison home and had attempted to rob and rape a 35-year-old woman, the mother of several children.

Sheriff Weathers said all available Oconee county officers had searched all night for the Negro. They were being assisted by Georgia officers.

Weathers said the Negro opened the door to the woman's house and demanded money. She had a milk bottle in her hand at the time and asked him to wait until she could put the milk in the ice box, he added.

She then picked up an ice pick and when the man attacked her she jabbed him in the neck, the sheriff continued. The Negro fled, and the woman shot at him three times with a rifle, possibly wounding him on the third shot, Weathers reported.

The sheriff said the man was a tall, black Negro who was wearing faded overalls and a "fuzzy" shirt at the time of the assault.

Greenville (SC) News
2 Aug 49.

ENVILLE, SOUTH CA

SHERIFF SAVES INNOCENT NEGRO

Mob Out To Force Man To Give Information About Criminal Assault

NASHVILLE, Ga., Aug. 1.—(AP)—A South Georgia sheriff today told of coolly taking an unintimidated negro from a mob bent on avenging the attempted rape of a housewife.

Sheriff N. N. Hughes said the negro was in no way connected with the attack on the 40-year-old farmer's wife left alone at home while her husband took the three children to Sunday School.

The mob believed, said Hughes, that the negro could lead them to a suspect and intended to make him do so.

The mob seized the negro at his home, Hughes continued, and when he arrived had him outside on the road where a number of cars were lined up.

As for the negro, Hughes observed that he "was just about as cool as anyone you'd ever seen. He told 'em he wouldn't go with them, but would go with me. They finally agreed."

Trouble started for this little tobacco belt town 40 miles north of the Florida line after the farmer's wife told of struggling fiercely with the negro. Her screams finally drove him away.

Sheriff Hughes brought bloodhounds from Tifton to aid in the hunt for the matron's assailant, but no trace has been found.

The woman had been bruised and scratched, choked and an effort made to stifle her screams by knocking her in the head, the sheriff related.

A South Georgia Sheriff Measures Up to Requirement

Atlanta Journal 8/2/49

A CALM, COURAGEOUS MAN can master a mob. Berrien County Sheriff N. N. Hughes proved that Sunday when he faced an angry mass of milling men and preserved the law and its dignity.

The mob was for taking a Negro from his custody and extorting information which it thought the man possessed. The sheriff refused to yield the custody and he did it with such firmness and such calmness and such reasonable statement that a tragedy was averted.

In rural Georgia the maintenance of law is mainly the responsibility of the sheriff and

AUGUST 2, 1949

his staff. In Georgia we have had in recent years some sheriffs who were craven in spirit and unworthy of office. They brought shame to their state and their community. It is fine to have report of Sheriff Hughes. He is apparently of the type of manhood we regard as truly Georgian.

Atl. Jour. 1 Aug 49

Georgia Sheriff Calmly Rescues Man From Mob

NASHVILLE, Ga., Aug. 1.—(AP) A calm, matter-of-fact South Georgia sheriff told of rescuing a Negro from a lynch-bent mob determined to avenge the assault of a housewife.

Sheriff N. N. Hughes said the Negro was seized at his home Sunday shortly after the reported attack on the white woman.

The mob believed, said the sheriff, the Negro could tell them the identity and whereabouts of the one sought in the attack and intended to make him tell by force if necessary.

"I told 'em," said Hughes, "that we had good Negroes here and bad Negroes and we were going to see that the good ones were protected.

"I told 'em," he continued, "that they were going to get themselves in more trouble than they would ever get out of.

"The Negro was just as cool as anyone you'd ever seen," Hughes added. "He told 'em he wouldn't go with them, but would go with me. They finally agreed."

Hughes described the victim of the assault attempt as "one of the best women in the county." He said she had a large number of relatives in the area "and that was one of the troubles."

For a while Sunday afternoon, said Hughes, "things looked pretty bad, but there's not a ripple on the waters today."

But tensions eased before dawn and most of the troopers left the scene, Hughes said.

SHERIFF FREES NEGRO FROM MOB IN GEORGIA

N. Y. Times 8/2/49

NASHVILLE, Ga., Aug 1 (AP)—A South Georgia sheriff today told of coolly taking an unintimidated Negro from a mob bent on avenging the attempted rape of a housewife.

The sheriff, N. N. Hughes, said that the Negro was in no way connected with the attack on the 40-year-old farmer's wife left alone at home while her husband took the three children to Sunday school. The mob believed, Sheriff Hughes said, that the Negro could lead them to a suspect and had intended to make him do so. For a time, during the afternoon and night, he reported, the situation "looked pretty bad" with mobs roaming the streets, finally consolidating into one of around 1,500.

State troopers were ordered into the area at the sheriff's request but they withdrew early this morning.

"There isn't a ripple on the waters today," the sheriff said.

The mob seized the Negro at his home, he continued, and when he (the sheriff) arrived, the crowd had the man outside on the road where a number of cars were lined up.

Two intoxicated members of the mob were promptly clapped in jail by the sheriff.

"I told them," said Sheriff Hughes, "that we had good Negroes here, and bad Negroes, and we were going to see that the good ones were protected. I told them, too, that they were going to get themselves in more trouble than they would ever get out of."

As for the Negro, the sheriff observed that he "was just about as cool as anyone you'd ever seen. He told them he wouldn't go with them, but would go with me. They finally agreed."

Trouble started for this little "tobacco belt" town forty miles north of the Florida line after the farmer's wife had told of struggling with a Negro. Her outcries drove him away. The woman had been bruised, scratched and almost choked, and an effort had been made to stifle her screams by knocking her in the head, Sheriff Hughes related.

No trace of the assailant was found.

29 July 49

GREENVILLE NEWS, GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

PRISONER MOVED AFTER MOB TALK

Unidentified Man Accused Of Beating Woman, Attacking Daughter

RUTHERFORDTON, N. C., July 28—(AP)—Sheriff Vance Wilkins said today a white man accused of assault had been removed to an undisclosed jail after a group of men voiced threats of lynching.

He declined to name the prisoner.

Wilkins said the man, 22 years old, was charged with entering a rural dwelling, beating a widow and attacking her 16-year-old daughter. The alleged attacks occurred about midnight. The young man was arrested about 2 a. m.

Wilkins said a small group collected near the courthouse and thretened a lynching. The prisoner then was spirited away.

The attacks occurred in a community about eight miles south of Rutherfordton, Wilkins reported.

Pitts. Com. 16 July 49

Jail 3 Mob Suspects in Mississippi

(Special to The Courier)

HOUSTON, Miss. — The roadside lynching of a 45-year-old Negro two weeks ago was brought to light Friday when three white men were jailed here on murder charges.

The lynch victim, Malcolm Wright, Chickasaw County farmer, was bludgeoned to death before the eyes of his horrified wife and four children while driving to Houston on a wagon, Saturday, July 2.

Two of the lynchers, James (Red) Kellum and James Moore of the Thorn Community near here, were held without bond by a three-man Justice of the Peace Court in a preliminary hearing.

SOLDIER IN TRIO

The third mobster, Eunice Gore, a soldier stationed at Keesler Field, Biloxi, Miss., was placed under $1,000 bond.

The three white men brutally beat Wright to death with a bumper jack. The lynching occurred a few minutes after the trio passed

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 8)

— READ IT FIRST IN THE COURIER —

Jail Three Mob Suspects

(Continued from Page 1)

the farmer's wagon in an automobile.

They stopped their car, blocking the road at the same time, and approached Wright and his family in the wagon.

The white men accused Wright of "hogging the road." Calling him a black s.o.b. They jerked him from the wagon and attached him with the death-dealing weapon while his wife and children, terrified, looked on helplessly.

The lynching was on the Thorn Road, about two miles from Houston.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION - 7-7-49

Texans Vote Lynch Bill

AUSTIN, Texas—(AP)—The Texas Legislature has passed a bill making lynching punishable by prison or death.

It will be the State's first specific law against lynching

The Senate approved the measure by a voice vote Tuesday and sent it to Gov. Beauford Jester for his signature. He previously had recommended passage.

The measure provides a penalty ranging from a five-year prison sentence to death for first-degree lynching. First-degree lynching is defined as mob assault on a person resulting in death.

Second-degree lynching, described as mob assault that does not result in death, calls for prison sentences of one to 10 years.

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165 Church Street - New York

NEW YORK, N. Y.
TIMES
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JUL 3 1949

NEGRO MOB IN SOUTH SHOUTS FOR LYNCHING

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., July 2—A mob of 500 Negroes today shouted for the lynching of a white man here.

O. L. Werst, cafe operator, was saved by quick police action as shouts of "hang him," accompanied by hurled rocks, followed the police car that took him to the safety of the city jail.

He was charged with shooting a young Negro woman in the head when she and a group of approximately fifteen companions entered his home, mistakenly thinking it was part of a dance hall.

Hattie Cook, the woman, is in the hospital here with a right jaw fracture and other head injuries. Her condition is believed serious.

The incident occurred early this morning when Mr. Werst's wife told her husband that the group had entered their apartment. The cafe operator warned them twice to leave and then fired into the crowd, according to the story he told to police.

Moments later an angry crowd began to gather outside his apartment.

Winston-Salem, N.C., July 2, '49

White man, accused of shooting a Negro woman, saved by police from angry Negro mob.

Sheriffs Oppose Anti-Lynch Bill

DETROIT, June 22 (AP)—The National Sheriffs Association adopted a resolution today opposing the anti-lynch bill pending in the United States Senate.

The sheriffs contended that the bill, sponsored by Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan, was unnecessary because state laws already set penalties for sheriffs who failed to protect prisoners from mobs. The Senate bill calls for a fine of $5,000, or a prison term of five years, for a sheriff wilfully participating in a lynching.

The sheriffs declared that most lynchings occurred in counties where sheriffs did not have secure jails.

6/23/49

6/26/49

RALPH McGILL

Also Enemies Of the United States

Alexander Pushkin, who was born June 6, 1799, is the chief literary hero of the past in Soviet Russia. The poet and novelist was a member of an anti-Tsarist society and was exiled by Alexander I.

During this month of June all Russia is celebrating his birthday with exhibits and programs.

One of these exhibits, the chief one, is in Moscow. It is headed by the figure of a hooded Klansman—symbolizing American democracy—and to illustrate it there is a quotation from Pushkin in which he speaks of democracy (as he had read of it in England and the United States) as "cynical in its cruel prejudices . . . in its racial persecution."

France In a letter I have from France a friend, a Georgian on a visit there, writes:

"All the French papers carried page one stories about the lynching in Irwinton, Ga., and the Communist papers were careful to point out that the much vaunted justice of the American system of law was a fraud and a lie."

A letter from an American in Damascus commented:

"The questions asked about the United States are shockingly uniform here and in Beirut . . . they want to know if the rise in unemployment means the free enterprise system won't work as claimed, and they ask about the treatment of Negroes and other minorities. . . ."

These are the most recent samples.

Meaning Some time ago I was called down to Toombs County in a lynching case. I tried to say there we must realize that in our time this country is looked to as the most powerful country but also as the one which must supply the leadership—or confidence—in our system of government.

In these days of communications it is no longer possible to cover up news.

Those persons who say, fretfully, and resentfully, "If the newspapers and radio wouldn't play it up there would be no attention paid it," simply don't realize what sort of a world they live in.

All over the world there is a ferment for human rights, and the Russians are claiming their system to be the only one which actually guarantees it. Whenever our stupid Ku Klux Klan beats a grandmother, whips a defenseless person, or burns a cross in front of a home, that hurts the United States. It actually does it great harm in its efforts to build up respect for, and confidence in, the American system.

It is not stretching the truth one least little bit to say that the Klan and the lynchers are of tremendous aid, assistance and comfort to the Communist governments.

I tried to say in Toombs County—and have sought to make it plain ever since—that whenever we defy our own law we do actual, real harm to our country and ourselves.

Lynchings We have had 30 lynchings in Georgia since they began to be recorded and in not one of them have the guilty been punished.

Last year there were but two lynchings. Georgia had both of them. This year there has been one. Georgia had it. In none was there any punishment of guilty persons and, indeed, there remains the grave suspicion that no sincere effort was made to find and punish them.

In our most recent one, at Irwinton, the Georgia Bureau of Investigation had enough evidence to make arrests and was quoted as saying it had enough evidence to indict. A grand jury did not indict.

That, too, will be said over radios in foreign countries and printed in papers. They will say, "You see, the Americans are liars. They do not have a system of justice save for the favored ones. The poor and the colored can get no justice. The American law is a fraud and a lie."

I have seen, and heard that, in foreign countries and it is not comfortable.

Problem It is so difficult to make people understand. A lynching defies the law. It takes the place of the law. It ignores jury trial and judge.

Yet people persist, apparently in good faith, in saying it is no different than any other crime. They ask, "Why make such a fuss over it?" In Irwinton, for example, it was said that if the sheriff had been shot there would not have been as much criticism. Well, of course, there would have been if the law had remained inactive. But I doubt the sincerity of such persons. They know very well that if the sheriff had been shot the guilty would have been followed by posse and vigorously prosecuted and sent to the chair. The grand jury would have indicted. The trial jury would have convicted.

I think it must be a wicked, mean, dangerous mind which defends a lynching by saying, "If it had been a white man killed by a Negro—or a gangster killing—there would be no fuss about it." That is a base falsehood, with no truth in it.

Such a mind knows very well that the jails are filled with such killers—that the law always operates to catch them and jail and electrocute them. They are persons who simply believe it is all right to lynch.

They are enemies of their country and, tragically enough, they don't realize it.

But they are more harmful than the Communists. The KKK is the best little helper the Communists have. And the lynch-minded people and the grand juries which treat lynching casually are doing their country great and lasting harm.

It is necessary that we learn this before it is too late.

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GEORGIA MEN FREED IN NEGRO LYNCHING

Grand Jury Headed by Minister Finds No Evidence for Trial of Pair in Jail Nine Days

IRWINTON, Ga., June 14 (AP)—An all-white grand jury freed two white men today of any guilt in connection with the lynch-murder of Caleb Hill Jr., on May 20. After an all day investigation in this rural Georgia county seat, the jury ruled that there was not enough evidence to bring the pair to trial.

Dennis Lamar Purvis, cafe operator and well-to-do business man, and Malcolm Vivian Pierce, an electrician, had been held for nine days in the jail from which the victim was taken and shot to death.

A Georgia Bureau of Investigation agent, H. M. Spurlin; Sheriff George Hatcher and Solicitor C. S. Baldwin said before the investigation they were "sure" they had enough evidence to obtain some indictments.

The grand jury heard twelve witnesses, including law enforcement officers and three men who were in the jail when Hill was seized. Mr. Baldwin said the combined investigation of local, state and Federal officers had produced indications that one of the three in the jail, W. F. Walston, could identify the men who opened the door to Hill's cell and said:

"Come on, boy, let's go."

Mr. Baldwin added that Walston's statement was not backed up by others in the jail.

Before retiring into privacy, the grand jury foreman, a Baptist minister, the Rev. Howard D. Blalock, prayed for "justice without prejudice."

Mr. Baldwin emphasized that the investigation had removed "any question of doubt" about Sheriff Hatcher's blame in the incident.

"Most Georgia Sheriff's would have shot the Negro instead of taking him to jail," he added.

Sheriff Hatcher said he had been called to investigate a report that Hill had stabbed another Negro. There was a scuffle, the Sheriff testified, and Hill managed to get his gun and fired at him. The Sheriff put Hill in jail and went back to look for the weapon. While he was away, the Sheriff added, two white men entered the jail, found his keys, and took Hill.

Unsolved Lynchings String Run to 26

Two Murder Suspects Freed at Irwinton; FBI May Continue Investigation of Case

IRWINTON, Ga., June 15.—(AP)—Georgia added No. 26 today an unbroken string of unsolved Negro lynchings.

A special Wilkinson county grand jury probed for six hours Tuesday into the lynch-murder of Caleb Hill Jr. Then the jury ruled there was not enough evidence to bring anyone to trial.

The decision brought immediate release to two white men, accused by the Negro's widow as the murderers of her husband.

Dennis Lamar Purvis, 37-year-old well-to-do businessman, and Malcolm Vivian Pierce, and electrician, 27 years old, had been held for 10 days in the same jail from which the Negro was kidnaped May 30 and killed.

Apparently it is now up to the Federal Government to decide whether to tackle the case. Federal Bureau of Investigation agents have been looking into the incident to see if they can support a charge of violation of civil rights.

Sheriff Hatcher arrested Hill after a fight in a Negro cafe. He said the Negro fired at him. After locking up Hill, Hatcher returned to the cafe to look for his gun, lost in the scrap.

He said he left his keys, as usual, on a dining room buffet in his house. The jail was on the second floor. The intruders used these keys, while Hatcher was away, to seize the Negro.

Georgia has failed to bring a conviction against lynchers of a Negro in 26 consecutive cases since 1930. That year, two white men were sentenced to life imprisonment for lynching a Negro, but were paroled after serving seven years.

The grand jury heard 12 witnesses, including law enforcement officers and three men who were in the jail when Hill was seized.

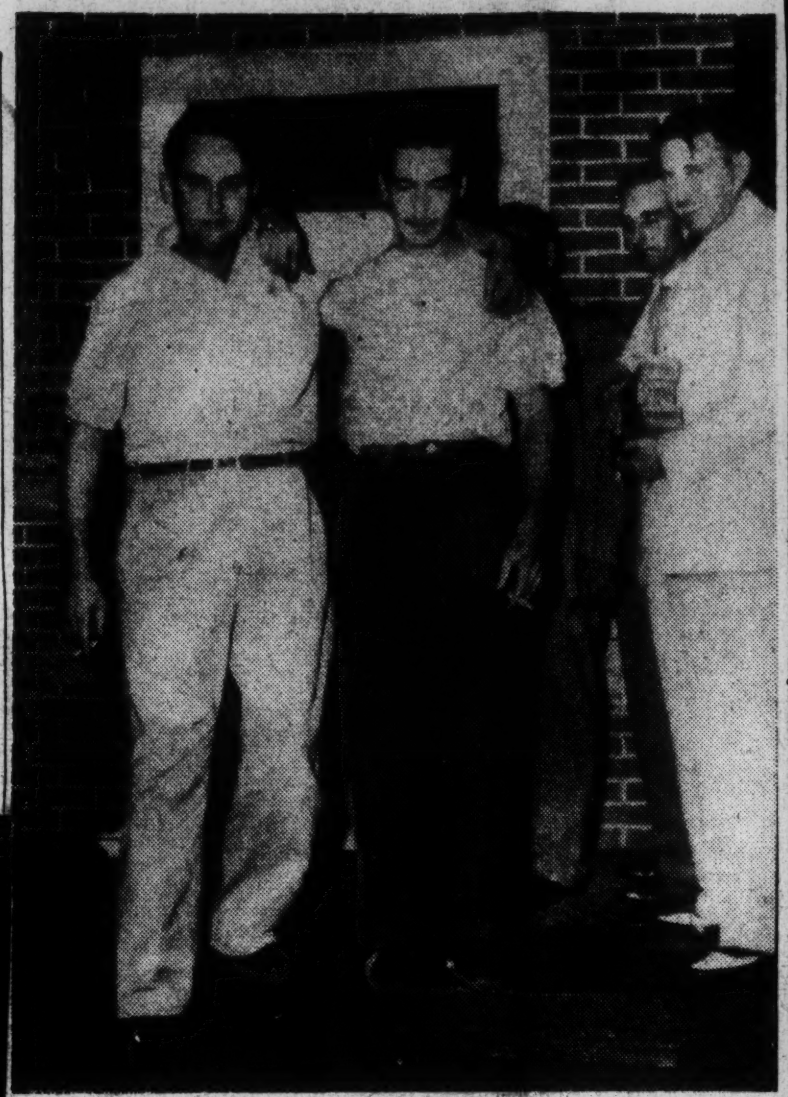
Solicitor C. S. Baldwin said the combined investigation of local, state and federal officers had produced indications that one of the three in the jail, W. F. Walston, could identify the men who opened the door to Hill's cell and said:

"Come on, boy, let's go."

Walston was being held on arson charges, for which he was convicted in nearby Twiggs county Monday, Baldwin said. He added that Walston's statement was not backed up by others in the jail.

Solicitor Baldwin emphasized that the investigation had removed "any question of doubt" about Sheriff Hatcher's blame in the incident.

"Most Georgia sheriffs would have shot the Negro instead of taking him to jail," Baldwin added.



FREE IN LYNCH CASE—Irwinton, Ga., June 15.—Dennis Lamar Purvis, 38, and Malcolm Vivian Pierce, 27, walk arm-in-arm happily out of county jail here Tuesday. They were freed by a Grand Jury of murder charges in the lynching of Caleb Hill Jr., 28-year-old Negro who was taken from the same jail May 30 and shot to death. From left are Purvis, Pierce, Sheriff George Hatcher and GBI Special Agent Henry Walden.—AP photo.

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JUN 15 1949

Two in Georgia Lynching Freed By White Jury

Ruling Holds Evidence Is Insufficient; Negro Was Taken From Jail, Shot

IRWINTON, Ga., June 14 (AP).—An all-white grand jury today freed two white men of any guilt in the lynch-slaying of Caleb Hill jr., twenty-eight, a Negro.

The jury, after an all-day investigation in this rural Georgia County seat, ruled there was not enough evidence to bring the men to trial.

Dennis Lamar Purvis, thirty-seven, cafe operator, and Malcolm Vivian Pierce, twenty-seven electrician, had been held for nine days in the jail from which Hill was taken and shot to death May 30.

Hill's widow swore out murder warrants against the two white men. Georgia Bureau of Investigation Agent H. M. Spurlin, Sheriff George Hatcher and Solicitor C. S. Baldwin said before the investigation they were "sure" they had enough evidence to obtain some indictments.

The grand jury heard twelve witnesses, including law enforcement officers and three men who were in the jail when Hill was seized.

Solicitor Baldwin said the combined investigation of local, state and Federal officers had produced indications that one of the three in the jail, W. F. Walston, could identify the men who opened the door to Hill's cell and said: "Come on boy, let's go."

Walston was being held on arson charges, for which he was convicted in near-by Twiggs County yesterday, Solicitor Baldwin said. He added that Walston's statement was not backed up by others in the jail.

Before retiring into privacy, the grand jury foreman, a preacher, prayed for "justice without prejudice."

Solicitor Baldwin emphasized that the investigation had removed "any question of doubt" about Sheriff Hatcher's blame in the incident.

"Most Georgia sheriffs would have shot the Negro instead of taking him to jail," Solicitor Baldwin added.

Hill was arrested by Sheriff Hatcher at a roadhouse. Sheriff Hatcher said he had been called to investigate a report Hill had stabbed another Negro.

The sheriff said Hill managed to get his gun in the scuffle and fired at him. The sheriff put Hill in jail and went back to look for the pistol. While he was away, the sheriff added, two white men entered the jail, found his keys and took Hill away.

ATL. CONST.

Jail Raiding Probe Clears Sheriff's Kin

6-15-49

IRWINTON — (INS) — The Wilkinson County Grand Jury yesterday refused to indict two white men arrested in connection with the lynching of Caleb Hill, Irwinton Negro. The two men were dismissed.

The Grand Jury returned a no bill after considering the case against Dennis L. Purvis, 37, and Malcolm V. Pierce, 27-year-old nephew of Wilkinson County Sheriff George Hatcher.

Hill, known in the area as "Pickie Pie" was taken from the Irwinton jail May 30. The chalk miner was shot to death.

Hill's widow, mother of three children, swore out murder warrants against Purvis and Pierce. The GBI had forecast true bills would be returned.

(Picture on Page 5)

Before the Grand Jury left to consider its verdict yesterday, Judge George Carpenter had charged it that "The law can take the life of no man, regardless of color, without a fair trial."

Judge Carpenter added:

"The well springs of morality lie deep within Wilkinson County citizens. This County began a century and a half ago under the promise that people would live under rules of law—not rules of men.

"This Grand Jury meets to administer justice. It will have the full co-operation of the Court in its investigation."

Purvis and Pierce were arrested by the GBI several days after Hill's death.

Sheriff Hatcher said the lynching might have been a "mistake" resulting from a false rumor that Hill had killed him. Hatcher arrested Hill on the night of May 29 for allegedly stabbing another Negro. The Sheriff said his pistol was jerked from its holster by Hill in a scuffle and a shot was fired.

ATL. CONST.

Grand Jury Hears Lynch Case Today

IRWINTON— (AP) —Against a backdrop of 25 Negro lynchings since 1930, and not one conviction in any of them, Georgia today will try to solve the lynching of Negro Caleb Hill, Jr.

The special Wilkinson County Grand Jury will convene today to hear the evidence, and pass on murder warrants sworn out against two white men by the widow of the Negro.

Charged in the warrants are Dennis Lamar Purvis, 37, cafe owner and prominent business man, and Malcolm Vivian Pierce, 27, electrician—both of nearby McIntyre.

Lt. M. H. Spurlin, of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, will tell the Grand Jury about the intensive investigation of the incident. GBI officers along with FBI agents have been helping Sheriff George Hatcher and other local officers on the case.

Spurlin said yesterday he is "sure" he has enough evidence to obtain some indictments.

The jury will be made up of 23 members—all white men. They include doctor, preacher, businessmen—but mostly farmers.

They are the men who will hear as much as the investigation has brought to light about the death of Hill.

The Negro was taken from the County Jail on the night of May 30 and shot to death. His body was found on a roadside the next morning.

Hill had been arrested early that morning at a Negro roadhouse near Irwinton.

Officer Saves Suspect from Armed Mob

Atl. Constitution
6/14/49

HOUSTON, Miss.— (UP) —A Negro accused of raping a soldier's wife was saved from "a number of armed" men by a fast-talking Deputy Sheriff and is now safe in a secret jail, it was reported yesterday.

Deputy Shheriff T. A. Bryant said Robert Lee Gates, 35, had admitting attacking the young woman early Sunday near her home at nearby Houlka.

Editor Sid Harris, of the Houston, Miss., Post, credited Bryant with preventing mob violence shortly after Gates' arrest.

A number of armed men came to the jail, Harris said, but Bryant "out-talked them, telling them he had a number of suspects but at that time did not have the guilty one."

Bryant said that five other Negroes first held as suspects had been released. The crime was traced to Gates through two buttons found at the scene, the Deputy said.

At Gates' house, officers found a coat with two buttons missing and some bloodstained clothing. When he was confronted with the evidence the Negro confessed, the Deputy said.

The victim, whose husband is stationed in Japan, said the Negro was loitering outside her home when she returned from visiting friends.

"He grabbed my arm and said 'Let me walk to the house with you'," the woman said. "I screamed and he grabbed my throat and told me he would kill me if I yelled."

Burrelle's
ESTABLISHED 1888
BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York
TORRINGTON, CONN.
REGISTER
Circ. D. 8,541
JUN 13 1949

Georgia Grand Jury To Hear Testimony In Lynching Case

Irwinton, Ga., June 13 (AP)—Georgia sets out tomorrow on a stern test of its justice — an effort to solve the lynching of a Negro.

The state has seen 25 Negro lynchings since 1930. It hasn't returned a conviction in any of them.

Nine southern states have had 116 lychings in the last two decades. They have produced only four convictions.

For the nation as a whole, the record since 1900 shows 1,976 lynchings and only 83 convictions. Most of the lynchings and 68 of the convictions were in the south.

Georgia's record of Negro lynch violence since 1900 shows only three convictions — one in 1930, one in 1922 and one in 1924. The figures were compiled from records of the Tuskegee Institute and the Southern Regional Council.

With this record as a backdrop, a special Wilkinson county grand jury convenes Tuesday to investigate the lynch-murder of Caleb Hill jr. The 28-year-old Negro was abducted from the county jail May 30 and shot to death.

The Negro's widow has sworn out murder warrants against two white men — Dennis Lamar Purvis, 37, cafe operator and well-to-do business man; and Malcolm Vivian Pierce, 27, electrician. Both are from nearby McIntyre in this strongly rural county in central Georgia.

Lt. M. H. Spurlin of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation will report to the grand jury on an intensive investigation of the incident. The FBI and Sheriff George Hatcher also have worked on the case.

The grand jury has 23 members, all white men. They include a preacher, doctor, business men — but most of them are farmers.

The Negro was arrested by Sheriff Hatcher after a scrap in a cafe. Hatcher lodged the Negro in jail — which also is his home — and then left to recover his gun, lost in the melee.

Another Negro prisoner said two white men took Hill from his cell. Hatcher said they apparently picked up his keys, which he left on his kitchen table.

Spurlin said today he is "sure" he has enough evidence to obtain some indictments.

Burrelle's
ESTABLISHED 1888
BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York
RALEIGH, N. C.
TIMES
Circ. D. 20,865
JUN 13 1949

Georgia Courts To Get Another Lynching Case

IRWINTON, Ga.,—(AP)— Georgia sets out Tuesday on a stern test of its justice—an effort to solve the lynching of a Negro.

The state has seen 25 Negro lynchings since 1930. It hasn't returned a conviction in any of them.

Nine southern states have had 116 lynchings in the last two decades. They have produced only four convictions.

For the nation as a whole, the record since 1900 shows 1,976 lynchings and only 83 convictions. Most of the lynchings and 68 of the convictions were in the south.

Georgia's record of Negro lynch-violence since 1900 shows only three convictions—one in 1930, one in 1922 and one in 1924. The figures were compiled from records of the Tuskegee Institute and the Southern Regional Council.

With this record as a backdrop, a special Wilkinson County grand jury convenes Tuesday to investigate the lynch-murder of Caleb Hill, Jr. The 28-year-old Negro was abducted from the county jail May 30 and shot to death.

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The grand jury has 23 members, all white men. They include a preacher, doctor, business men—but most of them are farmers.

GEORGIA TESTS LYNCHING LAWS

Lynch-Murder Of Caleb Hill, Taken From A Jail And Shot, Is Stern Test For State With 25 Lynching Cases Gone Unpunished.

—BY CHARLES BARRETT—

IRWINTON, Ga., June 13—(AP)—Georgia sets out tomorrow on a stern test of its justice—an effort to solve the lynching of a Negro.

The state has seen 25 Negro lynchings since 1930. It hasn't returned a conviction in any of them.

Nine Southern states have had 116 lynchings in the last two decades. They have produced only four convictions.

For the nation as a whole, the record since 1900 shows 1,976 lynchings and only 83 convictions. Most of the lynchings and 68 of the convictions were in the South.

THREE CONVICTIONS

Georgia's record of Negro lynch violence since 1900 shows only three convictions—one in 1930, one in 1922 and one in 1924. The figures were compiled from records of the Tuskegee Institute and the Southern Regional Council.

With this record as a backdrop, a special Wilkinson county grand jury convenes Tuesday to investigate the lynch-murder of Caleb Hill Jr. The 28-year-old Negro was abducted from the county jail May 30 and shot to death.

The Negro's widow has sworn out murder warrants against two white men—Dennis Lamar Purvis, 37, cafe operator and well-to-do business man; and Malcolm Vivian Pierce, 27, electrician. Both are from nearby McIntyre in this strongly rural county in central Georgia.

ALL-WHITE JURY

The grand jury has 23 members, all white men. They include a preacher, doctor, business men—but most of them are farmers.

The Negro was arrested by Sheriff Hatcher after a scrap in a cafe. Hatcher lodged the Negro in jail—which also is his home—and then left to recover his gun, lost in the melee.

Another Negro prisoner said two white men took Hill from his cell. Hatcher said they apparently picked up his keys, which he left on his kitchen table.

Spurlin said today he is "sure" he has enough evidence to obtain some indictments.

Georgia has the South's worst record on lynching in recent years,

—See LYNCHING, P-7—

Burrelle's
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PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York
GASTONIA, N. C.
GAZETTE
Circ. D. 14,808
JUN 13 1949

—MORE ABOUT— Lynching

—(Begins On Front Page)—

although the number has dropped sharply throughout Dixie. This state recorded 11 lynchings in the last ten years. Mississippi is next with 5, Alabama 2, Florida 3, Louisiana 1, North Carolina 1, South Carolina 2, and Tennessee 2.

The total has dropped from 89 in 1931-39 to 27 in 1940-49.

Georgia's last effort to convict white men in a Negro lynch case was in 1948. Negro Robert Mallard was killed by a mob described by his widow as robed, unmasked men. A Toombs county jury acquitted one white man after a member of the jury testified as a character witness for the defendant. Another accused man was released.

The state's other 1948 lynching was the slaying of a white tenant farmer of Meriwether county. A wealthy landowner, John Wallace, was sentenced to die on murder charges, and four others received life imprisonment.

TUSKEGEE REPORT

Tuskegee, a Negro university, lists as a "borderline" lynching case the 1948 slaying of Isaih Nixon, Negro, "when he insisted on voting in Georgia's primary election after being advised not to do so." A white man was tried and acquitted.

In 1946, four Negroes were ambushed and killed in a volley of bullets near Monroe, Ga. The FBI sent a large special detail to the county to investigate the mass murder, but a grand jury returned no indictments.

In the only lynching in 1947, armed mobsters seized a Negro from the Pickens, S. C., jail and shot and stabbed him to death in another county. A group of white men were brought to trial and acquitted.

Georgia's last conviction was in 1930 in Thomas county. A Negro had testified against a white man accused of raping a Negro woman. The Negro was killed and two white men were convicted and given life sentences. They were paroled after seven years.

Burrelle's
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BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.
INDEPENDENT
Circ. D. 16,475
JUN 13 1949

Georgia Justice Gets Stern Test In Negro Lynch Case

IRWINTON, Ga. —AP— Georgia sets out tomorrow on a stern test of its justice—an effort to solve the lynching of a Negro.

The state has seen 25 Negro lynchings since 1930. It hasn't returned a conviction in any of them.

Nine Southern states have had 116 lynchings in the last two decades. They have produced only four convictions.

For the nation as a whole, the record since 1900 shows 1,976 lynchings and only 83 convictions. Most of the lynchings and 68 of the convictions were in the South.

Georgia's record of Negro lynch violence since 1900 shows only three convictions—one in 1930, one in 1922 and one in 1924. The figures were compiled from records of the Tuskegee Institute and the Southern Regional Council.

With this record as a backdrop, a special Wilkinson county grand jury convenes Tuesday to investigate the lynch-murder of Caleb Hill, jr. The 28-year-old Negro was abducted from the county jail May 30 and shot to death.

The Negro's widow has sworn out murder warants against two white men—Dennis Lamar Purvis, 37, cafe operator and well-to-do business man; and Malcolm Vivian Pierce, 27, electrician. Both are from nearby McIntyre in this strongly rural county in central Georgia.

Lt. M. H. Spurlin of the Georgia bureau of investigation will report to the grand jury on an intensive investigation of the incident. The FBI and Sheriff George Hatcher also have worked on the case.

The grand jury has 23 members, all white men. They include a preacher, doctor, business men—but most of them are farmers.

The Negro was arrested by Sheriff Hatcher after a scrap in a cafe. Hatcher lodged the Negro in jail—which also is his home—and then left to recover his gun, lost in the melee.

Another Negro prisoner said two white men took Hill from his cell. Hatcher said they apparently picked up his keys, which he left on his kitchen table.

Spurlin said today he is "sure" he has enough evidence to obtain some indictments.

Georgia has the South's worst record of lynching in recent years, although the number has dropped sharply throughout Dixie. This state recorded 11 lynchings in the last ten years. Mississippi is next with 5, Alabama 2, Florida 3, Louisiana one, North Carolina 1, South Carolina 2, and Tennessee 2.

The total has dropped from 89 in 1931-39 to 27 in 1940-49.

Georgia's last effort to convict white men in a Negro lynch case was in 1948. Negro Robert Mallard was killed by a mob described by his widow as robed, unmasked men. A Toombs county jury acquitted one white man after a member of the jury testified as a character witness for the defendant. Another accused man was released.

Burrelle's
ESTABLISHED 1888
BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York

BALTIMORE, MD.
SUN (Evening)
Circ. D. 194,376

JUN 13 1949

Georgia Set To Test Ability To Solve Lynching

Irwinton, Ga., June 13 (AP).—Georgia sets out tomorrow on a test of its justice—an effort to solve the lynching of a Negro.

The State has seen 25 Negro lynchings since 1930 and has not returned a conviction in any of them.

Nine Southern states have had 116 lynchings in the last two decades and have produced only four convictions.

For the nation as a whole, the record since 1900 shows 1,976 lynchings and 83 convictions. Most of the lynchings and 68 of the convictions were in the South.

Three Convictions Since 1900

Georgia's record of Negro lynch violence since 1900 shows only three convictions—one in 1930, one in 1922 and one in 1924. The figures were compiled from records of the Tuskegee Institute and the Southern Regional Council.

With this record as a backdrop, a special Wilkinson county grand jury convenes tomorrow to investigate the lynch-murder of Caleb Hill, Jr. The 28-year-old Negro was abducted from the county jail May 30 and shot.

Murder Warrants Obtained

His widow has sworn out murder warrants against two white men—Dennis Lamar Purvis, 37, cafe operator and well-to-do business man, and Malcolm Vivian Pierce, 27, electrician.

Lieut. M. H. Spurlin, of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation will report to the grand jury on the investigation of the incident.

Arrested After Fight

The Negro was arrested by Sheriff Hatcher after a fight in a cafe. Hatcher lodged the Negro in jail—which also is his home—and then left to recover his gun, lost in the fight.

Worst Record In South

Another Negro prisoner said two white men took Hill from his cell.

Spurlin said today he is "sure" he has enough evidence to obtain some indictments.

Georgia has the South's worst record on lynching in recent years, although the number has dropped in Dixie. This State recorded 11 lynchings in the last ten years. Mississippi is next with 5, Alabama 2, Florida 3, Louisiana 1, North Carolina 1, South Carolina 2 and Tennessee 2.

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1948 Convictions

The State's other 1948 lynching was the slaying of a white tenant farmer of Meriwether county. A wealthy landowner, John Wallace, was sentenced to die on murder charges, and four others received life imprisonment.

Tuskegee lists as a "borderline" lynching case the 1948 slaying of Isaiah Nixon, Negro, "when he insisted on voting in Georgia's primary election after being advised not to do so." A white man was tried and acquitted.

In 1946, four Negroes were ambushed and killed by bullets near Monroe, Ga. The FBI sent a large special detail to the county to investigate, but a grand jury returned no indictments.

White Men Acquitted

In the only lynching in 1947, armed men seized a Negro from the Pickens (S.C.) jail and shot and stabbed him to death. A group of white men were tried and acquitted.

Georgia's last conviction was in 1930 in Thomas county. A Negro had testified against a white man accused of raping a Negro woman. The Negro was killed and two white men were convicted and given life sentences, but were paroled in seven years.

Georgia Lynching Trial To Get Going Tomorrow

No Convictions In 25 Lynching Cases Since 1930 Listed

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Lt. M. H. Spurlin of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation will report to the grand jury on an intensive investigation of the incident. The FBI and Sheriff George Hatcher also have worked on the case.

The grand jury has 23 members, all white men. They include a preacher, doctor, business man—

See GEORGIA on Page 2

Burrelle's
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BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York

HENDERSON, N. C.
DISPATCH
Circ. D. 4,425
JUN 13 1949

Georgia

(Continued from Page 1)

but most of them are farmers.

The Negro was arrested by Sheriff Hatcher after a scrap in a cafe. Hatcher lodged the Negro in jail—which also is his home—and then left to recover his gun, lost in the melee.

Another Negro prisoner said two white men took Hill from his cell. Hatcher said they apparently picked up his keys, which he left on his kitchen table.

Spurlin said today he is "sure" he has enough evidence to obtain some indictments.

Georgia has the South's worst record on lynching in recent years, although the number has dropped sharply throughout Dixie. This State recorded 11 lynchings in the last ten years. Mississippi is next with 5, Alabama 2, Florida 3, Louisiana one, North Carolina 1, South Carolina 2 and Tennessee 2.

The total has dropped from 89 in 1931-39 to 27 in 1940-49.

Georgia's last effort to convict white men in a Negro lynch case was in 1948. Negro Robert Mallard was killed by a mob described by his widow as robed, unmasked men. A Toombs county jury acquitted one white man after a member of the jury testified as a character witness for the defendant. Another accused man was released.

The state's other 1948 lynching was the slaying of a white tenant farmer of Meriwether county. A wealthy landowner, John Wallace, was sentenced to die on murder charges, and four others received life imprisonment.

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In the only lynching in 1947, armed mobsters seized a Negro from the Pickens, S. C., jail and shot and stabbed him to death in another county. A group of white men were brought to trial and acquitted.

Georgia's last conviction was in in 1930 in Thomas county. A Negro had testified against a white man accused of raping a Negro woman. The Negro was killed and two white men were convicted and given life sentences. They were paroled after seven years.

Burrelle's
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BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York
NEW YORK, N. Y.
Post & The Home News
D.
JUN 13 1949

Georgia to Test Justice—in Lynch Probe

Irwinton, Ga., June 13 (AP)—Georgia sets out tomorrow on a stern test of its justice — an effort to solve the lynching of a Negro.

Georgia's record of Negro lynch violence since 1900 shows only three convictions—one in 1930, one in 1922 and one in 1924. The figures were compiled from records of the Tuskegee Institute and the Southern Regional Council.

Grand Jury to Probe Lynching

With this record as a backdrop, a special Wilkinson County grand jury convenes Tuesday to investigate the lynch-murder of Caleb Hill Jr., 28, who was abducted from the county jail May 30 and shot to death.

His widow has sworn out murder warrants against two white men—Dennis Lamar Purvis, 37, cafe operator and well-to-do business man; and Malcolm Vivian Pierce, 27, electrician, both of nearby McIntyre.

Lt. M. H. Spurlin, of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, will report to the grand jury on an intensive investigation of the incident.

The FBI and Sheriff George Hatcher also have worked on the case.

The grand jury has 23 members, all white men. They include a preacher, doctor, business men —but most of them are farmers.

Spurlin said today he is "sure" he has enough evidence to obtain some indictments.

Georgia has the South's worst record on lynching in recent years, although the number has dropped sharply throughout Dixie This state recorded 11 lynchings in the last 10 years.

Georgia Has Bad Record

Georgia's last effort to convict white men in a Negro lynch case was in 1948. Robert Mallard was killed by a mob described by his widow as robed, unmasked men. A Toombs County jury acquitted one white man after a member of the jury testified as a character witness for the defendant. Another accused man was released.

Georgia Sets Out To Test Its Own Justice In Probe Of New Lynching

State Has Solved None of 25 Mass Murders Since '30

By CHARLES BARRETT

Irwinton, Ga., June 13 (AP)—Georgia sets out tomorrow on a stern test of its justice—an effort to solve the lynching of a Negro.

The State has seen 25 Negro lynchings since 1930. It hasn't returned a conviction in any of them.

Nine Southern States have had 16 lynchings in the last two decades. They have produced only four convictions.

For the Nation as a whole, the record since 1900 shows 1,976 lynchings and only 83 convictions. Most of the lynchings and 68 of the convictions were in the South.

Georgia's record of Negro lynch violence since 1900 shows only three convictions—one in 1930, one in 1922 and one in 1924. The figures were compiled from records of the Tuskegee Institute and the Southern Regional Council.

With this record as a backdrop, a special Wilkinson County Grand Jury convenes Tuesday to investigate the lynch-murder of Caleb Hill, Jr. The 28-year-old Negro was abducted from the County jail May 30 and shot to death.

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The Negro was arrested by Sheriff Hatcher after a scrap in a cafe. Hatcher lodged the Negro in jail—

Continued on page 13

Burrelle's
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BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York
SALISBURY, N. C.
POST
Circ. D. 13,789 - S. 13,720
JUN 13 1949

Georgia Sets

Continued from page 1

which also is his home—and then left to recover his gun, lost in the melee.

Another Negro prisoner said two white men took Hill from his cell. Hatcher said they apparently picked up his keys, which he left on his kitchen table.

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Burrelle's
ESTABLISHED 1888
BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York
MIAMI, FLA.
NEWS
Circ. D. 98,900 - S. 93,160
JUN 13 1949

Georgia To Test Justice In Negro Lynching Probe

IRWINTON, Ga., June 13—(AP) —Georgia sets out tomorrow on a stearn test of its justice—an effort to solve the lynching of a Negro.

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* * *

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With this record as a backdrop, a special Wilkinson county grand jury convenes Tuesday to investigate the lynch-murder of Caleb Hill, jr. The 28-year-old Negro was abducted from the county jail May 30 and shot to death.

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* * *

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Burrelle's
ESTABLISHED 1888
BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York
PENSACOLA, FLA.
NEWS
Circ. D. 19,877
JUN 13 1949

State's Record Shows Only Three Convictions:

Georgia Grand Jurors Will Convene Tuesday To Probe Latest Lynching of Negro Citizen

IRWINTON, Ga.— (AP) —Georgia sets out Tuesday on a stern test of its justice—an effort to solve the lynching of a Negro.

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The grand jury has 23 members, all white men. They include a preacher, doctor, business men—but most of them are farmers.

The Negro was arrested by Sheriff Hatcher after a scrap in a cafe. Hatcher lodged the Negro in jail—which also is his home—and then left to recover his gun, lost in the melee.

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Spurlin said today he is "sure" he has enough evidence to obtain some indictments.

ATL. JOURNAL

Wilkinson Jury to Open Lynching Probe Tuesday

6-13-49

By CHARLES BARRETT

IRWINTON, Ga., June 13.—(AP). Georgia sets out Tuesday on a stern test of its justice—an effort to solve the lynching of a Negro.

The state has seen 25 Negro lynchings since 1930. It hasn't returned a conviction in any of them.

Nine Southern states have had 116 lynchings in the last two decades. They have produced only four convictions.

For the nation as a whole, the record since 1900 shows 1,976 lynchings and only 83 convictions. Most of the lynchings and 68 of the convictions were in the South.

Georgia's record of Negro lynch violence since 1900 shows only three convictions—one in 1930, one in 1922 and one in 1924. The figures were compiled from records of the Tuskegee institute and the Southern Regional Council.

With this record as a backdrop, a special Wilkinson county grand jury convenes Tuesday to investigate the lynch-murder of Caleb Hill Jr. The 28-year-old Negro was abducted from the county jail May 30 and shot to death.

The Negro's widow has sworn out murder warrants against two white men—Dennis Lamar Purvis, 37, cafe operator and well-to-do businessman, and Malcolm Vivian Pierce, 27, electrician. Both are from nearby McIntyre in this strongly rural county in central Georgia.

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The Wilkinson County News

Published every Friday at Irwinton, Wilkinson County, Georgia.

Alex S. Boone Sr. Editor

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6-10-49

Politically Speaking

BY ALEX S. BOONE

Sob Story

The sob story behind the sob story is here for the first time told. It concerns the life of one Caleb Hill, Sr, Caleb is a comparatively good old colored man, who raised a large family. His needs probably caused him through the years to make and sell a quantity of whisky, But that is not more than you and I would have done, had our families been hungry and needy. At worst, making a bit of whisky is but the second most amiable weakness of mankind. The historian Gibbon told us in his book on the Roman Empire what is the first and most amiable weakness of men and women, Whisky making is just a second grade weakness.

Caleb Hill, Sr. had a lot of worries rearing children who would not follow in the peaceful path of their old father.

As examples: Old Caleb has two sons, one of whom, Caleb Jr, was more or less always in trouble, charged with various crimes and misdemeanors and today is dead, probably as a result of his whisky connections and not as a result of Sunday night stabbing of another negro and shooting at the Sheriff in an effort to escape serving out a sentence, he being out on probation, having been convicted of shooting at a white boy, a little pale fellow weighing about 90 lbs, Caleb himself being a 200 lb. giant,

Caleb Sr.'s other son has been indicted for ambushing and practically shooting off the head of a negro in the nearby city of Gordon, Ga., with a shotgun.

"Oh, whisky, you are an acid-like investigation—you bring out the fool who lurks within wise men and the throttled wisdom that hides in the worst of fools!"

On top of the trouble caused by his wild sons, Old Caleb Hill a time back was run over and nearly killed; crippled for life by a car said to be driven by an officer of a newspaper, now a scalawag newspapers, the Macon Telegraph, The old fellow was brought to Puckett's Clinic in Irwinton and later was carried to Scott's Hospital in Milledgeville. We are told the Telegraph officials paid Dr. Puckett $100 for his services and paid Dr. Scott $200 for his treatment of the old Negro. Our information is scanty as to whether they pay Caleb himself a dime. No, they probably left him on the taxpayers as an old age pensioner. Today Caleb hobbles about, unable to work, while the Macon Telegraph sobs about his criminal son supporting him. When in matter of truth, if our information is correct and I think it is, then the Macon Telegraph itself ought to be compelled to support that old Negro when some of their cars crippled him for life. And perhaps the pittance paid as a pension to the old Negro has been used to pay fines of his boy,

Notwithstanding all the above, the scalawag Telegraph has had a bunch of reporters and picture takers, publishing half truths and column after column of suggestive lies concerning Caleb Hill Jr. and his recent end.

Months back, a man's skeleton, clean picked by the buzzards, was found in a swamp near Irwinton, Our Coroner and Sheriff after much trouble, by his army dental chart, identified the skeleton as that of J.F. Toler, a veteran, from one of the older families of our county.

To this day, no one in authority knows what brought about the death of Toler. Yet not one of the scalawag papers sent a single reporter or picture taker to help in solving the death of Toler. Why, do you reckon? Maybe it was because Toler was a white man and the scalawag papers just are not interested when a white man is killed.

Just a short time back, Samuel B. Gilbert, 70 year old Rural Carrier at Toomsboro was shot and his wife killed with a shotgun by a black man. No reporters, no photographers, no detectives. The scalawags were just not interested when a white woman is killed.

Maybe the editors and writers will eventually get the medals they so much seem to crave from the carpetbaggers, scalawags and blacks of New York. And maybe some of these Georgia editors will yet get the rancid tar and rusty feathers they so much deserve for being traitors to both white and black.

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The Big Game of Politics—

By Holmes Alexander (Copyrighted, McNaught Syndicate, N. Y.)

HOW THE ANTILYNCH LAW WOULD WORK

Washington, D. C.—On Memorial day, while orators were piously extolling the virtues of the republic, the state of Georgia produced the first lynching of 1949. Meanwhile the administration antilynch bill (S-1726) by Senator McGrath of Rhode Island, reposed in the senate judiciary committee, where it seems likely to stay for the remainder of the session.

But for the sake of examination, let us suppose that the McGrath bill were a law of the land. What then would have happened concerning the Georgia lynching of May 30? Let us reconstruct the crime and then apply the procedure which would obtain under a hypothetical McGrath law.

On the night in question Sheriff George Hatcher of Wilkinson county, Georgia, went to a Negro roadhouse to arrest a disorderly colored man named Calif Hill Jr. After a struggle in which the sheriff lost his gun, Hill was arrested and placed in jail which happened to be on the second floor of Sheriff Hatcher's home in the small town of Irwinton.

* * *

Hatcher testified to a coroner's jury that he placed the keys on the dining room table, left the jail for two hours while searching for his lost gun, and went directly to bed upon his return without inspectin gthe prisoner.

During his absence two unidentified men entered the house, picked up the keys, unlocked the cell, took away the prisoner and killed him by shooting and beating.

Upon receipt of this coroner's report, a United States district attorney for Wilkinson county would find that the McGrath law gave him something to work on. Section 3 declares that "the right to be free from lynching is the right of all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States. Such a right is in addition to any similar rights, etc."

In other words, it will not be necessary for the United States prosecutor to beat around the bushes of the law and try to nail the culprits on some other offense, such as murder, conspiracy or disturbance.

Lynching in itself becomes a crime under the McGrath law. This greatly simplifies the prosecutor's work.

Section 6 of the McGrath law allows the prosecutor to take action against any local peace officer who "shall have neglected, refused, or willfully failed to make all diligent efforts to prevent the lynching."

Thus the federal case against Sheriff Hatcher soon shapes up. He left the cell-door keys in a conspicuous and inviting place. He vacated the premises for two hours after the noisy arrest of a disorderly colored man and went to bed without checking the cells. Later he publicly stated that the prisoner had "the worst reputation I'd ever heard of."

Any jury would find it hard to decide that Hatcher had used "all diligent efforts to prevent the lynching."

But suppose a Georgia jury did find Hatcher innocent in the face of strong evidence to the contrary. Not included in S-1726, but spelled out in other parts of the administration program, is a provision to establish a joint senate-house committee on civil rights.

It would be possible for the committee to summon Sheriff Hatcher and members of the acquitting jury, put them under oath and conduct an extra-legal investigation of the crime. This possibility would constitute another aid to the federal government in protecting its citizens and its good name.

* * *

Still another phase of the administration's program is the creation of a civil rights division within the department of justice. Had this division been in existence on May 30, the federal prosecutor would have had considerable help in bringing his case to court. For the justice department would immediately have dispatched a civil rights "specialist" to help the prosecutor, who, as things now stand, has too many duties to be a specialist in his own right. The practice of sending help from Washington was followed in the New York trial of the communist leaders before Judge Medina.

By and large, the McGrath bill is relatively mild and experimental. Its penalties are not excessive. Some of them are as lenient as a $1,000 fine or a year's imprisonment. It sends no staff of snoopers or plain-clothes men into the states. It does not punish communities where a lynching occurs. It treads very cautiously on questions of states rights.

Such a bill, if it became law, would do much to prevent the national disgrace of lynching and punish lynchers.

The current argument against the bill is that it is unnecessary. But the record is against that transparent sophistry. Every lynching is one too many.

ATL. CONST. 6-7-49

FBI Probes Lynch Case At Irwinton

IRWINTON—(INS)—The Federal Bureau of Investigation announced last night that its agents are probing the mysterious jail-raid lynching of Caleb Hill, 28-year-old Negro chalk miner.

Wilkinson County Sheriff George Hatcher said he had been questioned by "about half a dozen FBI men" since they moved in on the case Friday.

Hill was whisked from the Irwinton jail and shot to death after he was arrested by Sheriff Hatcher early last Monday.

Hatcher said he has "nothing new" to announce in the unfolding of the case in which two men, including the son of the sheriff's brother-in-law, have been arrested.

A cafe operator, Dennis L. Purvis, 37, and a 27-year-old electrician, Malcolm V. Pierce, were arrested over the week-end on charges of suspicion in the jail-raid slaying. Both men live at nearby McIntyre.

Sheriff Hatcher identified Pierce as the son of his brother-in-law.

They were jailed by agents of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation.

The FBI stepped into the case last Friday, according to special Agent John Bills, in Atlanta.

Atl Constitution
6/7/49

RALPH McGILL

Meditations In a Hammock

I went home and put on my "resting clothes" —old shoes, shirt and pants—and got into my hammock beneath the big oak tree to think things out.

I had five letters with me. One was from Atlanta. Four were from smaller cities. One was from Irwinton, one from Milledgeville, one from Hapeville, and another from Macon. They were letters selected from others because they seemed to have been written by persons honestly puzzled. They were not letters from men so brutalized that murder seemed all right to them. Nevertheless, they were disturbing letters.

They were disturbing because they were so badly in error, illustrating thought which is dangerous to them, their State and their country.

I know there are mean, vicious persons to whom human life is meaningless. These belong in a special category of consideration. These letters did not seem to be from such persons.

Questions These letters I had selected were defensive letters. The writers of them had read newspaper criticism of the reported news that last year Georgia had the only two lynchings in the United States and that this year Georgia had already chalked up the nation's only lynching for 1949.

The letters took this line of argument:

(A)—Why is it when a Negro kills a white man there isn't any great fuss about it, and (B) the North has a lot of gang killings. Why don't people get upset about them?

Now, I selected those letters and threw away others because the writers of them seemed genuinely to be concerned. They were not so debased morally that they would argue there was no use being concerned over just another Negro killing. I took them to be asking questions which to them seemed valid.

Analysis I think that much of our thinking in the South has been poisoned by leadership through the years which has tried to say that if we give the Negro a fair trial, prevent police brutality, allow him an opportunity to work and draw the wages paid anyone else for the same work, that this constitutes social equality. We have had too much of the false and wicked demagogic writing and shouting which talks about mongrelizing the races, mingling the races, and so on, every time an effort is made to be just and fair. That has made it difficult for us to think straight.

Wrong I admit to being burned up, as the saying goes, that the good people of this State should be presented to the world in the light which our criminal, vicious element presents us—the only State with lynchings in 1948 and 1949.

I also am on fire with resentment against those who are so smugly apologetic about it. Our State and our people deserve better and it is no longer possible to go along accepting as inevitable the fact that two or three times a year a group of evil, godless men shall be allowed to violate the law, thwart the course of juries and judges and be exempt from the law.

I hope and trust that the manhood of the State will rise and assist the Federal Government and any other agency which is seeking to discover the guilty.

That's my position. I want it clearly understood. I believe it is the position of 95 percent of the people of Georgia.

Lesson Now, to get back to the letters: I want to put a proposition in the simplest, clearest language of which I am capable. Here goes:

IN THIS COUNTRY OF OURS, WHERE WE FREELY MAKE OUR OWN LAWS, IT IS OF VAST IMPORTANCE THAT EVERY PERSON IN THIS COUNTRY BE ABSOLUTELY SECURE IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT HE WILL GET A FAIR TRIAL, NO MATTER WHAT THE CHARGES AGAINST HIM, WITHOUT REGARD TO WHAT PART OF THE COUNTRY HE LIVES IN, HIS COLOR OR WHETHER HE BE RICH OR POOR.

Is that plain and clear enough?

Is there any person of sound mind who does not believe that?

That just has to be the way it is—in Georgia or New York, Florida or California.

The only way we can achieve that is for every person to believe it and assert it and to go after all those who seek to prevent it—every sheriff, every deputy, every person who tries to upset that basic foundation of our Government.

Gangs A gang killing grows out of an underworld war. This country became so aroused about gang killings that it created a larger FBI to help deal with it. The prisons bulge with gangsters. They rarely escape. There is concern about gang killings.

There is a "fuss" when a Negro kills a white man. There is always a trial and there is almost always an execution by electric chair.

The point is—the law operates. Juries convict. Judges sentence.

In lynchings the man is killed because of what he is. The juries don't get a chance to try. The judges don't have an opportunity to sentence. The law is bypassed. That's why there is a fuss about lynchings and that's why there must be a fuss—an increasing fuss.

Every person in this country has a right to a fair trial, no matter what the charges, no matter what his color, his State or his station in life.

We can't avoid that.

And no one ought to wish to avoid it.

an increase but a decrease in rates

SOUTH IS DEBATING GEORGIA LYNCHING

NYT - June 5, 1949

State's Inaction, It Is Felt, Will Bolster Arguments for Federal Laws

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., June 4—Although the nation's first lynching of the year may not, as one resident put it, have "stopped a checker game in Irwinton, Ga.," this attitude was not generally shared in Georgia or the rest of the South.

Instead, the reaction throughout the South ranged from shock to indignation, and there was vigorous criticism of Sheriff George Hatcher for his alleged "gross negligence" in failure to protect his prisoner, Caleb Hill Jr., 28-year-old Negro and father of three children, who was the victim of the lynchers.

Governor Herman Talmadge has also been the target of critics for his failure to take a hand in the case. His inaction, it was emphasized, is a strong point on the side of proponents of Federal civil-rights legislation and a blow to the cause of loyal Southerners, including many liberals, who have been contending that the South is progressing toward a solution of its racial discriminations on a state's-rights basis.

One feature of most Federal anti-lynching bills, it is pointed out, is the punishment of law-enforcement officers who are negligent in guarding prisoners against lynchers.

Support for Talmadge

Observers studying possible factors in the Irwinton atrocity cite the fact that Wilkinson County, of which Irwinton is the county seat, has a population of some 11,000, almost 50 per cent of whom are Negroes. The county voted overwhelmingly for the late Eugene Talmadge for Governor in 1946, and for his son, Herman, in last year's primary election, both of whom campaigned on a plat-

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Alec Boone, legislator and publisher of the weekly Wilkinson County News, has long been known as an ardent Talmadgeite, and a supporter of the Talmadge "white-supremacy" principles.

The Atlanta Constitution, commenting upon the lynching, observed that "the climate of the county encourages such actions because of public writings in the county which commonly display violent and inflammatory terms, including tarring and feathering, and other forms of mob violence in discussing the racial problem of the state and the nation."

The Constitution added that "such violence is inexcusable and uncalled-for, brutally defiant of our state laws" and "moves us closer to Federal laws."

Diligent Search Demanded

Typical of other editorial comment was the following in The Macon Telegraph:

"The South is constantly the victim of bigoted and unfair criticisms on the part of Northern agitators. Such crimes as this give these agitators more fuel for their fire, and that is why we must endeavor to keep our records clean. We want to see a diligent search made and the party or parties responsible for the death of this Negro brought to their just punishment."

The attention this week's mob killing received in leading Southern newspapers and among citizens in general emphasized the vastly changed public attitude toward racial violence.

The lynching also spotlighted a rising sensitiveness in the South to pressures of national and world opinion against racial discrimination and violence.

There are many in the South who are convinced that a full program of civil rights will require both legislative changes and broad Government assistance in housing, health, schooling, employment and farming. This is the view held by the Southern Regional Council, an inter-racial organization of outstanding Southerners.

At the same time the fight over proposed civil-rights legislation has focused the attention of Southerners on their inter-racial problems, and a number of progressive steps have been observed in the last few months.

SPECIAL JURY TO PROBE LYNCHING AT IRWINTON

IRWINGTON, Ga., June 3 (AP)—The Wilkinson County grand jury was called today to investigate the lynching of Caleb Hill Jr., 28-year-old Negro.

Sheriff George Hatcher said a lot of witnesses—"a world of them"—would be called before the jury June 14.

Other than that, the sheriff said there's nothing he can say at the present about his investigation.

"What information we have," he said, "we'll just have to hold for the grand jury."

Hill was taken from the jail in Irwinton early Monday by two men and was beaten and shot to death.

Sheriff Hatcher said he had arrested Hill for a disturbance at a Negro roadhouse and had lodged him in the jail. Hatcher said two unmasked white men entered the building while he had gone back to the roadhouse, found the jail keys and took Hill.

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First Lynching of the Year In Irwinton, Georgia

There is small consolation in the fact that the kidnaping from jail and the killing of a Negro in southeast Georgia was apparently not a technical lynching; to be a lynching, the crime must according to one criterion be perpetrated by three or more. And there is as little cause for satisfaction because the victim, Caleb Hill, was evidently a bad actor, except that it is some comfort that an entirely innocent man has not been done to death through a mistake in identity.

Feelings of resentment and disappointment must be universal at the occurrence. The outrage breaks the clean record of the current year, which had aroused hopes that for the first time in history, a year would pass for the United States unsullied by the blot of a private execution of a Negro. It also disappoints those Southerners, who are interested in the development of the South and who deplore the violence and lawlessness that have in the past distinguished some areas, particularly Georgia. It is well to point out that while more attention is focused on the lynching of Negroes, because of their being a minority group, the lynching of white men is by no means unknown.

It may be unfair to put some of the blame for Monday's crime at the door of Governor Herman Talmadge. Nevertheless, it is a fair assumption that if they had known there was a man in the governor's chair determined to put an end to lynching by prosecuting participants to the utmost, the perpetrators might well have refrained from an act which, they are no doubt certain, will go unpunished under the present regime.

the locations.

CHATT. TIMES
6-1-49

SCENE OF SLAYING OF NEGRO IS QUIET

Sheriff Continues Inquiry, but Town Is Indifferent

IRWINTON, Ga., May 31 (AP) — Police hunted the lynchers of a Negro today, but residents of the town showed but little interest.

Two agents of the Georgia bureau of investigation came to help Sheriff George Hatcher look for the men who took Caleb Hill Jr. from the jail Sunday night, beat him and then shot him to death.

There was a general air of indifference among the white people in this country town of less than 1,000 population.

Sheriff Hatcher reported two bullets were recovered from Hill's body this afternoon. The Negro had been shot three times, Hatcher said, instead of only twice as first reported. One of the bullets went through the side of Hill's head.

Hatcher said the slugs will be measured to determine the kind of weapon used to kill the Negro.

"I have some guns in mind I want to check those bullets against," the sheriff said. He declined to elaborate.

IN Washington, the Justice Department said the circumstances surrounding Hill's death "are under active study." The FBI district office in Atlanta had no comment.

Group Orders Negroes To Move

Race friction in the Ashby Street area reached a boiling point last night when an estimated 50 to 100 white persons gathered in front of Negro homes in a white area and told them they'd "have to get out."

There were reports of threatened violence, but one Negro family reported that "they're not giving us any trouble. They were just letting us know we'd have to move out of the white settlement."

Police reported the crowd was peaceful.

Atlanta Constitution 5/31/49

Weapon Sought In Jail Slaying

Constitution State News Service

IRWINTON — This normally quiet Middle Georgia town of less than 500 residents last night looked on tensely as authorities sought the death weapon and the attackers of a 28-year-old Negro who was whisked from a jail cell and slain.

The battered, bullet-pierced torso of 28-year-old Calif Hill, Jr., who had been arrested by Sheriff George Hatcher after a disturbance at a Negro "juke joint," was found at a creek near here yesterday morning.

A six-man Coroner's jury ruled last night that Hill "came to his death by gunshot wounds, being shot through the head by hands unknown." The slain man's brother, Georgie, was in the room when the verdict was returned.

Dr. W. M. Puckett testified that death was caused by a bullet whcih entered Hill's head two inches above the left ear. Another bullet, he declared, lodged near the Negro's heart.

Coroner C. C. Thompson said earlier that he would not remove the bullet, unless ordered to do so by "higher authority—some-

Continued on Page 5, Column 4

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
5/31/49

Associated Press Photo

BOYS FOUND SLAIN NEGRO—Howard, left, and Harold Toler are questioned by Sheriff George Hatcher, right, of Wilkinson County, after they found the body of Negro Calif Hill near Irwinton. Hill had been taken from the building which serves as county jail, beaten and shot to death. He had been jailed for shooting at the Sheriff following his arrest in a night spot at Irwinton Saturday night.

LYNCHING

Continued From Page 1

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Gov. Talmadge, who was speaking in Sylvania last night, said it was not up to him to order removal of the bullet, but rather a case for a high court.

The Governor said if the Georgia Bureau of Investigation had not already entered the case he would instruct the organization to aid Sheriff Hatcher.

Meanwhile, Lt. Johnny Dixon, of the GBI in Atlanta, said that Henry Walden, of the Dublin office, probably would be called into the case. "We are standing by in Atlanta to lend whatever assistance we can whenever the sheriff needs it," Dixon declared.

FBI Agent in charge of the Atlanta office, John C. Bills, said last night he had no comment on the slaying, but added that the Justice Department had reports of the killing. A similar statement was made by a spokesman in Washington.

Sheriff Hatchet, however, late last night reported that he would order the bullet removed to permit ballistic tests.

Tom Carswell, a Negro cellmate of Hill, said two heavy-set white

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Tom Carswell, a Negro cellmate of Hill, said two heavy-set white men abducted the victim, after saying simply, "Let's go!"

He added that he would not be able to recognize the men, because there was so little light.

Sheriff Hatcher said he went to the Negro roadhouse after a report of a disturbance there, and during a struggle Hill grabbed the officer's gun.

The Sheriff said: "I thought my time had come, because he pointed the gun at me and fired."

Hatcher was not hit and after the shooting was handed a gun by another Negro. He then took Hill to the jail which is located on the second floor of the building also used as the Sheriff's residence.

The Sheriff explained that he was away during that time looking for his gun which Hill had jerked from him when he arrested the Negro. The officer added that there was a "rumor around town that I had been shot" and said he believed the erroneous report motivated the slaying. Hatcher said his first knowledge of the slaying was when two farmers, Harold and Howard Toler, reported finding the Negro's body shortly after dawn.

Alec Boone, Wilkinson County's Representative in Georgia's Legislature and Publisher of the Weekly Wilkinson County News, told a reporter that he knew who "killed that boy." Then, he wisecracked:

"It was one of those jurors, naturally."

Boone said seriously, however, that he didn't see why "so much fuss is being made over this thing, unless it's because Hill was a black man."

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MAY 31 1949

MURDER

The headline says "lynching." Actually, that's wrong. It should have read, "murder."

It happened in Irwinton, Ga. Sheriff George Hatcher went to a night club to investigate a disturbance. He arrested Calif Hill Jr., 28, a Negro. In the melee, Hill grabbed the officer's gun and fired. The sheriff, unhit, was handed another pistol and subdued Hill, taking him to jail.

The sheriff's wife said the officer went back to the club to hunt for his pistol. The prisoner was all but unguarded, an easy prey for the armed men who promptly appeared at the jail. They wasted no time. Hill was taken out, clubbed and shot to death.

A Negro, whose only crime was "creating a disturbance," paid with his life for the pitiless doctrine of white supremacy.

Perhaps the headline had truth in it, after all. Hill was murdered, but it is the South which again was lynched in the unreasoning fury of a cowardly mob.

NEGRO LYNCHED BY 2 GEORGIANS

Unmasked White Men Go Into Jail at Irwinton, Claim First Victim of 1949

IRWINTON, Ga., May 30 (AP)—A Negro man was taken from a jail cell in the sheriff's residence early today and shot and beaten to death.

The Negro, Calif Hill Jr., 28, was arrested after a disturbance about midnight at a Negro roadhouse. Sheriff George Hatcher said Hill had seized his gun and fired at him when he arrested him.

The sheriff said Hill had "the worst reputation I've ever heard of" and that he had arrested him several times before.

After placing Hill in jail, the sheriff called state troopers and went back to the roadhouse to get his pistol, which had been taken from him in the scuffle. Two unmasked white men slipped into the jail on the second floor and took Hill, Hatcher said.

Hatcher had left his keys on the table in the dining room of his home. His wife and daughter were asleep in downstairs rooms.

Saw Men Enter

Another Negro prisoner in the jail, Tom Carswell, said he saw the two men enter, and "they really looked like they were coming to get Hill." Carswell could not identify them. They went out the back door of the house, leaving the keys in the kitchen.

Mrs. Hatcher said she heard a car drive up to the jail and a door slam, but thought it was her husband returning.

A six-man coroner's jury held that Hill "came to his death by gunshot wounds, being shot through the head by hands unknown."

(The killing was the first incident of its kind in the United

See Page Eleven, Column Six

CHATT. TIMES 5-31-49

GEORGIA NEGRO LYNCH VICTIM

From Page One

States this year, Tuskegee Institute said.

(Tuskegee reported two lynchings and a "borderline case"—all in Georgia also—last year.

(A white man, Tenant Farmer William Turner of Meriwether County, Georgia, was reported lynched by other men in May.

(The second lynching, Tuskegee said, occurred when Robert Mallard, Toombs County Negro, was shot to death from ambush Nov. 20. His wife blamed, robed, unmasked men.)

Brother Hears Verdict

The slain man's brother, George, was in the room when the verdict was returned.

Dr. W. M. Puckett testified death was caused by a bullet which entered Hill's head two inches above the left ear and came out two inches below the left ear. Another bullet, he said, is lodged near the man's heart.

Coroner C. C. Thompson said he would not remove the bullet unless ordered to by "higher authority—somebody like the governor."

"If we had a gun to match the bullet with, or some suspects, it would be different," Thompson said. "But we haven't got a gun or any suspects."

Carswell, who was in the same cell with Hill, testified the slain man made no struggle or plea of any kind when the two white men told him: "Come on, let's go."

Carswell said he knew virtually everybody in this area and that he had never seen the two men before. He said he could not identify them if he saw them again.

Sheriff Hatcher said he is inclined to believe the two men had accomplices, perhaps waiting outside the jail.

"The nature of the case indicates more than two men were involved," he explained. "I don't have anything definite to go on, but I don't think two men would try to handle something like this by themselves."

Hill's body, badly beaten, was found about 7 a.m. by a creek near Irwinton.

Hatcher said he went to the night club alone when he received a report Hill had stabbed another Negro.

As he was putting handcuffs on Hill in the club, in which there were about 100 others, someone grabbed his gun, the sheriff related.

"Hill tackled me and the next thing I knew he had my gun and fired at me. It looked like my days were numbered.

"I yelled for help and another Negro handed me his gun. I then turned it on Hill and marched him out to my car. I didn't stop to get my gun."

The sheriff said he wasn't hit by any bullets, but that he was bruised and his shirt torn.

"I took Hill to the jail and put him in my best cell," he added, "and then left to look for my gun. Someone had thrown it out a window and it took me about two hours to find it in the woods near by.

"When I returned home, I went straight to bed without looking in on Hill. The first thing I knew about his being killed was when I was called on to identify a body this morning.

"When I first heard about it, I thought of the Ku Klux Klan, but no one remembers seeing anyone hooded around town."

Hill, the sheriff said, p

had been arrested for shooting a small white boy.

Irwinton is a town of 500 in middle Georgia, about 20 miles east of Macon. It is the county seat of Wilkinson County, a sparsely settled rural area.

3 Grandmothers Keep Corner Meeting Pact

NEW YORK, May 30 (AP)—Three grandmothers met today on the northeast corner of 27th Street and Broadway and they collected a crowd—of photographers.

The three women were redeeming a 30-year-old pledge they made as young office workers.

They have met every 10 years since 1919 at that Manhattan corner, near a firm where they used to work.

"But next time it'll be less than 10 years," said Mrs. A. R. Barker of New York. "We're getting older now. We might make it five years."

Mrs. Barker met Mrs. Arthur Voos of New York and Mrs. Marcella Dubreuil of Miami, Fla.

What did they do?

"We talked and talked, just like old folks like to jabber," said Mrs. Barker.

Continued on Page 2, Column 4

Negro Taken From Jail and Slain After Georgia Arrest for Fighting

5/31/49

By The Associated Press.

IRWINTON, Ga., May 30—A young Negro was taken from a jail cell in the sheriff's residence early today and shot and beaten to death. The lynching was the country's first this year.

The Negro, Calif Hill Jr., 28 years old, was arrested after a disturbance about midnight at a Negro roadhouse. Sheriff George Hatcher said Hill had seized his gun and fired at him when he arrested him. The sheriff said Hill had "the worst reputation I'd ever heard of" and that he had arrested him several times before.

After putting Hill in jail the sheriff called state troopers and went back to the roadhouse to get his pistol, which had been taken from him in the scuffle.

Two unmasked white men then slipped into the jail on the second floor of his home and took Hill, Mr. Hatcher said. He had left his keys on the table in the dining room. His wife and daughter were asleep in downstairs rooms.

Tom Carswell, another Negro prisoner in the jail, said he saw the two men enter, and "they really looked like they were coming to get Hill." Carswell said he could not identify them.

The men went out the back door of the house, leaving the keys in the kitchen.

Mrs. Hatcher said she heard a car drive up to the jail and a door slam, but thought it was her husband returning.

A six-man coroner's jury ruled that Hill "came to his death by gunshot wounds, being shot through the head by hands unknown." Hill's brother George was in the room when the verdict was returned.

Dr. W. M. Puckett testified that death was caused by a bullet that entered Hill's head two inches above the left ear. Another bullet lodged near the victim's heart, he said.

Coroner C. C. Thompson said he would not remove the bullet unless

Continued on Page 17, Column 5

NEGRO IS SEIZED, SLAIN IN GEORGIA

Continued from Page 1

ordered to by "higher authority—somebody like the Governor."

"If we had a gun to match the bullet with, or some suspects, it would be different," Mr. Thompson said. "But we haven't got a gun or any suspects."

Carswell, who was in the same cell with Hill, testified that Hill made no struggle or plea of any kind when the two white men told him: "Come on, let's go."

Carswell said he knew virtually everybody in this area and that he had never seen the two men before. He said he could not identify them if he saw them again.

Hill's body was found about 7 A. M. by a creek near Irwinton. He had been badly beaten before he was shot.

Mr. Hatcher said he went to the nightclub alone when he received a report that Hill had stabbed another man, also a Negro. As he was putting handcuffs on Hill in the club, in which there were about 100 others, someone grabbed his gun, the sheriff related.

Sheriff Bruised in Fight

"Hill tackled me and the next thing I knew, he had my gun and fired at me," he said. "It looked like my days were numbered. I yelled for help and another Negro handed me his gun. I then turned it on Hill and marched him out to my car. I didn't stop to get my gun."

The sheriff said he was not hit by any bullets but that he was bruised and his shirt was torn.

"I took Hill to jail and put him in my best cell," he added, "and then left to look for my gun. Someone had thrown it out a window and it took me about two hours to find it in the woods near by.

"When I returned home I went straight to bed without looking in on Hill. The first thing I knew about his being killed was when I was called to identify a body this morning.

"When I first heard about it I thought of the Ku Klux Klan but no one remembers seeing anyone hooded around town."

Hill previously had been arrested for shooting a small white boy, the sheriff said.

Irwinton is a town of 500 in middle Georgia, about twenty miles east of Macon. It is the Wilkinson County seat, in a sparsely settled rural area.

Mob Flips Coins to Pick Lyncher; Negro Saves Life by Dive in River

N.Y. Times 3/7/49

By The United Press.

OPELOUSAS, La., March 6—A 25-year-old Negro, kidnapped from the St. Landry Parish Prison and on the verge of being lynched, jumped into the Ttchafalaya River today and escaped while the leaders of a mob matched coins to see who would be his executioner.

The man is Edward Honeycutt, who has confessed that he attacked a white woman three months ago. A fisherman dragged Honeycutt from the river, and he was rearrested by Marshal Kenneth Devillier of Krotz Springs, La.

Authorities took him to the "mob-proof" prison at Baton Rouge, the state capital. They said Honeycutt was "not harmed," but they refused to let anyone talk to him.

Sheriff Martin Guilbeau said there were two "and maybe three" automobiles filled with men in the mob that abducted Honeycutt. The Sheriff and a posse were so close on their heels that the kidnappers had to flee without looking for Honeycutt when he escaped from them.

An elderly jailer was tricked at midnight Saturday into letting three men snatch Honeycutt from the St. Landry Parish Prison, which was supposed to be "mob proof." The jail is on the top floor of the three-and-a-half-story court house building.

Three men came up in an elevator. Two of them complained to Jailer Henry Landry that their companion was drunk and making a nuisance of himself. They said they wanted him locked up.

The jailer opened the steel door between the elevator entrance and the prison. As he did so, one of the men smashed him across the arm with a pistol. Another grabbed his keys.

"And now get the hell out of here," one of the men snarled at Jailer Landry.

The jailer fled to a restaurant across the street and telephoned

Continued on Page 12, Column 8

MOB TOSSES COINS FOR LYNCH 'RIGHT'

Continued From Page 1

Sheriff Guilbeau. By the time the sheriff had mustered out his deputies, the men had taken Honeycutt away. There were some blood spots in the elevator.

Sheriff Guilbeau quickly organized a posse. They soon struck the trail, and chased the mob to a bridge across the Atchafalaya River near Krotz Springs.

Honeycott was dumped on the low levee and three members of the mob started matching coins to see which one would shoot him.

As they matched and argued, Honeycutt dived into the river, 120 yards wide at that point. The mob made a quick search for him and then fled, with Sheriff Guilbeau's posse close behind.

Honeycutt clung to some willows along the bank for four hours—it was 2 A. M. when he escaped—and a fisherman identified only as "Blackie" helped him out and gave him a change of clothes.

Marshal Devillier, who told the story of Honeycutt's escape from the mob, said he caught Honeycutt in Krotz Springs. He turned Honeycutt over to Sheriff Guilbeau's men.

The Negro, Sheriff Guilbeau said, could identify the leaders of the mob if he saw them again.

Sheriff Guilbeau said he suspected that the mob came from Eunice, La., where the attacked woman lives. He said both he and the state police were conducting an intensive investigation, but had not arrested any suspects.

MAR 3 - 1949 Did Not Pass

Arkansas Solons Get Antilynch Bill

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., March 3.—(U.P.)—A bill making lynching a capital crime was introduced in the Arkansas General Assembly Wednesday by a legislator who said any similarity between his name and the proposed law was just a coincidence.

The bill's author is Rep. R. A. Lynch.

His antilynch measure makes participants in mob action subject to the death sentence when their victim, or any other person, dies as a result of the violence. Any person who becomes a member of a lynch mob, under terms of the bill, would be guilty of lynching and subject to the death penalty if convicted.

The bill has the approval of the state administration of Gov. Sid McMath. JOURNAL At

South Carolina PIT COU

Lynch Victim's Mother Sues

FEB 1 ~~2 19~~ 9

COLUMBIA, S. C. — A $5,000 damage suit against Greenville and Pickens counties in behalf of Mrs. Tessie Earle, mother of a Negro youth who was lynched by a group of white men early in 1947, was instituted this week by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Willie Earle, the lynch victim, had been arrested and confined in Pickens County, charged with the murder of Thomas W. Brown, a white taxi driver.

TAKEN FROM JAIL

On the night of Feb. 17, 1947, Earle was removed from the Pickens County jail by a group of white men who took him to Greenville County and lynched him. At a subsequent trial all those responsible for the lynching were acquitted.

Attorneys representing Mrs. Earle are NAACP Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall and Assistant Special Counsel Franklin H. Williams and Harold R. Boulware of Columbia.

Two Counties Asked To Pay For 47 Murder

Light House & Informer (N)

2/6/49

GREENVILLE, S. C.—(ANS) A $5,000 suit in behalf of his estate was filed here in Common Pleas Court by the mother of Willie Earl, lynched by some 26 Greenville taxi cab drivers on February 17, 1947 after he had been seized a short time before from the Pickens county jail at Pickens.

NAACP lawyers, representing Mrs. Tessie Earle, who set forth in the complaint that she had been legally appointed administratrix of her son's estate on last Dec. 17 by the Probate court of Pickens county, brought the action against Greenville and Pickens counties. Papers in the action were served Saturday on John P. Ashmore, commissioner for Greenville county, and Pickens county commissioner T. R. Odell.

Mrs. Earle is being represented by Attorneys Harold R. Boulware of Columbia, Thurgood Marshall and Franklin H. Williams, both of the NAACP national office in New York.

CALL DEATH "MOST CRUEL"

Mrs. Earle declares in her complaint that the murder of her son on a lonely frosty road, across from a meat packing plant was a "most cruel, unlawful and inhuman" one. The complaint alleges that after Earle had been arrested the night of Feb. 16 by officers at his home in Liberty, Pickens county, he was taken to the Pickens county jail for questioning in connection with the stabbing of Thomas W. Brown, a white cab driver of Greenville. Earle had come home from Greenville earlier that night.

Shortly after midnight, the complaint sets forth, a mob of then unidentified persons gathered at the jail and procured the dead man and, that after crossing into Greenville county, tortured and finally put him to death.

At the subsequent trial of the 26 defendants, and in statements signed following their arrest two days after the lynching, it was brough out that huge chunks of flesh were knifed out of the victim's body before a shotgun blast tore away the right half of his face. The horribly mutilated body was too much for hardened newspaper reporters to look at long. The right thigh and the left arm had been cut to the bone before the final shooting. A cut out had been made under the chin and around the heart also.

JAILER'S NAME LISTED

The complaint declares that Pickens county jailer J. Ed. Gilstrap surrendered the victim. However, during the trial of the defendants in May of 1947 Gilstrap testified that he surrendered Earle only after he and his family had been threatened.

The defendants were acquitted of the charges. Brown died from the stabbing on Feb. 18, 1947 and never identified his attacker.

Negro reporters were the first persons to interview Mrs. Earle, she said, which took place two days after the slaying. She stuck to this although daily newspapers had quoted her through the Pickens county sheriff previously. She said her son, an epilectic, had come home and gone to bed before she left for work.

For several weeks following the slaying it was expected that one or both of the couties would pay the victim's mother a sum of $2,000, provided for in the state constitution whenever citizens are deprived of orderly legal processes while in the custody of law enforcement officers. This never materialized however.

The complaint bases itself on Article VI, section 6 of the state constitution and, the S. C. Code of Laws, 1942, Volume II, scetion 3041.

Chat Times JAN 13 1949

INVITING A LYNCH LAW

A man identified by a lynching victim's widow as a member of the white-robed mob which committed the crime was turned loose in Toombs County, Georgia, Tuesday, after a trial which certainly will go far towards persuading Congress to try to enact a Federal anti-lynching bill. Persons like this writer, who thinks such a Federal law will be an invasion of the states' rights, are rendered speechless by such a trial.

Is Georgia begging for an anti-lynching law? The *Atlanta Constitution* charged that recently in an editorial headed "Georgians Push Anti-Lynching Legislation."

Robert Mallard, a Negro, was lynched by a crowd which wore robes but no hoods some weeks ago. The county law officers tried to hush it up, then tried to lay the blame on the Negro victim's widow, after first, however, trying to clear the Ku Klux Klan of any suspicion.

Public demand, led by the newspapers, finally forced the arrest of two white men. One was William L. Howell, farmer, identified by the mob victim's widow as being in the crowd which committed the lynching. The other was Roderick Clifton, whose automobile was identified by the Negro woman as being on the scene of the crime.

At the trial at Lyons, Georgia, Tuesday, Mrs. Amy Mallard again identified Howell as one of the group that killed her husband. She said there were twenty or more in the crowd. Her niece confirmed the widow's testimony.

Then the defense counsel put two of the members of the jury on the stand—this actually happened—and they testifed that they would not believe Amy Mallard's word on oath. It is said that this method of prostituting a jury has occurred in Georgia before. We never heard of it, and it is outrageous.

If the jurors gave any reason for doubting the woman's word—she is a school teacher—it was not covered in our account of the trial. Even so, there was other testimony.

The woman's testimony, as reported in the *Atlanta Journal,* was straightforward and seemingly convincing to any impartial person.

She said that on the night of Nov. 19 she, her husband, Robert Mallard, 37-year-old casket salesman, and two young cousins were driving home from a party at the school where she taught.

A car "full of people" was parked along the highway, she said. It blinked its lights a couple of times and followed them until they turned off on a side road.

Then, she said, "all those other people appeared in front and this car came up bumper to bumper in back."

"The minute we turned in, here's all these people with white outfits on.

"There was 20 or more of them," she said.

Amy testified she saw two other cars parked in the near-by chuchyard. All the men crowded around the Mallard car, she said, and it stopped.

Prosecutor W. H. Lanier asked what happened then.

"It was hands up," she replied. "Everybody I saw had a gun."

She sobbed and covered her face with her hands.

Lanier asked if she recognized any of the men.

"William Spud Howell," she said. "He was on my side of the car."

"Do you see him in the courtroom?"

"There he is," she said, pointing to Howell at the defense table. Howell, leaning his chin on his elbow, showed no reaction.

"Did anyone get hit?" Lanier asked.

"My husband."

She added that she thought she was shot herself and leaned over to the floor of the car. By the time she straightened up, she said, the men were gone and she couldn't see any more.

She said Mallard "was slumped down, blood rushing out of his mouth and nose."

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"Did anyone get hit?" Lanier asked.

"My husband."

She added that she thought she was shot herself and leaned over to the floor of the car. By the time she straightened up, she said, the men were gone and she couldn't see any more.

She said Mallard "was slumped down, blood rushing out of his mouth and nose."

At that point, she began to cry loudly, and shouted: "Why did they kill him?"

She collapsed later.

The prejudiced jury turned Howell loose in a few minutes and the case against Clifton was nolle prossed.

And again the word went out over the country: "You can't convict a lyncher in a Georgia court."

The *Atlanta Constitution* pointed out that the only two lynchings in the South in 1948—that of a white man and of a Negro—occurred in Georgia.

The *Constitution* now has new ammunition. It said editorially, recently, "If the Eighty-First Congress enacts an anti-lynching law, a few non-representing Georgians will be directly accountable."

The trial at Lyons, Georgia, will certainly be used as an argument in favor of an anti-lynching law.

Lynch Bill Rider To Oleo Viewed

Atlanta Daily World 5-26-48

WASHINGTON—(SNS)— Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican of Michigan, indicated Tuesday that his colleagues intend to try to rescue and pass the anti-lynching bill by throwing it, as a rider, into the oleomargarine tax repealer, a measure strongly supported by Southerners.

Speculation is that the move would strike the Southern opponents of the so-called civil rights program at a point of maximum sensitivity since it might force them, in the closing rush of this session of Congress, to see the oleo bill die rather than accept the anti-lynching rider.

Southern states, particularly the cotton states, long have sought to end the tax on oleomargarine, which is made of oils heavily grown in the South.

Senator Ferguson said: "I have just informed my colleagues of the committee that effective at once I shall feel free either to seek to have it discharged from further jurisdiction over the bill or to try to bring it to the Senate floor as a rider."

Irwinton (Caleb Hill) Lynching

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SOMBER FACTS

One of the somber recollections of 1949 will be the fact that, despite progress in many fields, the South still harbors the fanatical race hatred which needs no excuse to manifest itself in the horrible crime of lynching.

The Tuskegee Institute reports three lynch slayings during the past year. All the victims were Negroes; two were slain in Georgia and another in Mississippi. Not a single one of the cases involved any question of assault upon a woman.

In one Georgia case, a young Negro was arrested for creating a disturbance at a dance hall. He was arrested and taken to jail, but left unguarded. A rumor spread that the sheriff had been shot and a group of men raided the jail and carried the victim to his death by beating and shooting. In the other Georgia lynching, a prosperous landowner was shot to death in a dispute with white men who had been fishing in his pond without permission. In Mississippi, a tenant farmer was accused of not moving his wagon out of the road quickly enough to allow a car to pass. He was beaten to death.

Basis for each of the brutal slayings lay, not in hideous crimes of the victims, but in the even more sinister principles of racism which the South has clasped too closely for too long.

There are two avenues open to the South in any real effort to eliminate lynching. Neither of them lies in the passage of provocative federal statutes.

One is immediate, and involves forthright and courageous actions by officers of the law in giving protection to their prisoners. Happily, there is evidence Southern sheriffs are more and more frequently living up to their sworn duties. Tuskegee lists 14 instances, ten of them in the South, in which officers of the law thwarted lynch mobs of their intended victims, saving at least 17 persons from violence or death.

The other avenue is the long and

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SOMBER FACTS

One of the somber recollections of 1949 will be the fact that, despite progress in many fields, the South still harbors the fanatical race hatred which needs no excuse to manifest itself in the horrible crime of lynching.

The Tuskegee Institute reports three lynch slayings during the past year. All the victims were Negroes; two were slain in Georgia and another in Mississippi. Not a single one of the cases involved any question of assault upon a woman.

In one Georgia case, a young Negro was arrested for creating a disturbance at a dance hall. He was arrested and taken to jail, but left unguarded. A rumor spread that the sheriff had been shot and a group of men raided the jail and carried the victim to his death by beating and shooting. In the other Georgia lynching, a prosperous landowner was shot to death in a dispute with white men who had been fishing in his pond without permission. In Mississippi, a tenant farmer was accused of not moving his wagon out of the road quickly enough to allow a car to pass. He was beaten to death.

Basis for each of the brutal slayings lay, not in hideous crimes of the victims, but in the even more sinister principles of racism which the South has clasped too closely for too long.

There are two avenues open to the South in any real effort to eliminate lynching. Neither of them lies in the passage of provocative federal statutes.

One is immediate, and involves forthright and courageous actions by officers of the law in giving protection to their prisoners. Happily, there is evidence Southern sheriffs are more and more frequently living up to their sworn duties. Tuskegee lists 14 instances, ten of them in the South, in which officers of the law thwarted lynch mobs of their intended victims, saving at least 17 persons from violence or death.

The other avenue is the long and torturous road of education in racial goodwill and understanding. Involved are many deeper factors: Raising of the general standard of living, elimination of economic competition between the races by the creation of better jobs for all, provision of better health, educational and recreational facilities for Negroes especially. Progress along this course will be slow and hard to chart, but it will be more permanent than any other. Such organizations as the Southern Regional Council are the vanguard of a finer, more stable South as they labor for the sensible, day-by-day solutions of racial problems.

A federal anti-lynching law is not the answer to the problem. But as long as the South has lynchings and does nothing about them (two men were arrested and soon released in one 1949 case; no guilt was ever established or punishment exacted for any of the three), the South itself is giving the pressure groups a ready-made excuse to press for federal intervention, justifiable or not.

ncelor to decide who is entitled to the money.

July, 1944, when the church opened a checking account with

Advocating Fair Employment

Southern Council Fights Injustices

ATLANTA—(ANP)—The 1946 program of the Southern Regional Council calls for a vigorous attack on all injustices to southern Negroes. Based upon the seven resolutions adopted during its November meeting here, the SRC is pledged to promote fair employment practices, to assist in the attainment of full employment, to insure a maximum of at least $25 per week as unemployment compensation, to insure a basic minimum wage of sixty-five cents per hour.

SEEK EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

The SRC also urges legislation to equalize educational opportunity "without regard to race, color, or creed," and the distribution of surplus war property to increase the facilities for the technical educational of Negroes, particularly in the southern region, as well as the abolition of the poll tax as a requisite for voting in Federal elections.

Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Va., newly elected president, has vowed to push SRC's program. A successful businessman, Williams received the 1945 James J. Hoey award for interracial justice. He has the leadership qualities that the organization has long needed, said Dr. Howard Odum, a member of the University of North Carolina's faculty and a guiding spirit for the council.

The New SRC president will be assisted by Dr. Harold L. Trigg, president of Elizabeth City State Teachers College, who will serve as full-time associate executive director. He succeeds Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Atlanta University, who resigned. Dr. Reid will serve as part-time research consultant.

SRC has three vice presidents. They are Frank W. Spencer, Savannah; P. B. Young, newspaper publisher Norfolk, Va., and Carter Wesley, Houston.

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Rights

Bethune famous edu-

22 - Lynchings

October 14, 1949

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman, Director
Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

This is a note in anticipation.

Last year we failed to get a copy of Tuskegee Institute's annual report of lynchings. Since this year's record is a confusing one, we are especially eager to be on your mailing list.

With appreciation for your fine work in this field,

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

Lynchings

February 9, 1951

Mr. M. H. Sterne
Sterne, Agee and Leach
305 First National Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Sterne:

We did not know about the Charlie Hurst killing until Tuskegee reported it at the end of the year as a lynching. It looks like a borderline case to us. On the assumption that Tuskegee has more knowledge of it than appeared in its release, we would agree with the Tuskegee findings.

We are, however, still more doubtful about the other lynching listed by Tuskegee for 1950.

The article we carried in the current New South (page 4) tries to point up the shading of lynching into simple murder and abuse of authority.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.: Dec.-Jan. 1951 New South

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

STERNE, AGEE & LEACH

INVESTMENT SECURITIES

M. H. STERNE
RUCKER AGEE
EDMUND C. LEACH
MORTIMER A. COHEN
ALONZO H. LEE

BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

February 6, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Will you please advise me whether or not you regard the killing of Charlie Hurst in St. Clair County, Alabama in February of last year as a lynching.

Very truly yours,

MHSterne

Encl/
MHS/mg

RECEIVED
FEB 7 1951
Southern Regional Council

Lynching

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
FLORIDA DIVISION

February 12, 1952

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:
Yours of the 24th arrives while Mr. White and I were enjoying a trip back to my birthplace, Nassau, Bahamas, where segragation has been forbidden by English law for upward of fifty years. Wish I could sit down and chat with you for a long time about ways in which it has worked and ways in which the deepest segregation still prevails. Our trip was a gift from a favorite cousin and was perfect in every detail.

I made the side trip to Groveland the end of last week. Sincet it was a side trip, the cost was only a little over five dollars and since it was made at your request and Florida Divi- has plenty in the treasury, comparatively speaking, I shall just write myself a check to cover it instead of sending the bill to Atlanta.

Although I knew a number of people there, fine Christian folk, it was most difficult to get anyone to talk in a real informative way. They would talk in a radical prejudiced way so that if repeated it would cause no trouble locally for them. The people of Groveland seem still so frightened over conditions (especially since the Mimms tragedy) that one of my informants buys her automobile license elsewhere to hide that she is from Groveland because she is often on the road at night and fears molestation. I had to solemnly reassure them that I would in no way give a hint as to who my informants were. Five reliable Christians at last talked to me freely giving me my information. None of these would I in any way consider a liberal on the race question. Two are decidedly old time Southerners with deep prejudice. Of course I shall expect you to treat the information confidentially under the circumstances. Two of them told me, "Mrs. White, you are taking your life in your hands if a liberal view is published and folks know you are responsible for it in any way." I am not afraid but would like to protect them.

I went on all the roads and saw all the places where events occurred attached to the history of the case. The woman who drove me around did not even want her husband to know she did it.

Lovingly,

Lucy White
(Mrs. Wm. C.)

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FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
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ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. INEZ B. TILLISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Copied & sent to Walter White Feb. 14-52

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

PERTINENT FACTS IN THE GROVELAND CASE

1. It is one of the strange things of life that Groveland alone figures in the press in this case. This is because Groveland is the county seat. Although the white couple resided in the county they did not live in Groveland but a small rural community some miles distant. It was in this community the first mob formed and cameinto Groveland because the ppisoners were jailed there. The Negro youth were all visitors. Only one had a Groveland connection-an uncle whose home was later burned. This man was of splendid reputation, grew and sold vegetables. The alleged rape occurred on a road closer to Leesburg and the first incident of car trouble and the Negro youth stopping to help occurred on the main highway just outdide of Leesburg. The Groveland people resent very much their town getting all the unfavorable publicity when they feel Groveland people had very little to do with it. The National Guard from Tampa was called and stationed in Groveland because the mobs had come there and the Negro youth had been jailed there. The Negro youth had been visiting in Groveland and had borrowed a Groveland car.

2. All of the rpincipals were undoubtedly of low moral character. Both the white girl and her husband have very poor reputations. There are illegitimate births scattered thru the girl's family and she herself was "put out of the church" by her grandfather. However my informants would not give me any information on this if there was a third person present and were terrified lest someone find out they had said so.

3. Everyone seemed sure that all the principals had been drinking. One responsible Christian citizen said, "The whole thing should be blamed on drink." The white couple had been to a dance hall in Klerment of very shady reputation, a knock-down-and-drag-out place and were on the way to Leesburg, having passed the road to their home sometime after two A.M. supposedly to get "something to EAT" according to their story in Leesburg, when they had the car trouble and the Negro youth stopped, tried to help, pushed the car some. The Negro youth testified that the white man passed around his bottle to all at that time.

4. A day or so later the white girl said to one of my informants who had stepped up to her parked car to extend sympa

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

thy, "Yes, all four used me; but they did not abuse me." Your interpretation of that is as good as mine.

5. A very reliable man, who is deeply prejudiced on the race question himself and readily shows it, says he and many of the best citizens of Grovelnnd feel there is no doubt of the sheriff's guilt in the last sheeting of the two Negro youth who were being transported from our state penitentiary for a new trial. In my opinion there is only one thing that does not fit into this opinion - the sheriff had had the four Negro youth sent from the jail to his own home for safe keeping when the alleged rape occurred and the mob formed.

I do not know that I have answered the questions in your mind. If you want any addistional information, I may be able to answer it. It is a case where people have shut their mouths more tightly than any I have ever known especially since the Mims tragedy which occurred on the East Coast about a hundred miles away. This man had been to Groveland investigating.

SRC — Info. Req.

April 25, 1952

Dr. P. Price Cobbs
2624½ S. Central Ave.
Los Angeles 11, Calif.

Dear Dr. Cobbs:

Here is additional information which we forgot to include in our letter of this morning.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George Mitchell

MEMO to Anna

Please try to provide the man with a table of Tuskegee reported lynchings from 1942 forward, except that you don't need to provide information already provided in "The Condition of Our Rights."

Lynching Statistics

April 25, 1952

Dr. P. Price Cobbs
2624½ S. Central Ave.
Los Angeles 11, Calif.

Dear Dr. Cobbs:

We can supply a good deal of the information you request in your letter of April 21. I send the various bulletins to you separately.

There are two ideas relating medical matters and racial violence which we have long wished to have explored. Perhaps your group will give some attention to them.

(1) So far as we know, with only two or three exceptions, the Southern States do not have institutional care for Negro feeble-minded persons. And if there is organized outpatient care and follow-up for such persons, we do not know of it. The February, 1948, issue of NEW SOUTH, which we send, has an article on this point. We know better than to make the assumption that feeble-minded persons are dangerous per se, but it does seem reasonable to suppose that better institutional and outpatient care of feeble-minded persons would be not only good public health, but to some degree a proper safety measure also.

(2) I am told that English doctors, when testifying in rape cases, are generally of the opinion that a healthy young woman, of a mind to resist, cannot be raped by one person alone. The public doctrine hereabouts takes no notice of such a view. My guess is the English doctors are right. Any light to throw on that?

We hope that you and some of your associates will become members of our Council. There is a blank toward the end of the brown leaflet with the map.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

P. Price Cobbs, M. D.
Physician and Surgeon
2624½ So. Central Ave.
Los Angeles 11, Calif.

RECEIVED
APR 24 1952
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 21, 1952

Dear sir:

We are studying ways and means of improving racial relationship and are in the midst of compiling data for the improvement of the community.

Please supply us with the following information or refer us as to where we may obtain this information:

1. Number of lynchings since 1920.
2. Dates of the lynchings.
3. Places or cities in which lynchings took place.
4. Results as to whether responsible parties were prosecuted.
5. Incidents of police brutalities.
6. Riots and number of deaths as the results.
7. Incidents that led to the riots.

This material will be used for medical reports only. Thanking you for your cooperation and kindness.

Yours truly,

Signed: P. Price Cobbs M.D.
P. Price Cobbs

W. Z. Gordon
W. Z. Gordon

D. Watson
D. Watson

W. B. Adams
W. B. Adams

In times like these, when the whole world is upset because we have not yet learned how to apply the true spirit of brotherhood in our human relations, it behooves us here at home to do everything that we can to contribute to the building of good will between the various minority groups which have by circumstances been thrown together in this land of opportunity.

To this end, we make bold to ask if you would be willing to name one or two persons of good will within your local-community, either men or women, white or colored, whom we might invite into the membership of this Committee, which for ____ years has been devoting ~~itself~~ its energies to the promotion of good will between the races in Georgia.

I am making this appeal to you in the spirit of Rotary, which has as its main objective the promotion of the spirit of brotherhood throughout the whole wide world.

(If Dr. Russell isn't an active Rotarian now, the final paragraph, Mr. Weisiger suggests, might be omitted.)

Marian Anderson

RELIGION

In Egypt Land

(See Cover)

Go tell it on the mountain,
Over the hills and everywheah;
Go tell it on the mountain,
That Jesus Christ is aborn.

At Salzburg, backdropped by magical mountains, where Austria's great musical festivals were held before the war, and where he first heard Marian Anderson sing, Arturo Toscanini cried: "Yours is a voice such as one hears once in a hundred years."

Toscanini was hailing a great artist, but that voice was more than a magnificent personal talent. It was the religious voice of a whole religious people—probably the most God-obsessed (and man-despised) people since the ancient Hebrews.

White Americans had withheld from Negro Americans practically everything but God. In return the Negroes had enriched American culture with an incomparable religious poetry and music, and its only truly great religious art—the spiritual.

This religious and esthetic achievement of Negro Americans has found profound expression in Marian Anderson. She is not only the world's greatest contralto and one of the very great voices of all time, she is also a dedicated character, devoutly simple, calm, religious. Manifest in the tranquil architecture of her face is her constant submission to the "Spirit, that dost prefer before all temples the upright heart and pure."

Up from Philadelphia. Thanks to the ostracism into which they are born, Negro Americans live very deeply to themselves. They look out upon, and shrewdly observe, the life around them, are rarely observed by it. They are not evasive about their lives; many are simply incapable of discussing them.

The known facts about Marian Anderson's personal life are few. She was born (in Philadelphia) some 40 years ago (she will not tell her age). Her mother had been a schoolteacher in Virginia. Her father was a coal & ice dealer. There were two younger sisters.

When she was twelve, her father died. To keep the home together, Mrs. Anderson went to work. Miss Anderson says that the happiest moment of her life came the day that she was able to tell her mother to stop working. Later she bought her mother a two-story brick house on Philadelphia's South Martin Street. She bought the house next door for one of her sisters.

Miss Anderson's childhood seems to have been as untroubled as is possible to Negro Americans. In part, this was due to the circumstances of her birth, family, and natural gift. In part, it was due to the calm with which she surmounts all unpleasantness. If there were shadows, she never mentions them. Perhaps the most characteristic fact about her childhood is that Marian disliked bright colors and gay dresses as much as her sisters loved them.

Shortly after her father's death, Marian Anderson was "converted." Her mother is a Methodist. But Marian was converted in her father's Union Baptist Church, largely because the late Rev. Wesley G. Parks was deeply interested in music, loved his choirs and encouraged any outstanding singer in them. At 13, Marian was singing in the church's adult choir. She took home the scores, and sang all the parts (soprano, alto, tenor, bass) over & over to her family until she had learned them. Since work is also a religion to her, Miss Anderson considers this one of the most important experiences of her life. She could then sing high C like a soprano.

At 15, she took her first formal music lesson. At 16, she gave her first important concert, at a Negro school in Atlanta. From then on, her life almost ceases to be personal. It is an individual achievement, but, as with every Negro, it is inseparable from the general achievement of her people. It was the congregation of the Union Baptist Church that gave Miss Anderson her start. Then a group of interested music lovers gave a concert at her church, collected about $500 to pay for training her voice under the late Philadelphia singing teacher, Giuseppe Boghetti.

In 1924, she won the New York Stadium contest (prize: the right to appear with the New York Symphony Orchestra). In 1930, she decided that she must study in Germany. When she had perfected her lieder, songs by Schubert, Brahms, Wolf, she gave her first concert on the Continent. It cost her $500 (the Germans explained that it was customary for Americans to pay for their own concerts). She never paid again.

Applause followed her through Norway and Sweden. In Finland, Composer Jean Sibelius offered her coffee, but after hearing her sing, cried: "Champagne!" In Paris, her first house was "papered." From her second concert, enthusiasts were turned away in droves. She swept through South America.

The Trouble I've Seen. In the U.S. the ovation continued. Only one notably ugly incident marred her triumph. In Washington, the management of Constitution Hall, owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution, announced that it would be unable to lease the hall on the date which Sol Hurok, Miss Anderson's manager, had asked for. The refusal resulted in Eleanor Roosevelt's resignation from the D.A.R. and an enormous ground swell of sympathy for Miss Anderson and her people. Miss Anderson, who has carefully kept herself and her art from being used for political purposes, said nothing.

But Washington heard her. She sang, first in the open air in front of the Lincoln Memorial. Later the D.A.R. leased her Constitution Hall, and she sang to a brilliant white and Negro audience. She had insisted only that there should be no segregation in the seating. Nobody knows the trouble that an incident like this one causes to a spirit like Marian Anderson's. No doubt such things are in her mind when she says, with typical understatement: "Religion, the treasure

Thomas D. McAvoy-LIFE

MARIAN ANDERSON AT THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL
"I do a good deal of praying."

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of religion helps one, I think, to face the difficulties one sometimes meets."

For this greatly gifted American, pouring out the riches of her art to houses that are sold out weeks in advance, could not for a long time travel about her country like her fellow citizens. She has given concerts in the South, where her voice is greatly admired (and where she avoids Jim Crow by traveling in drawing rooms on night trains). Even in the North, she could not until fairly recently stay at most good hotels. In the South, she must still stay with friends. In New York City, she used to leave frantically applauding audiences to sleep at the Harlem Y.W.C.A. Then Manhattan's Hotel Algonquin, longtime rendezvous of U.S. literati, received her. Now most other Northern hotels have also opened their doors.

Usually, Miss Anderson travels with six pieces of luggage, one of which contains her electric iron (she presses her own gowns before a concert), and cooking utensils (she likes to prepare snacks for herself and she has had some unpleasant experiences with hotel dining rooms).

Agrarian Problems. In 1943 Miss Anderson married Orpheus Fisher, an architect who works in Danbury, Conn. Now they live, not far from Danbury, on a beautiful, 105-acre farm, "Marianna." Inside, the handsome, white frame, hillside house has been remodeled by Architect Fisher. He also designed the big, good-looking studio in which Miss Anderson practices.

When not on tour or practicing, Miss Anderson dabbles in farming. She sells grade-A vegetables to the local market, regrets that Marianna, like many farms run by hired help, costs more than it brings in. And there are other problems in the agrarian life. This year, Miss Anderson was much puzzled when the big (but unbred) daughter of her registered Guernsey cow did not give milk. "Heifers have to be freshened before you can milk them," she explains with some astonishment. "Did you know that?"

The question measures the very real distance she has traveled from the peasant roots of her people. But, as she has traveled, she has taken to new heights the best that Negro Americans are. For the Deep River of her life and theirs runs in the same religious channel. In her life, as in the spiritual, the Big Wheel moves by faith. With a naturalness impossible to most people, she says: "I do a good deal of praying."

Gift from God. For to her, her voice is directly a gift from God, her singing a religious experience. This is true of all her singing (she is preeminently a singer of classical music). It is especially true of her singing of Negro spirituals. She does not sing many, and only those which she feels are suited to her voice or which, like *Crucifixion,* her favorite, move her deeply.

There are lovers of spirituals who do not care for the highly arranged versions that Miss Anderson sings, or the finished artistry with which she sings them. But if something has been lost in freshness and

Lisa Larsen-Graphic House

MRS. FISHER & FARM FRIEND
Heifers are puzzling.

authenticity, much has been gained by the assimilation of these great religious songs to the body of great music. For they are the soul of the Negro people, and she has taken that soul as far as art can take it.

As the thousands who have heard her can testify, Miss Anderson's singing of spirituals is unforgettable. She stands simply, but with impressive presence, beside the piano. She closes her eyes (she always sings with her eyes closed). Her voice pours out, soft, vast, enveloping:

They crucified my Lord,
An' He never said a mumblin' word;
They crucified my Lord,
An' He never said a mumblin' word.
Not a word, not a word, not a word.

They pierced Him in the side,
An' He never said a mumblin' word;
They pierced Him in the side,
An' He never said a mumblin' word.
Not a word, not a word, not a word.
He bowed His head an' died,

An' He never said a mumblin' word;
He bowed His head an' died,
An' He never said a mumblin' word.
Not a word, not a word, not a word.

Audiences who have heard Miss Anderson sing *Crucifixion* have sometimes been too awed to applaud. They have sensed that they are participants in an act of creation—the moment at which religion informs art, and makes it greater than itself.

Birth of the Soul. The theme of the greatest music is always the birth of the soul. Words can describe, painting can suggest, but music alone enables the listener to participate, beyond conscious thought, in this act. Beethoven's *Violin Concerto* is a work secular beyond question. But when, in the first movement, the simple theme subtly changes, the mind is lifted and rent—not because the strings have zipped to another key, but by a tone of divinity conveyed through the composer's growing deafness by an inspiration

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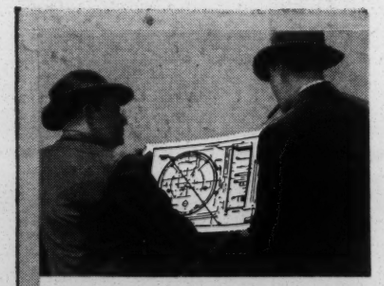

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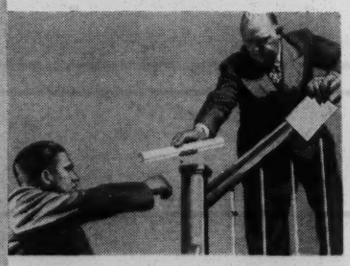

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inexplicable to the mind. The spirituals are perhaps the greatest single burst of such inspiration, communicated, not through deafness, but through the darkness of minds which knew nothing of formal music and very little of the language they were singing.

Professional musicians and musicologists are still locked in hot debate about the musical origins of the spirituals and the manner of their creation. One simple fact is clear—they were created in direct answer to the Psalmist's question: *How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?* For the land in which the slaves found themselves was strange beyond the fact that it was foreign. It was a nocturnal land of vast, shadowy pine woods, vast fields of cotton whose endless rows converged sometimes on a solitary cabin, vast swamps reptilian and furtive—a land alive with all the elements of lonely beauty, except compassion. In this deep night of land and man, the singers saw visions; grief, like a tuning fork, gave the tone, and the Sorrow Songs were uttered.

Perhaps, in little unpainted churches or in turpentine clearings, the preacher, who soon became the pastor and social leader of his wretched people, gave the lead:

Way over yonder in the harvest fiel'—

The flock caught the vision too:

Way up in the middle of the air,
The angel shovin' at the chariot wheel,
Way up in the middle of the air.
O, yes, Ezekiel saw the wheel,
Way up in the middle of the air,
Ezekiel saw the wheel,
Up in the middle of the air.
The Big Wheel moved by faith,
The Little Wheel moved by the grace of God,
A wheel in a wheel,
Up in the middle of the air.

Soughing Wind. It was a theological image splendid beyond any ever conceived on this continent. For a great wind of the spirit soughed through the night of slavery and, as in Ezekiel's vision, on the field of dead hope the dry bones stirred with life.

They kept stirring as, through the dismal years, the great hymnal testimonies moaned forth. Sometimes they were lyric visions of deliverance:

Swing low, sweet chariot,
Comin' for to carry me home;
I look'd over Jordan,
And what did I see,
Comin' for to carry me home,
A band of angels comin' after me,
Comin' for to carry me home.

Sometimes they were statements of bottomless sorrow:

Nobody knows de trouble I've seen,
Nobody knows but Jesus.

Sometimes they were rumbling adjurations:

Go down, Moses,
Way down in Egypt land,
Tell ol' Pharaoh
To let my people go.

Sometimes they were simple longings:

Deep River, my home is over Jordan,
Deep River, Lord,
I want to cross over into camp ground.

IF YOU'RE FROM

MISSOURI

AS I AM . . .

Says Clarence K. Streit, Editor of FREEDOM & UNION You Will Want to Be Shown Before You Subscribe to

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FREEDOM & UNION, 700 9th St. N.W. Washington 1, D. C.

* Such as Justice Owen Roberts, Herbert Agar, Russell Davenport, Elmo Roper, etc.

Bourges

"SWING LOW, SWEET CHARIOT" (BY JOHN MCCRADY)
Through the darkness of minds, a divine communication.

Sometimes they were unsurpassed paeans of death:

Ezekiel weep, Ezekiel moan,
Flesh come acreepin' off ol' Ezekiel's bones,
Church, I know you goin' to miss me when I'm gone.
When I'm gone, gone, gone.
When I'm gone to come no more,
Church, I know you goin' to miss me when I'm gone.

Always they were ringing assertions of faith:

I got a home in dat Rock, don't you see?
I got a home in dat Rock, don't you see?
Between de earth an' Sky,
Thought I heard my Saviour cry,
You got a home in dat Rock, don't you see?

The Magnificat of their music has sometimes obscured the poetry of the spirituals. There are few religious poems of any people that can equal this one:

I know moon-rise, I know star-rise,
I lay dis body down.
I walk in de moonlight, I walk in de starlight,
To lay dis body, heah, down. . . .

I lie in de grave an' stretch out my arms,
I lay dis body, heah, down.
I go to judgment in de evenin' of de day,
When I lay dis body down.

The problem of the white American and the Negro American has rarely been more simply evoked than in those last lines. The problem could be explained (and must in part be solved) in political, social and economic terms. But it is deeper than that, and so must its eventual solution be.

Well might all Americans, at Christmas, 1946, ponder upon the fact that it is, like all the great problems of mankind, at bottom a religious problem, and that the religious solution must be made before any other solutions could be effective. It will, in fact, never be solved exclusively in human terms.

Of the possible meaning of Negro Americans to all white Christians, Historian Arnold J. Toynbee wrote (in his monumental work-in-progress, *A Study of History*): "The Negro appears to be answering our tremendous challenge with a religious response which may prove in the event, when it can be seen in retrospect, to bear comparison with the ancient Oriental's response to the challenge from his Roman masters. . . . Opening a simple and impressionable mind to the Gospels, he has divined the true nature of Jesus' mission. He has understood that this was a prophet who came into the world not to confirm the mighty in their seat but to exalt the meek and the humble. . . . The Syrian slave-immigrants who once brought Christianity into Roman Italy performed the miracle of establishing a new religion which was alive in the place of an old religion which was already dead. It is possible that the Negro slave-immigrants who have found Christianity in America may perform the greater miracle of raising the dead to life. With their childlike intuition and their genius for giving spontaneous esthetic expression to emotional religious experience, they may perhaps be capable of rekindling the cold grey ashes of Christianity which have been transmitted to them by us, until in their hearts the divine fire glows again. It is thus, perhaps, if at all, that Christianity may conceivably become the living faith of a dying civilization for the second time. If this miracle were indeed to be performed by an American Negro Church, that would be the most dynamic response to the challenge of social penalization that had yet been made by Man."

Go tell it on the mountain,
Over the hills and everywheah;
Go tell it on the mountain,
That Jesus Christ is aborn.

Milton

MEMO

March 28, 1947

To: Dr. Mitchell

From: IBT

Re: Loan.

As you may remember, in December we borrowed on the advice of Mr. Haas $1,000 from Mr. Milton, of Citizens Trust Company, so that we could meet the pay roll the last day of December. This note was paid in full on March 21, 1947.

At the Executive Committee meeting February 26, the Executive and Secretary were authorized to make an additional loan of $1,500 so that we could meet the pay roll the last of February. This note will be due the 27th of May. At that time, it may be paid in full, in part, or renewed. (See letters in file - "Finances: General Budget, Miscl. 1946-47" in steel cabinet in the Secretary's office.)

Copies of letters attached.

March 21, 1947

Mr. L. D. Milton
Citizens Trust Company
212 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Milton:

Enclosed is our check for $1,000.00, payment in full for 90-day note due March 30, 1947 (your number 38831. Thank you very much for accommodating us with this loan. It helped to carry us over a bad time.

You will be interested to know that the Rosenwald Fund has acted favorably on our appropriation for this year, and we shall try to take care of the other note of $1,500 in full when the first payment is due in May.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Secretary-Treasurer

Encl.

February 27, 1947

Mr. L. D. Milton
Citizens Trust Company
212 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Milton:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met here yesterday. One matter of business was consideration of an Executive Director to take my place. It is this matter which has delayed renewal of our grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund. This question will be decided within the next few days and the Board of Directors of the Rosenwald Fund will take action on our grant at its meeting on March 5. We have assurance that the action will be favorable. Dr. Charles S. Johnson, who is Chairman of our Executive Committee, and is a member of the Rosenwald Fund Board, was present in the meeting yesterday.

The following motion was passed by the Executive Committee:

> "That the officers charged with the responsibility of carrying on the office be empowered to borrow $1500 to cover the present emergency and such other funds, not to exceed $4,000, to carry on the work until we can secure the contributions which we now anticipate, or until the next meeting of the Executive Committee, whichever is earlier."

Accordingly, we wish to request that the Citizens Trust Company favor us with a loan of $1500 to take care of our needs until the Rosenwald Fund acts on our appropriation on March 5.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

815 Welch St 24-Mi-Misc -
Ra F30g Michael, Harvey B.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE,
Alabama

PERSONAL

January 17, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

First, may I wish for you and the Southern Regional Council a very successful and prosperous New Year.

I wish to also express my appreciation and thanks for your resourcefulness and personal assistance in making it possible for me to meet Mr. Lester Percell of the American Veterans Committee last summer. I decided that it might be better to secure employment that would afford me more time with my family since I had been absent for four years in the army.

A few weeks later, as it was important that I be on somebody's payroll, I accepted temporary employment with Tuskegee Institute as Vocational Appraiser at the Veterans Administration Guidance Center, hoping that some vacancy would develop in Atlanta that would bring me home with my family. The man whose vacancy I am filling is on leave for a few months.

Last week, I left an application for Probation Officer I and II at Fulton County Court House. I understand the county has four vacancies and plans to employ two White and two Colored. In this connection, it is my thinking that perhaps (directly or indirectly) you might know Judge Woolfork or the Executive Secretary of the Fulton County Civil Service Board. I would be very grateful for your suggestions or any personal assistance which you may see fit to render in my behalf in connection with the above positions, or, in any other position which you think I may fit into. I believe I could do a creditable job in the above position if I am given the opportunity.

I shall enjoy hearing from you at your convenience. Meanwhile, I shall endeavor to contact you by telephone the next time I am in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Harvey B. Michael

Harvey B. Michael

Dr Mitchell:

Helen Bridgman called about 15 minutes ago and said that she had talked with Judge Woolfolk about Negro probation officers.

The examination will be given sometime in the next two weeks. Applicants should obtain blanks from a Mrs. Wright, Merit System Examinations, Fulton County Court House, Atlanta, Ga.

Applicants should send in qualifications right away, since only those with proper qualifications will be allowed to take the merit system exam.

After an applicant has passed the written exam, he must take an oral exam before a citizens committee appointed by Judge Woolfolk.

mprice

M-
Mathias, C.

February 5, '48

Mr. Charles Mathias
USWA
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Charlie,

Here are some paragraphs I batted out some weeks ago.

You may find some useful phrases in it.

Thanks for the dope of contracts. Very helpful. I will return to you as soon as we copy to particulars.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

HOMES Labor wants every farm family to have a modern home, with the conveniences that people in cities and towns have. We favor a large-scale public rural housing program, locally managed. The benefit of it should go to the families who work on the land, and not to big landowners.

CROPS If all Americans and our foreign customers are to have the high-type food that is needed for good health still more American farmers will have to switch from staples to produce and livestock. Labor would be in favor of public programs that would enable farmers to change over without price risk.

SERVICES Rural schools should be equal to the best. Country roads served by mail-routes should be all-weather roads. Farm people should have more, better, and cheaper medical and hospital care. Farm agents should do more of their work with small farmers. Farm organizations should be democratically managed by their farmer-members, and should ~~xxxx~~ work ~~xxxxxxxx~~ for the benefit of the working farmers instead of mainly for the benefit of the bigger landlords and the merchants and bankers.

PEOPLE Better farm methods, more machinery, and larger family-type farms will reduce the number of people who get their living from the land. Labor would like to see steps taken now ~~xxxxx~~ to make it possible for people who do wish to leave the land to make a good living somewhere else. Vocational schools in farming districts would be useful. More industry, particularly more processing industry, out near the crops, would be useful. And labor wants jobs at fair pay and homes at fair rentals for those who come to the towns and cities.

SOCIAL SECURITY All who make their living ~~xxxx~~ on the land should have equal rights with city people in social security benefits.

FARM OWNERSHIP Banks and Government Agencies should make it easy for ambitious tenants and croppers to buy farms of their own, and present ~~xxxxxx~~ owners of places too small for a good living should be helped with credit for getting more land, and for getting the machinery to farm it well.

THE LAND ITSELF Labor will support measures to step up the care of the land by individual farmers and through public agencies. We favor greatly increased public forest reservations and help to farmers in the care of their own timber stands.

add Co-ops.

25 - Mo Misc
Moore, Robert

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
RING BUILDING
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

ROBERT M. MOORE
ASSISTANT TO CHAIRMAN

RECEIVED
1 1948
Southern Regional Council
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Southern Regional Council

February 27, 1948

Dear Dr. George:

I had an opportunity to show your letter to Chairman McGrath before his conference with several of the Southern Governors on Monday but he has been out of Headquarters most of the time since then and I haven't had a chance to get his slant on your suggestion.

It was good talking with you the other day and your voice sounded like old times.

My best to you, Mrs. Mitchell and the folks.

As ever,

Bob

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

M-
Mrs. Ed. B. Martin

Mrs. Ed. B. Martin
636 Milledge Circle
Athens, Ga.

March 3, 1948

Dear Mrs. Martin,

We are mailing you today the ten copies of the Digest of the President's Report, along with copies of some of our free leaflets. We're so pleased that you can use the Digest.

Mr. McMains is The Rev. Mr. Harrison McMains, First Christian Church, 200 Pryor Street SW. Both he and Mr. Brokhoff are good speakers, but each would approach his subject in a way different from the other, I am sure. On the basis of Brokhoff's talk at the Conference on Civil Rights, I'd say that he would be more conservative than McMains, and might appeal to a white audience. McMains would certainly appeal to the Negro group and would give the white group plenty to think about, even though they might not like what he said. I have an idea that he would be less compromising than Brokhoff. I was frankly a little disappointed in Brokhoff at the Conference; I felt that he could have left unsaid about half of what he did say. I don't think you could go wrong on either man, though.

I'm leaving tonight on the Comet for Virginia, and then on to Washington for the week-end. Should be lots of fun, and it'll be grand to see my niece again.

Helen and I both were so glad to see you at the Conference. I'm so glad that you could come.

I had a long letter from Jane the other day, and Elaine had one Monday. It'll be such fun to see her in June.

By the way, Mrs. Morris (Mrs. W. T.) is in Georgia Baptist Hospital and will be there another week, I think.

Let me know what you decide about speakers. Forgot to say that Mr. McMains spoke to our Wesleyan Service Guild and was quite good—said lots, and no one walked out on his speech! Believe I lean toward him for your Committee speaker. What do you think?

"Hi" to Marian and Mr. Martin, and love to all,

M Rice

10 - Digest Free cm.
10 - Unity Free cm.
10 - Dec - Jan. N.S.

E.S.
3/3/48

Tuesday

Dear Margaret Price

MAR 3 1948
Southern Regional Council

Enclosed is a check for $1.00 for which please send me ten copies of To Secure These Rights and any other free literature that would interest members of our committee. We meet next Monday night - the 8th of March (just the executive com.)

It was good to see you and Helen at the meeting and it was a good one. What are we going to do with Ralph McGill? You are a smart girl to get up that huge Conference of Civil Rights!

Can you find out Mr. McMann's initials and address for me? Would you prefer him & Mr. Brokhoff? I still can't decide what to do about our next big meeting, especially ~~since~~ when we can't have it in a white church.

All well here, and hope you are —

Love

Jennie E. Martin

M-
Maddox, James G.

March 4, 1948

Dear Jim:

This is as far as I ever got in answering your letter of June 5.

I doubt if I am going to get further.

With some shame,

Sincerely,

Enclosure : ltr to
Jas.Maddox,
dtd 5Jun347

Mr. James G. Maddox
Harvard University
Graduate School of
Public Administration
205 Littauer Center
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

June 11, 1947

Dear Jim:

Among many discontents, I have had one contentment these past few months in knowing that you were thinking on the job of writing the history of the honorable The Farm Security Administration.

Your general outline sounds all right to me.

I have many recollections but few principles about what was done.

One constant difficulty was to build an efficient agency without the protection of Civil Service recruitment. From the very first of the Resettlement Administration this was met as to clerical grade by requiring the equivalent of Civil Service examinations. Actually we generally used tests which were obtained from the Civil Service Commission, being tests replaced in the Commission's own usage by later ones.

We recruited ~~new~~ To clerical grades through patronage channels but we accepted for employment only such persons as could pass these tests. Also from the beginning we asserted and defended ~~as best we could~~ quite well a refusal to limit ourselves to ~~the~~ patronage channels ~~in~~ in recruiting professional and better type administrative jobs. The line was usually drawn at around $2,000.

We were always particularly careful to base on merit alone all appointments of persons who would be in direct contact with families assisted by the agency. Usually the names of recruits for such positions reached us through Land Grant Colleges or the Extension Service or through other agencies doing work of a kind related to our own. Time after time we took the wrath of political figures who wanted particular individuals named to jobs as county supervisors or home supervisors and made the appointments quite without regard to politics.

On the clerical jobs it was probably the examinations that helped most. Generally though we were not at all disappointed in the quality of people who reached us through patronage sources as applicants for every day jobs. They were good representative local people and there was not a little merit in good old Julian Frant's phrase about the importance of having in our employ people known to be ~~interested in~~ "in sympathy with the President's program."

I credit Winston B. Stephens and Sam Board with the provision of a recruitment network for the higher administrative jobs, ~~a network~~ that reached into people of very high quality.

I never heard of another government agency which had anything approaching the affection for its work which was general throughout Resettlement and Farm Security. I would say that seven out of ten of all our people were proud of the direct help to impoverished people given by the agency and proud also of the method of rehabilitation by which those aided found their own strength. That was the main thing that tied the show together. Those of us anywhere near the center were moved, too, by admiration for the courage and often the daring of our higher administrative officers.

Something ought to be said in the book about the device of administrative supervisors. That was smart and very effective. I heard yesterday that even in the dreadful cuts of June 1947 ~~two weeks ago~~ states are keeping one administrator supervisor to combat the effects of turn-over in local offices.

.nother thing that deserves mention is action and success of the agency in employing Negro personnel. We were one of the early shows to try conscientiously to handle it and handle it honestly. We ~~perhaps~~ never got as far as we would have liked, ~~very far~~ but we made our way against great odds.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

SEMINAR IN AGRICULTURAL
FORESTRY AND LAND-USE POLICY

205 LITTAUER CENTER
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

3 June 1947.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear George:

As I think you know, I received a grant from Carnegie to do an FSA study here at Harvard during the next twelve months. I came up last February and have been doing half time work on the study and half time class work during the Spring semester. Last week Alice and the kids finally moved up and now I am squared away for full time work on the FSA report.

According to my present plans, the report will fall into four major parts. Part I will cover the history, purposes and general point of view of the Resettlement Administration and the FSA. Part II will be a fairly comprehensive description and evaluation of the operating programs. Included in these are the Rural Rehabilitation Program, the Farm Ownership Program, the Project Program, and the Labor Program. Part III will be concerned with over-all administrative problems and policies, such as budgeting, program planning, personnel selection and training, public relations, and political pressures. In Part IV, I hope to re-summarize the problem, what has been done about it and then point out concrete suggestions for future policy.

I would like very much to have your comments and suggestions on several points. First, what is your reaction to this general plan of presentation? Second, can you find the time to dictate for me a few pages covering the crucial points in personnel policy? It seems to me that the die was cast in the early days of the RA with respect to both the organizational structure and the personnel standards which were followed up until two or three years ago. As you well realize, I know very little about those early decisions in RA days. The whole task of transfering a multitude of state corporations and Subsistence Homestead jobs into a pattern of classified positions which could be filled only by people meeting certain minimum qualifications is an extremely important part of the story on which I hope you can give me some help. Finally, I would like to have any observations which you find the time to make about the whole period through which the attempts to do something about rural poverty has evolved.

If you and Alice can find the time, I hope that you will be able to visit us in our new and extremely temporary home at 7305 Perimeter Road, Harvardens Village, Fort Devens, Massachusetts.

Best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Jim

James G. Maddox

~~Civil Rights Comm~~
~~1948~~
M - Misc
Mackey

April 23, 1948

Mrs. E. G. Mackay
1221 Clifton Road, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Mackay:

Mrs. Lancaster very kindly came one day last week to a little meeting to plan follow-up for the Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights, held on February 27.

I told her that The Methodist Woman had carried recently a note about the availability of the Council's digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and of the little pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights."

I have been in correspondence with the appropriate people in the Protestant Episcopal Church to see whether they would carry some notes. Mrs. Lancaster thought possibly the next quarterly bulletin of the Georgia Council of Church Women would carry some notice of this kind.

In any case, I send you a copy of each of the pamphlets. They sell for ten cents each. They fit together for discussion purposes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures Digest of Civ Rts report;
GSM:eb "The Condition of Our Rights"

OK
JPS

Jane:

GSM requests that this man be placed on free mailing list to receive New South for six months, beginning with May '48 issue.

EB

24-mc-McNeill

RECEIVED
MAY 25 1948
Southern Regional Council

608 Peden Ave.,
Houston, Texas

May 21, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 5th, and for the pamphlets which you sent at that time.

Our group of Young People is still in the process of forming a permanent interracial organization and, for that reason, I am unable to supply any detailed information at this time as to how we shall operate.

There is one thing that we are all very definitely agreed on, however, and that is the necessity for an interracial organization of young people that will be active in combating many of the injustices that minority groups have to endure.

It will take some time for us to formulate our policy and actually get started. We are now contacting different organizations such as yours so that we can get as much information as possible from groups that are experienced in this field. For that reason, we shall call on you for assistance as soon as we have definite questions to ask.

Thank you again for your kind offer to assist us in getting started.

Very truly yours,

T. H. McNeill, Jr.

T. H. McNeill, Jr.

pee (6)

(May issue)

M — MacMillan Co.

May 26, 1948

Miss Mary S. Thompson
Assistant Director of Publicity
The Macmillan Company
60 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Miss Thompson:

This will acknowledge your letter of May 20, 1948, to Mrs. Agnes McKoy. We appreciate your offer of a complimentary copy of THE MORE PERFECT UNION by R. M. MacIver. We shall be glad to inform our readers about the book in NEW SOUTH, the Southern Regional Council's monthly bulletin.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

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MAY 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

GEORGE P. BRETT, JR., PRESIDENT
H. S. LATHAM, VICE PRESIDENT

E. L. MEAD, SECRETARY
R. M. BRETT, TREASURER

May 20, 1948

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

On May 25 we are publishing R. M. MacIver's THE MORE PERFECT UNION, subtitled A Program for the Control of Inter-group Discrimination in the United States.

The book of course pays high tribute to the work of the Southern Regional Council. Dr. MacIver says:

"There is significant evidence that the caste system controlling the Negro is by no means as secure as once it was. Among the indications are the eclipse of the White primary and the greater opportunities for Negro voting in the South, the stronger reaction against lynch law and the somewhat lessened impunity of White perpetrators of outrages against Negroes, the appearance of a group of liberals in the South who take a strong stand against racial oppression, the rise of organizations dedicated to racial equality (such as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Regional Council, and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings), the degree of Negro economic betterment achieved through social security legislation and the farm security program of the Roosevelt administration, and the movement for Negro unionization being carried forward by CIO unions in the South."

If you have facilities for reviewing books, and would be interested in THE MORE PERFECT UNION, we should be glad to send you a complimentary copy.

Most sincerely yours,

Mary S. Thompson

Mary S. Thompson
Assistant Director of Publicity

MST:RL

25- MO- Misc. -
Montclair Audit

Murray Hill 3-6775

NEJELSKI & COMPANY, INC.
Management Counsels
162 EAST 38TH STREET · NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

RECEIVED
MAY 29 1948
Southern Regional Council

May 27, 1948

Dear Philleo:

Attached is a copy of a letter I am sending to Mr. George S. Mitchell who requested information on the Montclair Audit. I'm not sure that you have seen the reports mentioned in my letter and so I am sending you a set.

Don't you ever get to New York? It would be good to see you again.

Cordially,

Leo

Leo Nejelski
President

LN/lc
Enclosures

Mr. Philleo Nash
1701 Swann Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

cf. pamphlet files under:
6- Community Surveys

May 27, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am sending you enclosed a report "How the Montclair Audit Was Done," a brochure issued by the Community Relations Service, and a memorandum "Education for Democratic Living." The first two explain exactly what we do in Montclair, and the latter is a program that is now getting under way. If any questions occur to you that we can answer, do not hesitate to write again.

Cordially,

Leo Nejelski
President

LN/lc
Enclosures

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

23 - m - Macedonia Coop Farms

June 9, 1948

Macedonia Co-op Farms
Clarkesville
Habersham County
Georgia

Dear Macedonia:

Over my desk for some reason has come a magazine about schools in Hawaii.

As you people are such block-makers for Hawaii, I thought you would be interested in the pictures of children in schools.

Macedonia has not been coming to see us enough. Don't forget we are your Branch Number 1.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Separate cover: Hawaii Educational Review, May, 1948

25-Mo-Morton, J.R.

June 11, 1948

Mr. J. R. Morton
Extension Division
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Mr. Morton:

You wrote us April 22 for topics for research the adult education part of community action programs.

I can list a few that seem to me worthwhile:

"Interest in Resources and Facilities for Workers' Education in _____ Community"

"Opportunities for a Farmer Cooperative in _____ Community"

"Consumer Needs in _____ Community Which Might Be Met by Cooperatives"

"Experimental Low-Cost Housing Methods Which Appear To Be Feasible in _____ Community"

"Materials on Inter-group Education Useful for an In-Service Training Program for School Teachers"

"Cultural Backgrounds of Component Parts of Population of _____ Community"

"Unsubstantiated Cliches of Racial Prejudice Current in _____ Community"

"Antagonism Between Town Merchants and Farmers as a Factor in the Political Life of _____ County"

Topics for research (continued)

"Appraisal of Membership Education Programs of Two Local Farm Organizations"

"Appraisal of Membership Education Programs of Two Local Union Organizations"

"Appraisal of Membership Education Programs of Two Local Church Organizations."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Margaret Price:
Please draft reply for GSM's signature
Small community self-survey?

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

EXTENSION DIVISION

April 22, 1948

RECEIVED
APR 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am a member of the "Committee for the Exploration of Needed Research in Adult Education," appointed jointly by the American Educational Research Association and the Department of Adult Education of the NEA. It is my responsibility to originate specific research problems in the area listed below:

Community Action Programs

Knowing your familiarity with needed research in adult education in the area of Community Action Programs, I wonder if you would assist me in this task.

Our committee wishes to get these needed research items stated in actual concise, research title form, suitable for publication. For an example to follow, in the area of Libraries in Adult Education one research problem could be:

Title of Problem: "Appraisal of Adult Education Programs of 20 Selected Libraries in Urban Centers."

Following a pattern something like this for each problem title, would you be kind enough to think through several research problems, in the adult education field in the area listed above, and to send your statements to me at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

J. R. Morton

J. R. Morton
Member AERA - NEA
"Committee for the Exploration
of Needed Research in
Adult Education"

JRM/jp

Evaluation of community programs already under way.

Vocational education possibilities for whites & Negroes.

Health education programs.

Recreation programs

Survey of clubs & organizations as adult education media.

Study clubs for community survey & development.

Coops in adult education

24 - Mc - Misc.

The University of Wisconsin

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
STERLING HALL

Madison 6

June 16, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 21 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I want to thank you for the hospitality that you and Mrs. Mitchell showed me while I was recently in Atlanta, plus your many additional courtesies. I very much enjoyed getting to know you and your family, and looking in on the Southern Regional Council office. I hope that you will give me a chance to reciprocate if and when you ever visit Madison.

Yours sincerely,

T. C. McCormick

T. C. McCormick

TCM:zv

24- Mc - misc

Community Research Institute

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

PEOPLES BUILDING
CHARLESTON 3, S. C.

RECEIVED
JUN 23 1948
Southern Regional Council

Charleston Office,
June 22, 1948.

Mr. George H. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

We have received the two issues of the New South enclosed in yours of June 9th with your suggestion that we might find their material useful for DIXIE Magazine.

I will be in Atlanta the latter part of this week and will try to make an opportunity of visiting you to learn more of your organization and its purpose.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick H. McDonald

Frederick H. McDonald,
Director.

FHM:bdi

24- Mc - Muc.

June 9, 1948

Mr. Frederick H. McDonald, Editor
Dixie
Peoples Building
Charleston 3, South Carolina

Dear Mr. McDonald:

It occurred to me that your magazine might be interested in using all or parts of either or both of the enclosed two issues of New South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures AApril and May '48 New South

EUROPEAN OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

ЕВРОПЕЙСКОЕ ОТДЕЛЕНИЕ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

OFFICE EUROPÉEN DES NATIONS UNIES

Mitchell, G. S. - Personal

25-mo-misc

Myrdal, Gunnar

Télégrammes : UNATIONS, GENÈVE

Téléphone : 2 80 00

Palais des Nations
GENÈVE

RÉF. No : ECE

30 June, 1948

RECEIVED
JUL 20 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63, Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Thanks for your kind and thoughtful note of June 10. I might be too old to educate myself, but I will train according to your list.

With kind greetings,

cordially yours,

Gunnar Myrdal
Executive Secretary
Economic Commission for Europe

RECEIVED
JUL 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

25 - Mo - Myrdal, Gunnar

June 10, 1948

Mr. Gunnar Myrdal
c/o The United Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

Dear Mr. Myrdal:

I greatly enjoyed your sound and stimulating address at the Rosenwald celebration in Chicago.

I listened attentively, but found time to note down as you talked the very short list of words for which, to my ear, you had not got your English up to its usual exceedingly high level of accuracy in pronunciation.

As you are still in the category of the young, and as I had some pleasant association with you in Washington in the high old days of Farm Security, I take what might possibly be considered the liberty of listing these words for you.

I thought maybe you would wish, in some prospective hour of leisure, to get somebody hereabouts to check your pronunciation so that you could bring these last remnants up to scratch.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure : list of words

GSM:eb

broad — brōdt

respects = rés pects

builds = bĭlds (bildts)

gains = gainz (too fast)

this = thees

once = wanz
wahnz

business = beéz nes

Investigating = in vés tigating

has = hass
(h. Haas)

is = iss

recognized = reekognized

just = yust

Julius = yulyus

strategic = stratĕgic

brought	brodt
generally =	gyenrally
semi-skilled	seamy-skilled
consolidation	cón solidation
control	kon tról
consideration	kón sideration
unions	d unions.
monopolistic	mono polistic
decades.	deekades
Supreme	Soup reem
supremacy	spuh reemacy
apologetic	a polo gatic
pioneering	pier o neering
impudent	impú dent

10.13 Chicago Tr

Form 3806-S (Rev. 11-46)

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Frank H McDonald — Guilford College, NC

(Name of addressee) (P. O. and State of address)

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o7—16—19433-1

24 - mc - misc
(McDonald)

June 30, 1948

Mr. Frank H. McDonald
c/o A. W. McDonald
Guilford College
North Carolina

Dear Mr. McDonald:

I have read your manuscript with much interest. It is refreshing in these days, when so much that is written is narrow and prejudiced, to find all these things described in the best tradition of Southern statesmanship.

I cannot say that much in the manuscript strikes me as new. You have used good sources, and you have thought generously about the industrial gains and needs of the South.

Our little Council has not the means to print even parts of your good manuscript. I can suggest one or two people who might be interested.

The magazine Dixie is printed by Frederick H. McDonald, Peoples Building, Charleston 3, South Carolina, in association with the Southern Association of Science and Industry, Hotel Murphy, Richmond, Virginia. McDonald might want a few key paragraphs, and I believe he would pay for them. Dixie is certainly not a liberal magazine.

I think you would be doing the South a good turn if you would allow your manuscript to be read by those who are doing the study for the Committee of the South, under the direction of E. J. Coil, who heads the National Planning Association in Washington, D. C. They have got the job of figuring out what to do about mechanization of agriculture in the South. I suppose they will have worked with many of your sources, but they would be interested in your conclusions.

An interesting man to talk to, who would profit from knowing the things you know, is Charles M. Smith of Washington, D. C. His office is at 1833 Jefferson Place, NW, and his home address is 2710 North 25th Street, Arlington, Virginia (GLebe 6068). He is now a free-lance writer, trying to inform the South about its needs and possibilities. Excellent man.

Just possibly you could persuade such a paper as the Charlotte Observer or the Birmingham Age-Herald to take parts of your manuscript and use it as a special supplement. The papers will complain that newsprint is scarce, but they seem to get plenty of it to advertise stuff from Monkey Ward.

I am an habitué of Hoffman and Marston and parts adjacent. Through my good friend Willis Spivey, I am even also a Wallingforder. Further, I admire Guilford and environs.

If you are ever in Atlanta, please come and see me.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: Manuscript

GSM:eb

REGISTERED MAIL

June 21, 1948

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing a copy of my thesis, "The Industrial Growth of the South." Please refer to my letter of June 21, which should arrive the same day as this envelope, or earlier.

Very truly yours,

Frank H. McDonald

Frank H. McDonald
Pendle Hill
Wallingford, Pa.

Address after June 24: c/o A.W. McDonald, Guilford College, North Carolina.

June 21, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 23 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am mailing to you under separate cover a copy of my thesis, "The Industrial Growth of the South," written for Haverford College. It seems to me that this thesis, or parts of it, may be worthy of publication. The thesis brings together and interprets a considerable amount of recent material, and relates this to the historical and cultural background. The style is readable -- journalistic or semi-journalistic.

Perhaps the Southern Regional Council may be interested in publication; if not, I thought you might be able to advise me of other organizations or presses which would consider it. I would desire compensation, but would be willing to discuss other arrangements.

Probably the most important fact that the thesis discloses and points up is that for more than a half-century the industrial growth of the South has been proceeding at a more rapid pace than that of the nation as a whole, and also faster than industrialization in other regions with the exception of certain Western areas. The effects of the recent war, the problem of differential freight rates, regional specialization, and the development of several important industries are treated rather thoroughly.

I am a former North Carolina newspaperman; the enclosed sheet will give you an idea of my background. The thesis was written as a part of my graduate study program, leading to a Master's degree in Economics, undertaken with the assistance of the Pendle Hill-Haverford Scholarship.

I would appreciate your letting me have an opinion on this matter within about 10 days or two weeks. Please write me at the following address: c/o A.W. McDonald, Guilford College, North Carolina.

Very truly yours,

Frank H. McDonald

Frank H. McDonald
(Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa.)

25-mo-Moore, John W.

July 15, 1948

Mr. John W. Moore
Limestone College
Gaffney, S. C.

Dear Mr. Moore:

Thank you so much for your nice letter of the tenth. It was wonderfully good for our morale to have such words of encouragement.

I hope you are not missing the issues of New South which are being sent you at Mount Pleasant. Would you like to have these directed instead to Gaffney?

With kindest good wishes and thanks again, I am

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

RECEIVED
JUL 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

Limestone College
Gaffney, S.C.
July 10, 1948.

Dear Mrs. McKay:

Last week on a visit to my home in Mt. Pleasant, I found your letter of June 30 enclosing receipt for 1948 dues. I should like you and the other leaders of the Council to know that I endorse without reservation what you are striving to do, and shall welcome any opportunity to give active service in the cause. As a matter of fact, hardly a day passes that I do not take the stand

that I think all white citizens of the South who believe in democracy and understand what true Americanism is, must take.

Cordially yours,
John W. Moore

23-M-Misc
Maris, Paul V.

July 27, 1948

Mr. Paul V. Maris, Director
Farm Ownership Division
Farm Security Administration
United States Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Dear Paul:

I came back into the room and sat at the rear for Mr. Aldrich's remarks. I was a bit surprised by his vehemence, but, after all, I had no hope of establishing much rapport between us. I went up and spoke to him afterwards and we were both cordial enough.

The Census people have duly sent me their memorandum on crop sharing contracts, which promises to be very helpful indeed.

Thank you for kind remarks about our pamphlets.

My best wishes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

IN REPLY REFER TO

RECEIVED
JUL 26 1949
Southern Regional Council

JUL 23 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your set of pamphlets. I congratulate you upon their attractiveness and upon your ability to issue information upon so many vital current problems.

While Ransom Aldrich was taking time to "reply" to you I looked around to see if you were in the room, but I did not locate you. He did take violent exception to a number of things you said. A.C.L.A. exists, however, to afford an opportunity for expression by those holding divergent views. It takes a scholar and a historian to do the sort of analytical and interpretive job which you did. It was inevitable that it should please some and displease others.

Miss Kelly tells me that you made one of your brief touch and go visits yesterday. I am always happy to see you when you can spare time for a call at my office.

Very sincerely yours,

Paul V. Maris

Paul V. Maris, Director
Farm Ownership Division

23 - M - Maris, Paul V.

July 20, 1948

Mr. Paul V. Maris, Director
Farm Home Ownership Division
Farmers Home Administration
Department of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Paul:

I promised to send you a set of our pamphlets. They are going along separately.

It was a great pleasure to see you at Berea.

I hope that Mr. Ransom E. Aldrich calmed down in the course of the next few hours.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Dictated but not signed

Separate cover:
SRC (Fleming)
Wanted: South's Future
Wanted: Healthy South
Wanted: Educated South
Machines in the Cotton Fields
Digest of Civil Rights Report
Condition
June and Oct '47 New South; April, May, June-July '48 New South

24- Misc - Minn. Gov's Interracial Commission

State of Minnesota

LUTHER W. YOUNGDAHL
GOVERNOR

The Governor's Interracial Commission

117 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
SAINT PAUL 1, MINNESOTA

Aug 13, 1948

REVEREND FRANCIS J. GILLIGAN
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MR. SAMUEL L. SCHEINER

MR. HENRY THOMAS

REVEREND CARL F. ZIETLOW

CLIFFORD E. RUCKER
Informational Representative

August 11, 1948

Miss Margaret Price
Membership Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

I want to thank you very much for sending me the information regarding the work of the Southern Regional Council.

I am very glad to have this information, and shall look forward to receiving the issues of New South and other SRC publications.

Under separate cover, I am forwarding you, copies of the Governor's Interracial Commission's publications with the hope that they may prove helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford E. Rucker

Clifford E. Rucker
Informational Representative
Governor's Interracial Commission

CER:bw

A McK for later follow up if need be
Emm.

24-Mc-Mac-
McLean, Lee

The College of the Ozarks

Clarksville, Arkansas

August 30, 1948

RECEIVED
SEP 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for sending me samples of material published by the Southern Regional Council. They arrived this morning in excellent condition. I shall study the pamphlets through to see which ones will be of value to me in my courses.

Most sincerely yours,

Lee McLean

Lee McLean
Professor of Social Science

LM:fs

23-m-1018c
Madison, Ward N.

October 18, 1948

Mr. Ward N. Madison
Executive Secretary
The American University at Cairo
Land Title Building
Philadelphia 10, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Madison:

It was kind of you to write about Father.

I remember with pleasure our visit together in Richmond. Philadelphia these days is off my beat, but I will turn up someday in your office.

Here is a recent good statement by our Council about civil rights.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

The American University at Cairo

INCORPORATED AT WASHINGTON D.C. IN 1919

EXECUTIVE OFFICES: LAND TITLE BUILDING

Philadelphia 10, Pennsylvania

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1948
Southern Regional Council

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LOWELL THOMAS, *New York City*
SAMUEL P. WETHERILL, *Philadelphia*

25 August 1948

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The newspaper report of your father's death reminds us of the pleasant visits with you one Sunday in the spring of 1946 when you called at our home in Richmond. As I remember, Blair Buck came by and took you off for a further visit. Since then my wife and I have moved to this area on account of my present work. However, we have not forgotten the talk with you and have had an eye out for occasional bits of information about the Council. We are indeed sorry to learn of the death of your father, but happy that he could go peacefully after such a full life.

With cordial remembrance,

Very sincerely,

Ward N. Madison

WARD N. MADISON
Executive Secretary

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

23-M-Misc. -
Mason, Lucy R.

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON
SOUTHERN PUBLIC RELATIONS
REPRESENTATIVE

75 IVY STREET. N. E
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 21, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Finding you are away, I send this for your return.

General Glancy called me up this morning and said he had talked with the Emory faculty members who work with him on his management-labor class about my suggestion of you as the CIO speaker. It seems the faculty men thought a man from inside the unions should speak, rather than a professional man.

It so happens that John Ramsay came to town yesterday, and it seemed a happy idea to suggest him - as 17 years in a steel mill, 3 years as organizer, many years active in first the steel company union, then the real union - he was union president in both groups, Bethlehem. And for 5 years trouble shooter, union adviser and public relations.

When I called the General about John he jumped at the idea. I think John will take care of himself and the situation.

Glancy says he has been trying to reach you this week and would write you a note explaining why he wants John to do the job. It would have been well done by you, and thanks for being willing to take it on.

After two weeks in Scottsville, Charlottesville, Waynesboro and Staunton, I got home last Monday and depart for Narrows, western Virginia next Sunday night. Back Nov. 5th.

Margaret's father had a close call, but went home in an ambulance Oct. 12, stood the trip well. Is improving slowly, but steadily, and she is in much better spirits about him now.

Yours,

Lucy

23 m Mason, Lucy R

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON
SOUTHERN PUBLIC RELATIONS
REPRESENTATIVE

75 IVY STREET, N. E
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 13, 1948

Dear George:

Thanks for copy of your letter to Gay Shepperson. It gives good suggestions and ought to be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Lucy R Mason

RECEIVED
JUL 14
Southern Regional Council

235 m- Mason, Lucy

July 6, 1948

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason
Congress of Industrial Organizations
75 Ivy Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Lucy:

This is all I could think of to write Gay Shepperson.

I don't know where we could lay our hands on the sort of determined, contriving people who would, for free, ask the intimate questions contained in the questionnaire.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: Ltr to Lucy R. Mason
from Gay B. Shepperson, dtd 10June48;
GSM:eb cy ltr from GSMitchell to Gay B. Shepperson,
dtd 2July48.

24-Mc-misc- McDonough, Jack

November 2, 1948

Mr. Jack McDonough
Editorial Department
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mr. McDonough:

At the request of Mr. Paul Williams, president of our Council, I take pleasure in sending you a copy of an editorial of September 20 from the New York Times about the Council's civil rights statement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

cc: Paul D. Williams

23-m-misc - Mays, Benj. E.

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

With your financial and moral support, the Morehouse endowment has been increased approximately $1,000,000 during the past eight years. It could not have been done without you and friends like you. Our endowment is now $2,000,000.

Although the endowment for Morehouse should be $3,000,000, we must turn now to the physical plant. Very soon we will launch a campaign for a chemistry building, to be used by four colleges and the university, a gymnasium, two dormitories, and a chapel. When the campaign is launched, we will need your continued interest and support. To do the next job, we will need the friends we have and we will need to cultivate new friends.

We are off to a good start this year. We have 771 men enrolled from 33 states. The faculty is good and the morale is high.

With kindest regards and best wishes to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM
dem

23-Mc-Misc-Mays, Benj. E.

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

August 7, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I thank you for your letter of August 2 commenting on the high percentage of Morehouse seniors who are doing graduate study. We have encouraged this over the years, and most of our graduates who are able to do so find themselves studying beyond the bachelor's degree.

Thanking you for your comment, and with kindest regards, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:dem

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1948
Southern Regional Council

23-M- Misc.
Mays, Benj. E.

August 2, 1948

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

I was greatly struck in reading the July, 1948, issue of the Morehouse College Bulletin with the very high proportion of last year's senior class who are now doing graduate work. Of those listed, it is about half.

The College, I am sure, is justly proud of the stimulus it has given these young men in going on for still further study.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

M—
Mays, Benjamin

March 16, 1948

Mr. Benjamin E. Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mays:

Thank you for your letter of March 10, telling me about Morehouse's need for funds.

It is a pleasure to add the enclosed five dollars.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: check

GSM:eb

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

March 10, 1948

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1948
Negro Educational Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Morehouse College is stronger in every way because we have friends like you. I want you to know that we feel obligated to you for the help you have given the college.

On February 18, when we celebrated our 81st Founder's Day, I was able to tell the people that we had succeeded in raising the $400,000 which we set out to raise several years ago. This amount has been matched by the Rockefeller endowed General Education Board, thus increasing the Morehouse endowment by $800,000. Counting current funds, we have raised $940,000 in the past seven and one-half years. You helped us to do it and we are grateful.

We lack $31,000 of having an endowment of two million dollars. Our plan is to raise the $31,000 to bring the endowment up to two million dollars and then move immediately to launch a campaign to expand the physical plant. We need a chemistry building, a gymnasium, and dormitories.

As we go forward to build a better and more efficient Morehouse, we solicit your continued interest and help.

Again thanking you and with kindest regards, I am,

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays

Benjamin E. Mays
President

M/H

24- Mac - Mac -
McCallister Frank

November 17, 1948

Mr. Frank McCallister
353 Courtland Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Frank:

I had a letter today from Charles Smith which said:

> If you see Frank McCallister, tell him I was unable yesterday to reach either Carl Taylor or Arthur Raper (who I believe is still abroad) and heard nothing from Josepy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

24-Mc-Misc-Miller, William D.

November 24, 1948

Mr. William D. Miller
Memphis State College
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

We would be very glad to help you in any way. You should know, though, that somebody else is probably doing the thing you are setting out on.

Last summer we had an extended visit from Mr. Ed Burrows. He was then a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin and is now teaching at Guilford College, Guilford, North Carolina. Our recollection is that the title of his proposed thesis was "Local Interracial Committees as a Phase of the Social History of the South." In pursuit of that, he dug about extensively in our files and made notes of many things that he wanted. My impression is that in going after the local committees, he included also the state committees and, to some extent, the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

It seems to me you will be well advised to write to Ed Burrows and demarcate, in correspondence with him, some particular phase of the problem which he has taken.

The Council would be very happy to open its files to you, but I know you would yourself be most anxious to avoid getting deep into something that your faculty advisers would have to turn you down on later because somebody else was doing it or had done it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

MEMPHIS STATE COLLEGE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Box 517
November 17, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am seriously considering the writing of a doctoral dissertation on organized interracial activities in the South. I am doing this work in the History Department of the University of North Carolina. I would like to have your reaction to the feasibility and advisability of a dissertation on the history of the Atlanta organization beginning with Dr. Will Alexander's Commission on Interracial Cooperation and working up through the Council's recent activities. Would the major body of source materials be at the Atlanta headquarters? Would you be willing to permit my working there during part of this summer?

I want to say that this is a subject in which I have considerable interest and it is my hope to do something more than a perfunctory piece of work.

Very truly yours,

William D. Miller

William D. Miller

24-MC-MISC-
Mpls FEPC

11/29/48

Carole:

Dr. Mitchell asks that we enter a six-months FREE subscription to New South to:

Wilfred C. Leland, Jr.
Executive Director
Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice Commission
Minneapolis, Minnesota

met

cc: Dr. Mitchell
Mrs. McKoy

23-M-Misc. —
Masuoka, Mike

JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMITTEE
WASHINGTON OFFICE
300 FIFTH STREET, N. E.
WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

TEL: FRANKLIN 8346

MIKE MASAOKA,
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR

November 29, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 30 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

You can count on me to call on Mr. Charles M. Smith in Washington in the next couple of weeks. I am leaving this morning for New York and will not be back for about ten days, but when I do, I will call on your associate.

When you get to Washington, don't forget to call on me.

Cordially,

Mike Masaoka

Mike Masaoka
National Legislative Director

RECEIVED
30 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
Dec 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
30 1948
Southern Regional Council

23-M-Misc.-
Masaoka, Mike

November 24, 1948

Mr. Mike Masaoka
National Legislative Director
Japanese American Citizens League
300 Fifth Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mike:

You and my friend and associate Mr. Charles M. Smith should be acquainted.

He has an office at 1833 Jefferson Place, N.W., where his telephone is STIRLING 4691. His home address is 2710 N. 25th Street, Arlington, Virginia, telephone GLEBE 6068.

Smith is assistant director of our Council.

He has just begun to put together a periodic letter for people in the Council all over the South about what is going on in Washington.

It seems to me you and he and your friends could team up as you perfect your notion for a civil rights clearinghouse effort.

When you come to Atlanta, use the Council for your headquarters.

Meanwhile, when I get to Washington, I will come to see you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

25-170-Muse-
Morenus, Gay

December 7, 1948

Miss Gay Morenus
77 Brattle Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Gay:

Margaret is gone, headed for being married, and I don't know what the paper was about. I do remember a little about Hall's Restaurant, but before you use any of it, please let me know for what.

Hall's is down on the waterfront in Washington. Not right on the water, but only half a block away. The corner building gives every evidence of having been simply a saloon for a long time. Within recent decades, I should suppose, it has been enlarged to carry big and little, upstairs and downstairs rooms, in which food--mostly seafood--is well served. There used to be a group of southerners, made up about half of members of Congress and about half of people in administrative jobs in the Government, who met* about once a month for dinner, a talk from somebody, and some discussion afterward.

In my capacity as a junior administrative person in the Resettlement Administration, I used to go with some regularity. That would have been in '35 and '36. I was out of Washington from '36 to '39, but the meetings were still taking place, as I recall, in '38 and '40.

I doubt if we met at Hall's more than six or seven times. Most people liked the food, and it was a convenient place to meet, but a southern Congressional figure who shall be nameless took fright because in the saloon part of the establishment, a part which various of us stood about in for a glass of beer at dinnertime, the end wall was decorated with a

---

* and later in the Farm Security Administration

large oil painting of a luscious lady without clothing. (That seems to be a traditional decoration of saloons.) A certain Congressman, taking note of the picture, opined that he could be defeated for office should any of his opponents happen to make a photograph of him standing in proximity to the picture. His forebodings got around and the little group moved to quarters in one of the hotels near the Station Plaza. From time to time afterward it also met in the Senate dining room.

I could dig out for you, if necessary, the names of certain Congressmen who came (though I would omit the name of the gentleman who was timid about the picture), but it was a pretty good sprinkling of the southern tolerably liberal members of Congress. I recall at once John Folger of North Carolina, Percy Priest of Tennessee, Ellis, then of Arkansas, Bob Poge of Texas, one or two of the Florida men, a couple of South Carolina men, and so on around. The Government agencies whose representatives were usually there were mainly in the Interior Department and the Department of Agriculture, with a sprinkling from the Labor Department.

We always talked about something southern, freight rates or taxes or federal aid to education. Occasionally we were dignified by the presence of a Senator or two. John Sparkman used to be a devoted member, before he was in the Senate.

That's about all I can remember. We could get more information from Tommy Blaisdell, now a big guy in the Department of Commerce. I believe your man there in Chapel Hill, Carl Durham, was pretty faithful in coming.

Get educated and come on back here. Anyhow, come back to see us at Christmas.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMrt

GAY MORENUS
77 BRATTLE STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

December 6, 1948

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
DEC 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. George,

I've been hesitating to bother you about this great paper I've been calling for Margaret's help on, but I've hit a spot you certainly could help me with, and I hope it won't take much time.

Where is Hall's Restaurant in Washington, and what is it like? Do you know some first hand atmosphere on the gatherings of administration Southern liberabs there during New Deal days? Could you reminisce a little for me? I would be very grateful.

Cambridge is a wonderful place, and a place that feels like home to me. All my courses are good, and I'm hopeful that if I get through the next month safely, I'll manage to capture a degree from the place.

I'll be home for Chuistmas, and it will be good to see you all then.

Thanks for all your past help, and for anything you can give me on the above matter.

Sincerely,
Gay

12/9

Dr. Mitchell:

While looking for something else I came across this correspondence relating to Gay's paper.

met

noted

AM

25-Mo-Misc-
Morenus, Gay

November 19, 1948

Miss Gay Morenus
77 Brattle Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Gay--

A search through the Commission files yielded very little in the way of material for your paper. I found one folder labeled "Southern Development", with a few clippings you may be able to use. I am sending you that, along with one copy of the Report on Economic Conditions of the South. I found two extra copies of that in the files, so it seems all right to lend you one. Please return both the Report and the file when you are finished with them.

I cannot find the clipping from the Constitution on the tenth anniversary of the Report. Evidently it is among the clippings Calvin Kytle is using in his research for the Council. Maybe you can find a copy of the Constitution in the library in Cambridge. It would be the same date as the News and Observer clipping.

If you have not finished your paper by the time you come home for the Christmas holidays, why don't you come up to the office and see what you can find? It stands to reason that there is more in the Commission files than I found--but it is certainly well hidden!

Sorry we are no more help to you than this. Good luck on the paper.

Love,

Margaret Price

25-Mo-Misc- Morenus, Gay

GAY MORENUS
77 BRATTLE STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

November 17, 1948

Dearest Margaret,

Thanks so very much! The News and Observer special is wonderful. You know, I think one of the nicest sentences I've read in a newspaper is the one in which Daniels says, "The South remains after ten years young and poor and so exciting and sad." That really ~~xxxxxxx~~ sums up the statistics and everything.

Thanks for the J. Wilkins list, too. I'll write to her directly too.

I just read some more of the News and Observer. It is most excellent, not just in the summary of what has happened between then and now, but especially, for me, Daniels' description of how the Report came about. I have some information about ~~xxx~~ it from Mellett, and it's good to get different views. I wonder how much Dr. George was in on all that. Maybe I should write him.

Today I had the thrilling experience of making my reservation to go home December 18. Joy! I'm certainly hoping it will work ~~xxx~~ out that I can see you then, but I know you'll be busy with plans, and it's no small jaunt.

Guess what my lovely roommate's pattern is (she's also engaged)--Old English Tipped!

Must to bed now. ~~Tipped~~ Please give my love to everybody. Love to you, Gay

November 12, 1948

Miss Gay Morenus
77 Brattle Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Gay--

This isn't a complete answer to your request for information, and not an answer at all to your nice long letter to me. Will answer that in full sometime this week-end or early next week. Also I will send you additional material on your Subject with a capital S on Monday.

Josephine Wilkins and Jane can't remember too much about their conversation re handicapped office holders in Georgia, but Miss Wilkins named off these people, thinks maybe she can think of others, and said she would write you a note herself about her ideas on the subject. Here are the ones she suggested: Walter McDonald, Chairman Ga. Public Service Commission, who is blind; Ben Fortson, Secretary of State, crippled (wheel chair); a Mr. Wilson, Secretary of State before Fortson, who has one arm (will write you his first name later); Harvey Tysinger, Assistant U.S. District Attorney, a midget; Alex Stephens, whom I expect you know all about (meaning I can't say off hand exactly what he did or what was wrong with him; you are a history major, though!). James V. Carmichael, who ran against Eugene Talmadge for Governor, walks with a cane.

Enclosed is a clipping from the News and Observer on the 10th anniversary of the Economic Report of the South. There was also an article in the Constitution, and articles in other papers, too. I'll try to find those Monday and send them to you. You can return them when you are finished with them. There is only one copy of the Report around here, so I'm afraid we can't be much help to you there. Maybe you can get it through an inter-library loan. I understand the Report is out of print and is hard to get. I am sending the pamphlet, The South, America's Opportunity Number One, under separate cover. Monday I will look through the Commission files for any clippings on the South's reaction to the Economic Report. Hope all of this will help some. Your subject sounds wonderfully interesting.

Love,

Margaret Price

MP
11/12/48

Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

77 Brattle Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts
November 8, 1948

Dear Margaret,

This is the information request I warned you about, tho' I feel a little guilty about making it, as the Council already has all my good will, and I can't hope that my paper will be any great contribution to the Cause.

However, I will be grateful. What I need is, first, a copy of the South, the Nation's Opportun ty #1, for which please bill me. Secondly, ~~in~~ would you ask Jane if she remembers Josephine Wilkins' speaking of how many Georgia public officials have had physical handicaps? If so, could you and she reconstruct some sort of list of these officials and what was wrong with them. I'm working on that as one factor in Roosevelt's tremendous personal popularity in the region. Any ideas as to the validity of such an idea would also be appreciated. Also, any information there may be around the office as to general reaction of the region to the publicizing of the South as the Problem, ~~anyxindicationxthat~~ in movements started, opinions changed, anger aroused, etc. would be much appreciated. That's very vague, of course, and so is my paper right now, but anything definite you find readily available would be a great help. Needless to say, don't spend any time on it.

Thanks so very much. Again, please remember me to all the staff. Tell Dr. George the closest I've gotten to Africa is doing concentrated reading in South Africa for my British Empire course, but that I learned a lot in that. I'm afraid I'm not going to be an expert, however. Tell Harold I think Fair Harvard is wonderful.

Thanks again,

and love,

Gay

Gay Morenus

25 - Mo — Morenus, Gay

July 8, 1948

Miss C. Gay Morenus
Kenan Hall
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

My dear Gay:

We are all so delighted to have your nice letter and to know that everything is now under control. I can understand how busy you were, and why, and I am glad that you have now got your load adjusted for carrying.

I am enclosing a check to cover the annual leave which is due. At the rate of one day per month, I have figured a total of five and a half days through June 11, which, with one and a half days deducted, leaves a total of four days.

Jane has taken over like a veteran but we shall continue to miss you for a long time to come. Drop us a note whenever you can. I need not tell you, but we shall follow your career with the warmest personal interest. With heartiest good wishes from all of us, I am

Affectionately yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosure

25 - Mo - Morenus, Gay

June 18, 1948

Dear Gay:

I think you took the right decision. I am nearly always a Chapel Hiller against a Radcliffer.

We had Jane on tap, as you know, and Jane is picking up most of your duties, so don't worry about us--we are in good shape and will get along.

You have been a very nice person indeed to work with, and we are all grateful for nice manners, good temper, hard work and a good head.

Much luck and such an outfall of events as will keep you cheerful!

Sincerely,

Miss Gay Morenus
c/o Earl Page
Box 327
Chapel Hill
North Carolina

95-M20-Morenus Richard

June 18, 1948

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Morenus:

I should like to thank you both for letting me have Gay these past several months.

She was obligingness, alertness and efficiency itself the whole time she was here. She made a very substantial contribution to the work we do.

Everyone here will follow her career in life with the greatest interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mr. and Mrs. Richard T. Morenus
364 Old Ivy Road, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

25 - Mo-
Morenus, Gay

June 16, 1948

Miss Gay Morenus
% Mr. Earle C. Page
Box 327
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Gay:

Here is your salary check for the first part of June. I have not included payment for unused leave as I am in some doubt as to its status, since I do not find any leave slips covering annual leave. I do recall that you took a day or two of leave on several occasions and also, that you made up some of this time. I am enclosing some blank forms and if you will let me have the information on any leave which was taken and not made up, I will then send you an additional check covering the unused portion of your leave. You were due a total of six days.

We miss you very much, but Jane is picking up nobly, and I am sure will keep everything in the groove.

I imagine that you are exceedingly busy at this point, but when you reach some sort of a hiatus, we should like to hear all about it.

With kindest personal regards and good wishes from all of us, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKey
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosures

25-mo-misc.-Murray, Florence

FLORENCE MURRAY
10 EAST 138th STREET
NEW YORK 35, N. Y.

EDITOR, THE NEGRO HANDBOOK
PUBLISHED BY MACMILLAN

December 18, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
62 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the copy of The Southern Packet and for your generosity in giving me a three-month subscription to New South.

Unfortunately, I have no organization for the compilation of THE NEGRO HANDBOOK. I do most of the work myself, with contributions in sports, labor and the theatre from persons whom I pay. Because of the cost of compiling THE HANDBOOK, I have never made it pay, and must do other work for a living. At this time, I am out of work, and royalties on the next issue of my book shall not come in until next summer, since the book will be published in the early spring.

Therefore, I cannot afford to subscribe to your publications at this time. Perhaps I can do so next summer.

Again, I thank you for the information which you have sent to me and for your kindness.

Yours very truly,

Florence Murray

Florence Murray

25-MO-Misc.-
Murray, Florence

GSM:t
cc: Mrs. McKoy

December 15, 1948

Miss Florence Murray, Editor
The Negro Handbook
10 East 138th Street
New York 35, New York

Dear Miss Murray:

Thank you for your card of December 10.

Could your organization afford the $1.50 a year for a subscription to New South (with the additional pamphlets from time to time) or, alternatively, would some one there join the Council? That costs $5.00 a year.

We really don't have a free mailing list. Nevertheless, I take pleasure in entering your name for three months for free, and shall hope that toward the end of that time, somebody could become a subscriber.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

10 East 138th St.
New York 35, N.Y.
December 10, 1938.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you kindly for your reply to my letter asking for data on the Negro vote in the South. I had not received previously the study by Luther Jackson. Thanks for sending it. I have written to the N.A.A.C.P. for whatever data they may have, but have not as yet heard from the office. Will you kindly place my name on your mailing list to receive your reports and releases. I am not on the list.

Yours very truly,

Florence Murray

Florence Murray, Editor
THE NEGRO HANDBOOK

24-mc — Music -
McLin, Charles B.

December 21, 1948

Greetings!

Sorry we didn't have more time to talk the other Saturday. You could have told me about the world of food, and I would have liked to tell you something about my work. I believe I'll send you a copy of one of Dr. Mitchell's recent letters that tells something about the Council. Look over it when you have a chance.

Needless to say, we are running on a shoestring. If you want a new income tax deduction, we're it!

Happy Christmas, and happy New Orleans. Call me when youall come through Atlanta on the way home, and I'll introduce you to the French restaurant. My telephone number at the office is WALNUT 1821 or WALNUT 7963; at home (537 Seminole Avenue, N.E.), WALNUT 7539.

Elizabeth Taylor

Mr. Charles B. McLin
Box 338
Charlotte, North Carolina

24 - McClain, Howard

January 18, 1949

Mr. Howard G. McClain
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. McClain:

I can undertake to be on your campus by 10:30 in the morning of Wednesday, January 26, and will be willing to do any talking (and of course any lunching!) that you wish me to do.

I haven't looked up trains, but I am due to get out that night for Tampa.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

MERCER UNIVERSITY
MACON, GEORGIA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

January 15, 1949

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 17 1949
S. Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The date of January 26th will be very acceptable to us as the time for your being on the campus with us.

If you can ~~come~~ let us know about what time you will arrive, we would like to arrange to have you meet with some other classes in the morning, and then have lunch with a group of the faculty at noon.

Also, we want to work out a meeting late in the afternoon with a group from the local Interracial Commission.

Looking forward to your being with us, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Howard B. McClain

Macon trip

January 12, 1949

Mr. Howard G. McClain
Department of Sociology
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. McClain:

Thanks a lot for the $2.00 and the suggestion about the magazine. We are cashing the $2.00 with pleasure, and exploring further about the magazine.

I am tied up in New Orleans and elsewhere the week of the 20th.

Could you use me Wednesday, January 26? I have to be in Tampa next day and so could readily be in Macon on the way down.

I guess I would drive down, to arrive in Macon the forenoon of Wednesday the 26th, if that suits you. Then I would take a train or a bus out toward Tampa that night.

2e
MGt

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed in a check for $2.00 for materials sold at the meeting of Negro principals before Christmas. I had a very pleasant experience, though was unable to get there early enough to have all the materials sold. I am keeping the unsold materials, in anticipation of selling them at local meetings.

At the meeting I attended, one of the Negroes suggested that information ~~and~~ about the SRC and its materials be carried in the magazine of the Negro teachers in Georgia.

2.00 MCK.

JPGM

Mr. Curtis
written 1/12/49

MERCER UNIVERSITY

MACON, GEORGIA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

January 6, 1949

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In connection with my course on the Sociology of the South we are especially anxious to have the opportunity to discuss certain strategic aspects of contemporary Southern life with specialists. We would be very happy for you to be with us to discuss race relations. (I will write more in detail later about this.)

We suggest the date of January 20. However, if this date is not possible, any other day in that week would be suitable. If none of these dates is possible, and if some other school date (Monday through Friday) between now and March 4 is available, suggest it and we will endeavor to adjust our schedule.

It is hoped that you can spend as much of the day as possible with us on our campus, both to learn more about the college and to allow others to have the opportunity to know and hear you. The class on the South meets from 2:00-4:00 P. M.

At the present time, things being as they are in our relatively small church-related college, we do not have available funds to bring speakers to the campus. However, if you do not have an expense account for traveling, let us know and we will arrange to take care of your transportation.

It will mean a great deal to the class and our campus if you can be with us. I sincerely hope that you will be able to come. Your reply will be eagerly awaited.

Very sincerely yours,

Howard G. McClain

Howard G. McClain
Department of Sociology

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

M/b

2 Enc.

November 24, 1948

Mr. Howard McLain
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. McLain:

It was very nice of you to take on the job of going over to the conference of school principals for us.

How did you come out?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

November 18, 1948

Mr. Howard McClain
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Howard:

After Dr. Mitchell talked with you yesterday we mailed copies of recent Council publications that you may use in the Principals' Conference. We are glad that you can attend the meeting.

Hey to Barbara and Ray! I was in Macon last weekend visiting Becky Luttrell Roberds, but missed seeing you.

Sincerely,

Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

15 Honest Answers — 75¢
15 Flemings
15 price lists
4 each of other recent publications

For your information
P.L.C.

RECEIVED
NOV 17 1948
Southern Regional Council

PROGRAM

ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

OF

GEORGIA PRINCIPALS OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES

L. H. Williams School, Macon, Georgia

November 19 and 20, 1948

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LET'S KNOW AND HELP OUR STUDENTS THROUGH GUIDANCE

******

Friday, November 19, 9:30 A.M.
Auditorium, L. H. Williams School, Macon

Presiding	Mr. Frank A. Dodson, Principal Howard Warner High School, Newnan
Music	Band, Ballard High School, Macon
Devotional	Rev. J. N. Miller, Presiding Elder, Macon District, A.M.E. Church, Macon
Welcome	Dr. Mark A. Smith, Superintendent, Bibb County Schools, Macon
	Miss Agnes May, Jeanes Supervising Teacher, Bibb County, Macon
Response	Mr. Harold N. Stinson, Principal Boggs Academy, Keysville
Music	Chorus, Hudson High School, Macon
Status of Guidance Service in Georgia Schools	Mr. R. D. Pulliam, State Supervisor of Occupational Information and Guidance, Atlanta
Initiating a Guidance Program	Mr. D. L. Boger, Personnel Department, Morehouse College, Atlanta
Showing of Film "Aptitudes and Occupations"	
Question and Answer Period on Guidance	
Introductions and Announcements	

******

Lunch at Ward Street Vocational School ---- and inspection of that school at work

******

Friday Afternoon - 2:30 P.M.

Presiding	Mr. H. E. Bryant, Principal, Hunt High School, Fort Valley
Music	Choir, Albany State College, Albany
Discussion of Interpretations of Results of Senior Testing Program	Led by Mr. R. D. Pulliam, Atlanta
Report of Committee on Recruitment and Selection of Georgia Committee on Co-operation in Teacher Education	Dr. H. A. Bowen, Chairman of Committee and Registrar of Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley

******

Supper at Ward Street Vocational School at 5:30 P.M.

******

Friday Evening - 6:30 P.M.

Semi-annual meeting of Organization of Principals

Presiding	Mr. L. S. Molette, Principal, Carroll County Training School, Carrollton, and President of Principals Organization

******

Friday Evening - 8:30 P.M.

Football Game - (Porter Stadium)	Hunt High School, Fort Valley vs Hudson High School, Macon
Concert - (Georgia Baptist College Auditorium)	Choir, Fort Valley State College

******

Saturday, November 20, 9:30 A.M.

Presiding	Mr. Daniel F. Davis, Principal Emery Street High School, Dalton
Music	Chorus, Georgia Baptist College, Macon
New Homemakers of America Program	Miss Robbie Rutland, President Georgia N.H.A., Hubbard Training School, Forsyth
Health Education (a) Presentation of Guide in Health Education for Teachers. (b) Showing of film "The School That Learned to Eat". (c) Discussion	Miss Dorothy Ury and Dr. W. A. Mason, Consultants, State Department of Health, Atlanta
The American Teachers Association	Mr. J. T. Brooks, Regional Vice-President, Montgomery, Alabama
The Georgia Teachers and Educational Association	Mr. R. J. Martin, President, Macon Mr. C. L. Harper, Executive Secretary, Atlanta

Announcements

Adjournment

FRANKLIN 8346

23-W-Misc-
Masaoka, Mike

JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMITTEE
WASHINGTON OFFICE
300 FIFTH STREET, N. E. WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

MIKE MASAOKA
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR

Dear Friend:

Because of your interest in our legislative activity, we are enclosing for your information our national legislative program for the year.

We are hopeful that most of our program will be accepted by this Congress.

Our campaign for equality in naturalization and immigration has already begun in the House, with five identical bills introduced. Representatives Francis E. Walter, Democrat of Pennsylvania, Walter H. Judd, Republican of Minnesota, George P. Miller, Democrat of California, (Delegate) Joseph R. Farrington, Republican of Hawaii, and Sidney R. Yates, Democrat of Illinois, are co-sponsoring this legislation.

We trust that our program merits your support and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Mike Masaoka

Mike Masaoka
National Legislative Director

RECEIVED
JAN 28 1949
Southern Regional C

53 M-Misc - Manship, George

1947

Sending: Fleming, October/New South, October 1948 New South, September 1948 New South, Honest Answer reprint, paste-up, Dec.-Jan. New South, Hill-Burton New South, Vance, Dickens, Housing, Educated South, "By the People.2

January 24, 1949

Mr. George Manship
The State-Times
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Manship:

It was kind of you to arrange time for our pleasant meeting the other day.

Here are some printed things about the Council, which I do hope you will find time to look through.

We have had the friendship of much of the press in the South and are anxious to continue to deserve it.

The Council has as yet no statewide organization in Louisiana. It is hoped that in the next few months something can be done to get a Louisiana State Division of the Council going.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Mrs. Tilly
Harold Fleming
President Felton Clark

24-mc- misc-
McDill, Rev. T. H.

February 1, 1949

Rev. Thomas H. McDill, Jr.
Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church
957 Highland Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Tom:

Here is something that might help the young people's group of the church, if they are planning something for Race Relations Sunday (February 13). Perhaps you have seen this material already--it comes from Federal Council of Churches. They get out a packet during Brotherhood Month with program suggestions for different age groups in the church.

Blessings on thee.

Elizabeth Taylor

24-Mc-Music -
Millis, Mrs. Mary R.

February 2, 1949

Dear Mrs. Millis:

Probably others have sent you this praising mention of one of Walter Millis' books.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Mrs. Mary Raoul Millis
377 - 10th Street, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

23-M-Misc -
Maynard, Edwin H.

February 10, 1949
Dict. February 7

Mr. Edwin H. Maynard
Editorial Assistant
The Christian Advocate
740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mr. Maynard:

I am only today (!) finding your letter of January 18, saying you were coming. My apologies for not being fully prepared.

In any case, it was a great pleasure to talk with you.

As to the labor union business and its influence on race relations, I suggest that an article in the November, 1946 Fortune, "Labor Drives South", is still a pretty good summary of the impact of the labor movement in the South. On pages 230 and 231 are some paragraphs in which I can see a reflection of an interview I had with the authors of the article.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

The Christian Advocate

THE OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER MAGAZINE OF METHODISM

~~ROY L. SMITH, EDITOR~~

740 RUSH STREET • CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

NEWS DEPARTMENT

T. OTTO NALL
Acting Editor

January 18, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You may recall our brief correspondence of last year regarding a series of articles which I am preparing for THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE on the progress being made in race relations in the South.

I am planning to be in Atlanta on Thursday, February 3, gathering material for this series and I shall stop in your office for suggestions as to where some of the best practices may be found.

Cordially yours,

Edwin H. Maynard

Edwin H. Maynard
Editorial Assistant

ehm:m

23 - M - Misc -
Mason, Vivian Carter

February 10, 1949

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason
909 Maypole Avenue
Norfolk 2, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

We are trying to get wider use of our pamphlets for discussion groups and so on. We particularly like to get them exhibited and sold or ordered at meetings.

In Norfolk, you have the Virginia president of the State (Negro) Parent-Teachers Association. He is Mr. Henry Davis, 2646 Middle Avenue, Norfolk.

Notwithstanding how busy you are, could you call him or, if possible, go and see him, and see if you can work out something that would help the Council get its material into the hands of his groups. I am sending a couple of price lists. We would all be grateful for your kindness in this.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:nh

24 - mc - Misc -
Millard, Wm. J.

February 14, 1949

Mr. William J. Millard
Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc.
383 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Millard:

Thank you for your letter of February 4.

The Southern Regional Council's monthly magazine is called New South. Its editor is Mr. Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Copy should reach it by the 20th of the month for the succeeding month's issue.

Circulation 4,500, of which 4,000 is paid.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc.
ELdorado 5-5800
383 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York
Advertising

February 4, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

The Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

Cavalcade of America is one radio program you've heard. For in 13 years on the air, Cavalcade has brought to life on the airwaves Americans who have contributed in hundreds of ways to making the USA a successful democracy, and a prosperous center of social and scientific progress.

From sportsman Babe Ruth to President George Washington, from suffragette Carrie Chapman Catt to industrialist Eliphalet Remington, from Chief Scout James E. West to busy Fanny Farmer, their magnificent stories have been told to listening millions of people.

But sometimes the story has not been told--for the simple reason that the people most interested were not listening. Nobody informed them the life of their favorite national hero, or keen-minded scientist, or beloved singer, or tempestuous president, would be dramatically re-enacted on the air.

To avoid this disappointment, we would like to let you and your membership know in advance of any future Cavalcade of America program which we believe would be of particular interest to you.

Hence this request for:

the title of your organization's bulletin or publication
name and address of its editor
publication and closing dates
number of circulation

If you can enclose a recent issue for our files, we shall be delighted to receive it.

Please address your reply to the undersigned.

Cordially yours,

William J. Millard

William J. Millard

25 - Mo - Misc. -
Monthly Summary
(Race Rels.)

SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

RACE RELATIONS
A MONTHLY SUMMARY
OF
EVENTS AND TRENDS

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

February 15, 1949

To Readers of Race Relations

Dear Friend:

RACE RELATIONS: A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations is being terminated with a Yearbook issue which should reach you some time during the month of March. The Yearbook issue will summarize significant events since the last issue of RACE RELATIONS (April-May issue), with an overall summary for the year, 1948.

According to our records, upon the receipt of the Yearbook issue, you will have received the equivalent of 12 issues of RACE RELATIONS -- coverage for a 12-month period.

Initiated as a dynamic and service organ, it is hoped that RACE RELATIONS has been of assistance to those active and responsible people working in the field of human relations who found themselves in need of reliable coverage of events and currents in this very important area of American life.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

24-Inc. Misc -
Mitchell, Morris

March 11

Dear George:

Thanks for yours of March 4. I shall pass this word on to the film service of The Cooperative League.

Ever,

Morris

Morris R. Mitchell

24-Mic. Misc -
Mitchell, Morris

March 4, 1949

Dear Morris:

I have a letter from George Stoney with the following:

> "Good Business", about a cocoa co-op. in Nigeria which shows how it works from the small farmer straight through to railway cars (train driven by Negro) to Lagos and on to ships, without a white man touching anything--just a good solid coop film.

I gather this is made by the Colonial Film Unit, 21 Soho Square, London. George intends to bring a copy of it back with him.

He asked that you be notified.

Best,

George S. Mitchell

Mr. Morris Mitchell
Southeastern Cooperative League
Clarkesville, Georgia

23-M- Misc -
Maxwell, Louise

March 14, 1949

Dear Coffee:

For lo, these many months I have wanted to answer your questions about this outfit I'm working for. Perhaps you can look over the materials I am sending separately.

And to tell you what it is not: it is not the UCYM, as you suggested! There is a southern regional council of UCYM, in this building. I used to be in UCYM, however, and have been to some of their conferences.

Tartt Bell has been here twice lately--just last week with Kirby Page. We are hoping to get a real Friends Meeting established here. Spread the good word at Guilford.

Come see us when you get down this way.

Sincerely,

Elisabeth Taylor

Miss Louise Maxwell
Church of the Covenant
Greensboro, North Carolina

Oct. 4th

The Church
My day off!

Lib – my little accordian angel
I love! So do other people –
In fact, I'm gonna have to keep
close watch or someone will
pocket it, candle + all –
I like very much your thinking
of it and me together!

Your work in Atlanta
would no doubt sound interesting
if I knew more about it. When
you say Southern Regional ~~Conference~~
does that mean UCYM? I'm
ignorant. Anyway – like it
& do a lot of good –

Louise Maxwell

L. Maxwell
Church of the Covenant
Greensboro
N.C.

Memo . : . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

3/17/49

Mrs. McKoy:

Dr. Mitchell asks that we get off today the following literature to Mrs. Moman (label and correspondence attached):

3 copies each of our present better "for sale" literature

10 copies each of our "useful, decent," free literature

30 copies of Virginia County, flat (Not folded)

~~THXXXXXXX~~ Mr. Schaeffer's letter says to "designate definitely " the two groups--that is, free and non-free.

Thanks,

met

cc: GSM

10 SRC
10 copies Which Way
10 Unity
3 - The Negro in Our Economy
3 - By the People

Send 25 - lists

3 copies Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation
" Wanted: An Educated South
" Wanted: A Healthy South
" Race & Suffrage in the South
" To Secure these Rights
" The Condition of our Rights
" America's Tenth Man
" Machines in the Cotton Fields
" Housing in the South

25-Mo-Misc-
Moman, Mrs. Z. E.

cc: Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer

March 17, 1949

Mrs. Z. E. Moman
247 Adelle Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Moman:

We heard today from Mr. Schaeffer that you wanted some sample literature for the meeting March 24-25 of the Mississippi Congress of Parents and Teachers. I send you in a bundle three copies each of our more important things that are for sale, and ten copies of each of our more useful free items, and in addition, thirty copies of the recent issue of New South that tells about King George County, Virginia. I am sure you know what an important one that is.

The Association of the Negro teachers of Georgia bought, just the other day, 7,500 copies of the "Virginia County" issue to be distributed to every Negro teacher in the state. We have, as you know, sent copies to each county superintendent of schools and to most town and city superintendents of schools in the South.

The thirty copies are for you to give away. But I have some faint hope that your members will like it so much that they will want to buy enough, at the cost price of three cents apiece, for distribution to the whole membership.

We will be most grateful for your kindness in sending us back any ten-centses or fifteen-centses that you take in on the sale of the "for sale" items, but we realize that the clerical cost to you of getting the table of literature attended would be a more important item than return to us of the tiny income involved.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

March 17, 1949

The Rev. Mr. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

We have sent out today the literature for Mrs. Z. E. Moman which you requested. Thank you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church

of

The United Lutheran Church of America

H. BRENT SCHAEFFER, D. D., Pastor
1525 Robinson Street

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

WM. KAROW, President
136 N. Prentiss St.

C. G. HOWORTH, Secretary
414 Yazoo St.

GEORGE MORI, Treasurer
111 W. Capitol St.

M. C. RISER, Jr., Financial Secretary
P. O. Box 1700

Mar. 16, 1949

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

Please send Mrs. Z. E. Moman, 247 Adelle St., Jackson, Miss., sample copies of your free and 'for sale' literature. She promises to have it displayed with the literature of the Mississippi Congress of Parents and Teachers at their meeting March 24-25. Please designate definitely the two groups.

Yours truly,

H. Brent Schaeffer

H. Brent Schaeffer

RECEIVED
MAR 17 1949
Southern Regional Council

25-Mo-Misc-
Moman, Mrs Z. E.

February 24, 1949

The Rev. Mr. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

We promised to remind you along about now that you had been good enough to talk with Mrs. Z. E. Moman of the PTA's about literature that she might be needing for her state meeting in March.

Maybe if someone from the Council could be present at the meeting and preside over a table full of pamphlets, that would help get them out. Or, of course, Mrs. Moman might be handing each person who comes a packet of useful materials.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

January 12, 1949

The Rev. Mr. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

We had the attached letter from Mrs. Moman. Thank you very much for talking with her.

We are setting up a "tickler" in this office to make us be in touch with you around February 20, about your inquiries of Mrs. Moman as to just what she will need in the way of literature.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

January 12, 1949

Mrs. Z. E. Moman
247 Adelle Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Moman:

I am most grateful for your kind letter of January 6, forecasting some arrangement by which the Council's work and some of its literature can be presented at the March meeting of the Mississippi Congress of Colored PTA's.

I am asking Mr. Schaeffer to be in touch with you late in February, with a view to making final arrangements.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Mississippi Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers

Branch of

National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

January, 6, 1949.

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchel;

Southern Regional Conference,

Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchel;

Your latter to Re v. Schaefer has been given me after a conference with him .

It seems that we may be able to present the work during our state meeting in March and distribute some of your very interesting material.

I assure you our full cooperation in this very important movement.

Sincerely Yours,

Z. E. Moman, President.

COPY

January 6, 1949

Mr. George Mitchell
...
...

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter to Rev. Schaefer has been given me after a conference with him.

It seems that we may be able to present the work during our state meeting in March and distribute some of your very interesting material.

I assure you our full cooperation in this very important movement.

Sincerely yours,

(signed)

Z. E. Moman, President

December 20, 1948

Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

You have in Jackson the state president of the (Negro) Parent-Teachers Association. She is Mrs. Z. E. Moman, 247 Adelle Street, Jackson.

They have annual meetings and local meetings, and I have reason to believe that they could use and buy some of our pamphlets.

Could you be so very helpful as to see her or talk with her, and see whether you can arrange something that would get our materials to her people?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

24-Mc-Music-
McCulloch, Marg. C.

3/24/49
1 ck
McK.

March 23, 1949

Mrs. Margaret C. McCulloch
858 Whitford Place
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. McCulloch:

Thank you for your letter of March 18, with its appreciated check for a dollar covering various pamphlets.

On the main matter of your letter, I am afraid there is nothing I can do. However, I will remember it.

I do hope the Tennessee Division, with help from you and others, can find a way to get an effective group at work in the Memphis area.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

P. S. I send you herewith a copy of "Wanted: A Healthy South."

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

MARGARET C. McCULLOCH, FIELD ASSOCIATE
858 WHITFORD PLACE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

March 18-1949.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:-

Your letter of March 4 about forming local chapters of the Southern Regional Council was most helpful. I am agreeably surprised to know that Mr. Myrdal found my letter valuable & that his interest continues, as I never received an acknowledgement of my letter from him & so supposed he either found no value in it or was discouraged & had decided to drop the matter. I will write him again in April if I don't hear from him further this month. My correspondence with you will give me an excuse for doing so, I think, without seeming officious.

With regard to the health problem your suggestions are most helpful & I shall certainly follow up some

of them, possibly that about Dr. Davis with reference to next Fall or after rather than now.

The materials, all but one, have reached me. The survey outline is here, also the copies of Americans Speak Out, the United Nations Declaration, and "What North Carolina Did About Public Health" Sept. 1947 New South. The pamphlet Wanted: A Healthy South is lacking. It is possible that you either forgot to slip it in, or that someone else doing the mailing found no copies remaining available. It is also possible that it was lost in transit. The local P.O. opens all my incoming packages of 2nd class mail. They throw away the string, or leave the torn ends open, or the envelopes in ribbons. As they point out they have a legal right to open all such items or whether it's the local gestapo alarmed at "Race Relations", "International Fellowship of Reconciliation" etc. or some of the packages or just an ornery cuss that gets a kick out of upping open packages the result is the same. If you will overlook it and send me another I'll be obliged. It is finally possible that I misplaced it in filing; but I cannot find it in my files.

There is one other matter about which I am

emboldened to write you (though it should be most confidential) by what I read of the Catholic Committee of the South in New South, Sept. '47. It is the problem of the influence contrary to all that the Southern Regional Council stands for of a prominent Catholic layman here, Mr. Phil Canale. This man is wealthy, influential with business men, close to the political machine, and a very influential Catholic layman in Tennessee Catholic circles, I am told. He throws his whole weight against anything integration or that would disturb the pattern of white supremacy, big business domination & machine politics. He is a very retarding factor in the nascent liberalism of such men as Ed Barry (also a Catholic layman & a State S.R.C. member & with nat'l. Conf. on Christians & Jews.) Candle eg. supports this last governor's Catholic support provided it remains strictly Jim Crow, they & does not touch issues of social justice. Are there not enough strong Catholics in the Southern area whose position as a good Catholic he would feel bound to respect — some wise priest for instance, —

who might, without reflecting having heard this, make occasion to talk with him and perhaps succeed at the least in persuading him that as a good Catholic he should not oppose the endeavor to rid the country of the sin of racialism called by the Pope himself one of the worst sins in today's world - at the best in converting him to an affirmative attitude? Do not believe these things are done by attack or by propaganda, but by quiet individual approach & man to man conversation. Here is a churchman, probably sincere, certainly active in his church life, but blind to the contradiction of his stand in these matters with the position of his church as interpreter of the faith. No outsider can do much about this; a wise, authoritative yet tactful & understanding Catholic clergyman might & it would remove a real stumbling block & might turn the stumbling block into a solid building stone! Please treat this as strictly confidential. It comes to me from confidential sources - & until now I have had no channel through which it might be privately channelled out to some person in a position to help. Sincerely yours, Marguerite McCullard

Church encloses 55¢ of Jesuit Mass & Sermon Plan.
45¢ Stamps enclosed for postage.

24-Mc-Misc-
McCulloch, Margaret

March 11, 1949

Mrs. Margaret C. McCulloch
858 Whitford Place
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. McCulloch:

The copies of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that we ordered from the State Department (for free) have come. Since you mentioned needing copies of this, you might want to request some from:

Group Relations Branch
Division of Public Liaison
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

They responded promptly to our request.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

24 - Mc - Misc
McGill, Ralph

April 15, 1949

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

I send you my copy of the current New Statesman.

You will see that Crossman singled out the two Atlanta papers for special praise.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Mc — McGill

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

DAILY AND SUNDAY

ATLANTA, GA.

CLARK HOWELL
PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER
RALPH McGILL
EDITOR

June 2, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 3 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I want to do a story on the ten-year anniversary of the President's Economic Report on the South. I know this is an imposition, but I wonder if you would be good enough to give me at least a sentence reaction on each of the fifteen points in that report.

Cordially yours,

Ralph

Ralph McGill D.P.
Editor

RM:dp

Mc -
McGill, Ralph

March 2, 1948

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

Here is the editorial from the February 25 issue of The Richmond News Leader which I showed you yesterday.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s
Enclosure

25 - Ind Misc. -
Murphy, Mr. H. S.

April 15, 1949

Mr. H. S. Murphy
275 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Murphy:

I am glad you wrote to Mr. McGill the letter of March 10, 1948, which you were good enough to let me read.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Miller

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHERN OFFICE - 11 PRYOR ST. S.W. - ATLANTA 3, GA.

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Oklahoma City, Okla.

April 18, 1949

RECEIVED
APR 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley-Memorial Bldg.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing an advertising brochure of The Gastonia (N.C.) Gazette. Note especially the next to the last page, which refers to Negro news. You will note that Negroes are referred to as Mr. & Mrs. in the news stories and photo captions.

I spoke to James W. Atkins, the editor-publisher of the Gazette when I was in Gastonia last week. He is an extremely "liberal" person and a very courageous fighter for democratic ideals, both personally and through his newspaper.

It occurs to me that Mr. Atkins would be a splendid addition to your Council board, if he is not already a member.

Kindest regards.

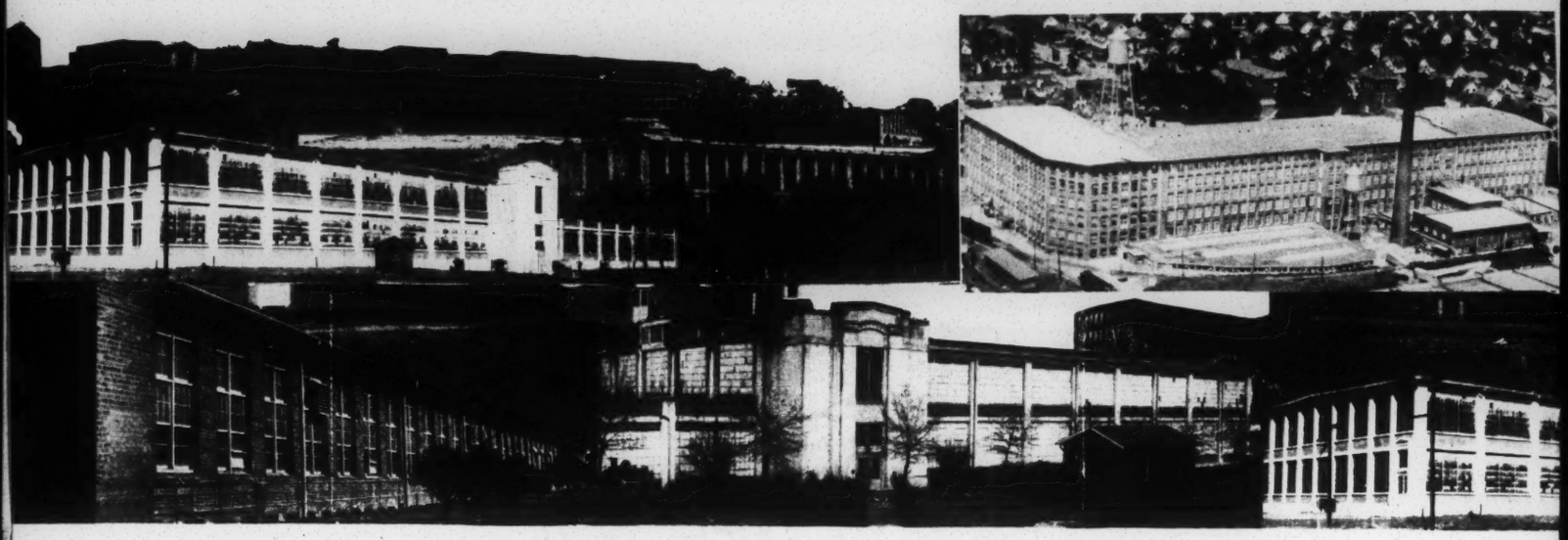
Sincerely yours,

Art Levin

Arthur J. Levin
Community Consultant

AJL/ea

THERE'S ONLY *One* WAY TO SELL THE GREATEST TEXTILE CITY IN THE UNIVERSE!



TEXTILES MAKE GASTONIA...

On U. S. Highways 29 and 74, in the salubrious Piedmont Plateau region of North Carolina, Gastonia is the county seat of Gaston County - the nation's leading cotton textile producing county.

Gastonia and Gaston County make a self-sufficient, burgeoning market-one with a self-sufficient, growing newspaper that the people want and buy from: The Gastonia Gazette.

RETAIL OUTLETS AND SALES
1947 - GASTONIA, N.C.

	No. of Stores	Sales (000)
Total	327	$18,991*
Apparel	25	698
Automotive	18	1,650
Drug	5	656*
Eating & Drinking	52	402
Filling Stations	36	489
Furniture&Household	18	1,203
Grocery	80	7,149*
Hardware, Lumber, etc.	9	738

BANK DEPOSITS: $29,241,004.77

PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES: Fine combed yarns, sewing thread, foundries, bottling works, cotton warehouses, diversified farming.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS: Tire fabric machinery, motor oil filters, worsted yarns, hosiery.

RETAIL OUTLETS: Largest Department stores - Matthews-Belk Co., Efirds. Chain Drug Stores - Smith's Cut Rate(Walgreen)-2 stores. 3 Supermarkets - A&P, Dixie Home, Big Star. Leading Variety Stores - Woolworth, Charles, Rayless, Kress, Eagle.

4 Grocery Wholesale Houses.

Editor & Publisher Market Guide

*Sales Management Survey of Buying Power estimates for 1947

It's a **BIG** *Market!*

1947 - ADD 000 TO SALES

	RETAIL SALES	FOOD	GENL MERCH	DRUG	WHLSLE	NET EBI	EBI PER FAM	POP (THOUS)	FAM (THOUS)	GAZETTE CIRC.	% COVERAGE OF FAMILES
GASTON COUNTY, N.C.	$34,096	$17,095	$6,757	$1,553	-	$76,231	$3,343	103.1	22.8	15,658	68
GASTONIA	18,991	7,149	5,346	656	$52,323	29,044	5,379	22.8	5.4	9,224	171
York COUNTY, S.C. (PART)	7,074	1,954	1,083	209	-	10,277	3,893	11.3	2.6	390	15
TOTAL, ABC RTZ	$41,170	$19,049	$7,840	$1,762	-	$86,508	$3,618	114.4	25.4	16,048	63

Sources: Sales and income, SM est for 1947;
Circulation, ABC Audit for year
ending Mar. 31, 1948

CIRCULATION OF THE GAZETTE IN CITIES & TOWNS
IN THE ABC RETAIL TRADING ZONE

GASTON CO., N.C.	POP.	CIRC.
Gastonia	22.311	9,224
Alexis	155	53
Belmont	4,395	1,158
Bessemer City	3,567	807
Cherryville	3,225	228
Cramerton	3,280	565
Dallas	1,704	740
Gastonia Rural Routes	-	866
Hardin	-	93
High Shoals	1,905	131
Lowell	1,826	603
McAdenville	887	216
Mt. Holly	2,055	459
Ragan Mill	-	53
Spencer Mt.	-	75
Stanley	1,036	347
Greater Gastonia	33,487	-
TOTAL GASTON COUNTY		15,658
YORK COUNTY, S.C.		
Bowling Green	-	71
Clover	3,067	329
TOTAL YORK COUNTY		390

...GASTONIA MAKES TEXTILES
and Textile Machinery!

for FOOD, Gaston County spends 4TH MOST per capita among N.C.'s largest counties: $166.00

Clark Co., Wash.

PORTLAND

Solano Co., Calif.

Contra Costa, Calif.

OAKLAND

Riverside, CAL.

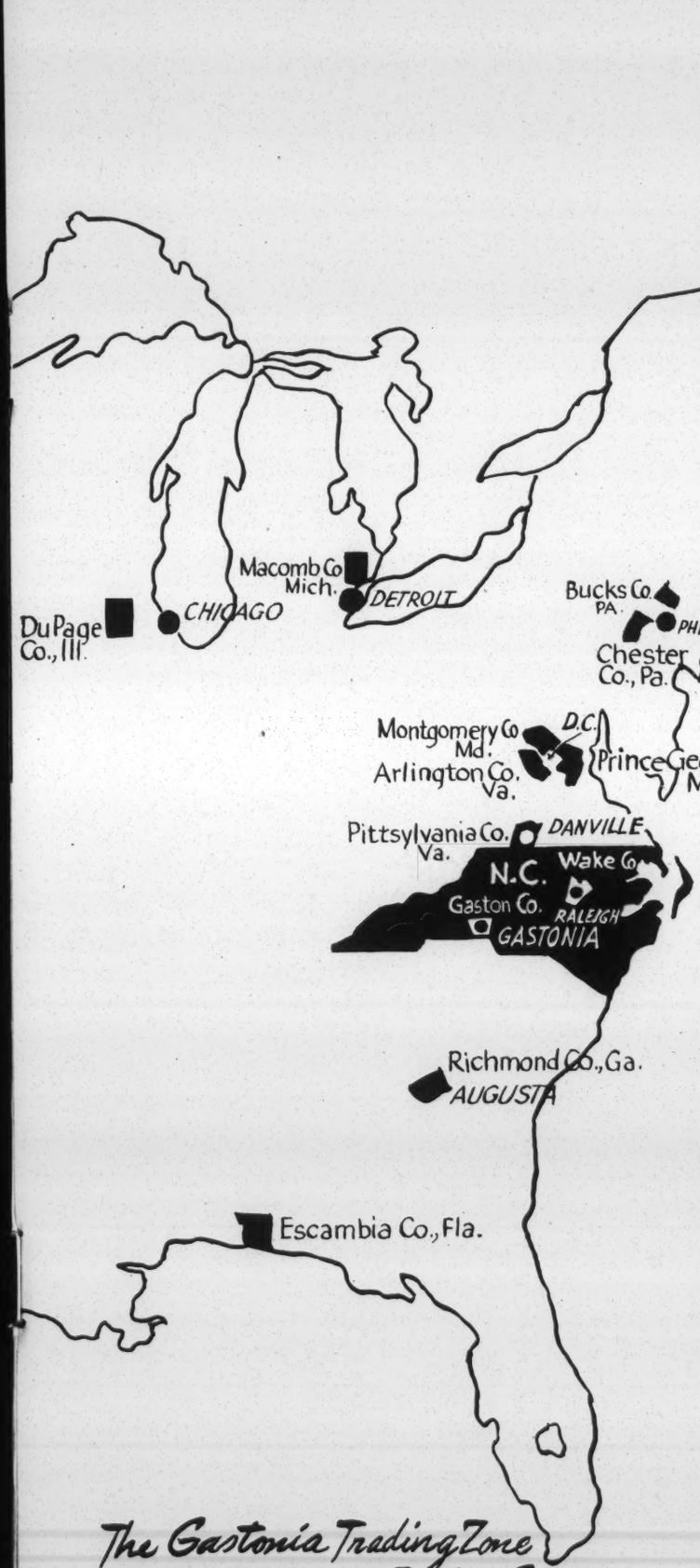
-6th in State in Population (1947)
-6th in Food Sales

....and Gastonia is -8th in EBI per Family
-9th in Wholesale Sales

IT'S A MARKET HUNGRY FOR YOUR PRODUCT, AND ONLY THE GAZETTE IS TO ITS TASTE!

SM estimates for 1947

THE GASTONIA ABC RETAIL TRADING ZONE



Gaston outsells many BIGGER counties all over the U.S.-

All of the counties listed below have larger populations than Gaston, yet Gaston beats them all in one or more important market index:

GASTON COUNTY POPULATION - 103,100

General Merchandise Sales:

Arlington Co., Va.	(pop.	201.7)	$4,848	
Bucks Co., Pa.	(pop.	109.2)	2,481	
Chester Co., Pa.	(pop.	125.8)	4,833	
Clark Co., Wash.	(pop.	109.2)	4,756	GASTON
DuPage Co., Ill.	(pop.	116.8)	2,854	$5,062,000
Macomb, Mich.	(pop.	143.3)	3,860	
Montgomery, Md.	(pop.	116.9)	1,882	
Prince Georges, Md.	(pop.	138.1)	1,259	

Effective Buying Income per Family:

Clark Co., Wash.	(pop.	109.2)	2,417	
Contra Costa, Cal.	(pop.	235.6)	1,898	GASTON
Riverside, Cal.	(pop.	132.8	2,496	$2,507
Solano, Cal.	(pop.	117.7)	2,071	

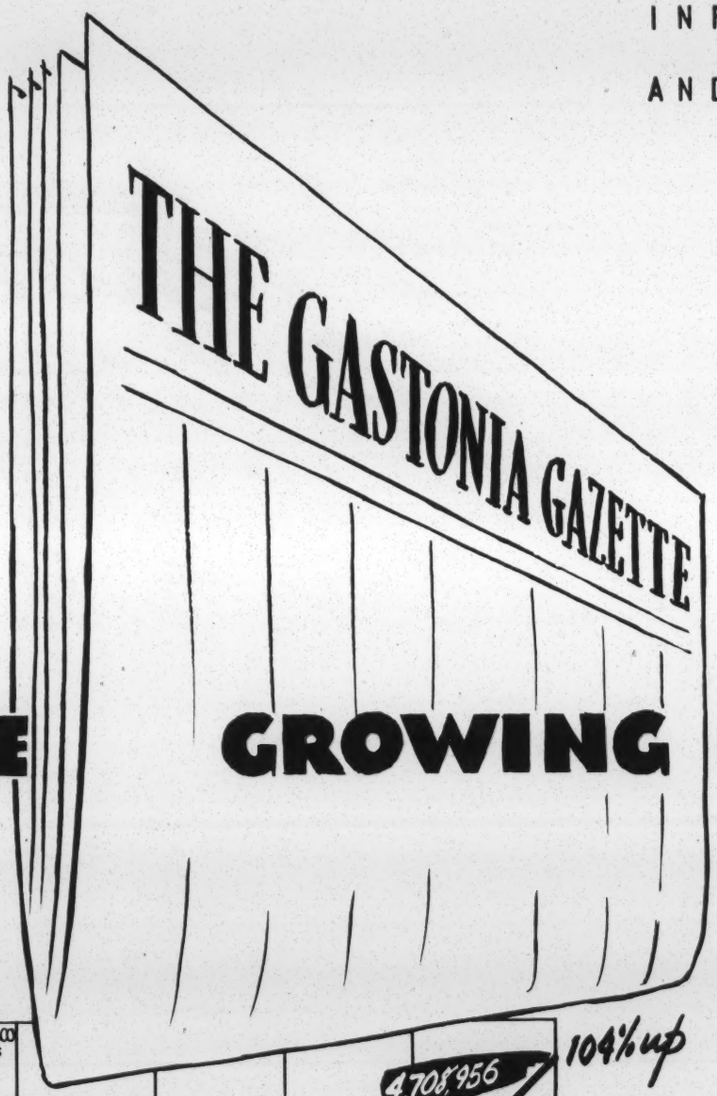
Food Sales:

Escambia, Fla.	(pop.	117.5)	10,252	
Pittsylvania, Va.	(pop.	109.0)	10,750	GASTON
Richmond, Ga.	(pop.	110.8)	10,502	$11,495,000
Wake, N. C.	(pop.	123.3)	8,923	

(SM est for 1946, 200 largest counties) ADD 000 to Sales.

The Gastonia Trading Zone is comprised of Gaston County, N.C., and 2 townships in York County, S.C.

ALL THESE FEATURES
KEEP GASTONIA
INFORMED, ENTERTAINED
AND INTERESTED:



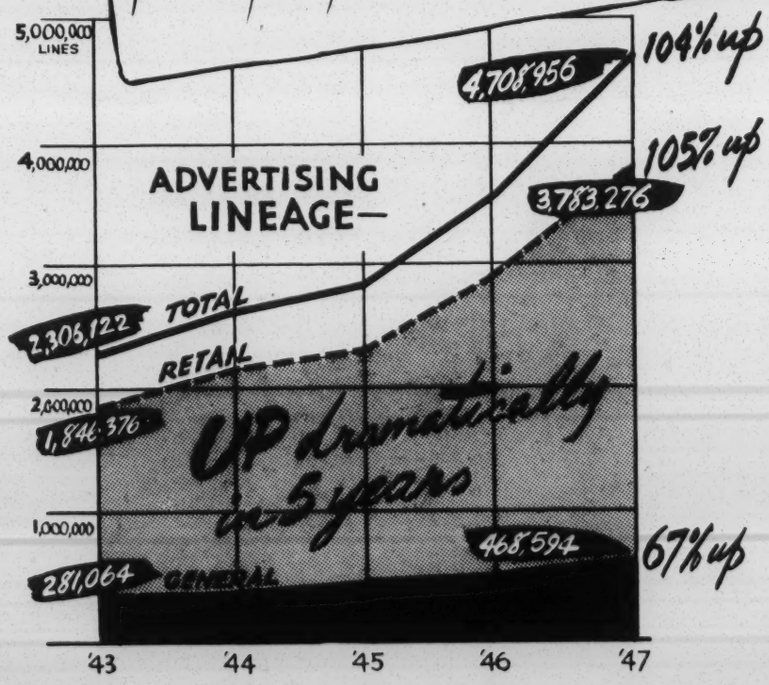
ASSOCIATED PRESS
TODAY'S BIRTHDAY
SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON
PATTERNS, BY SUE BURNETT
CROSSWORD PUZZLE
THE DOCTOR SAYS
IN HOLLYWOOD, ERSKIN JOHNSON
MERRY-GO-ROUND, DREW PEARSON
N.Y. STOCK, N. ORLEANS COTTON
SPORTS ROUNDUP, FULLERTON
BUY WORDS, MAIDA ADAMS
UNGUARDED MOMENTS
AS OTHERS SEE IT
NEA (TELEPHOTO)

THE GROWING GASTONIA GAZE

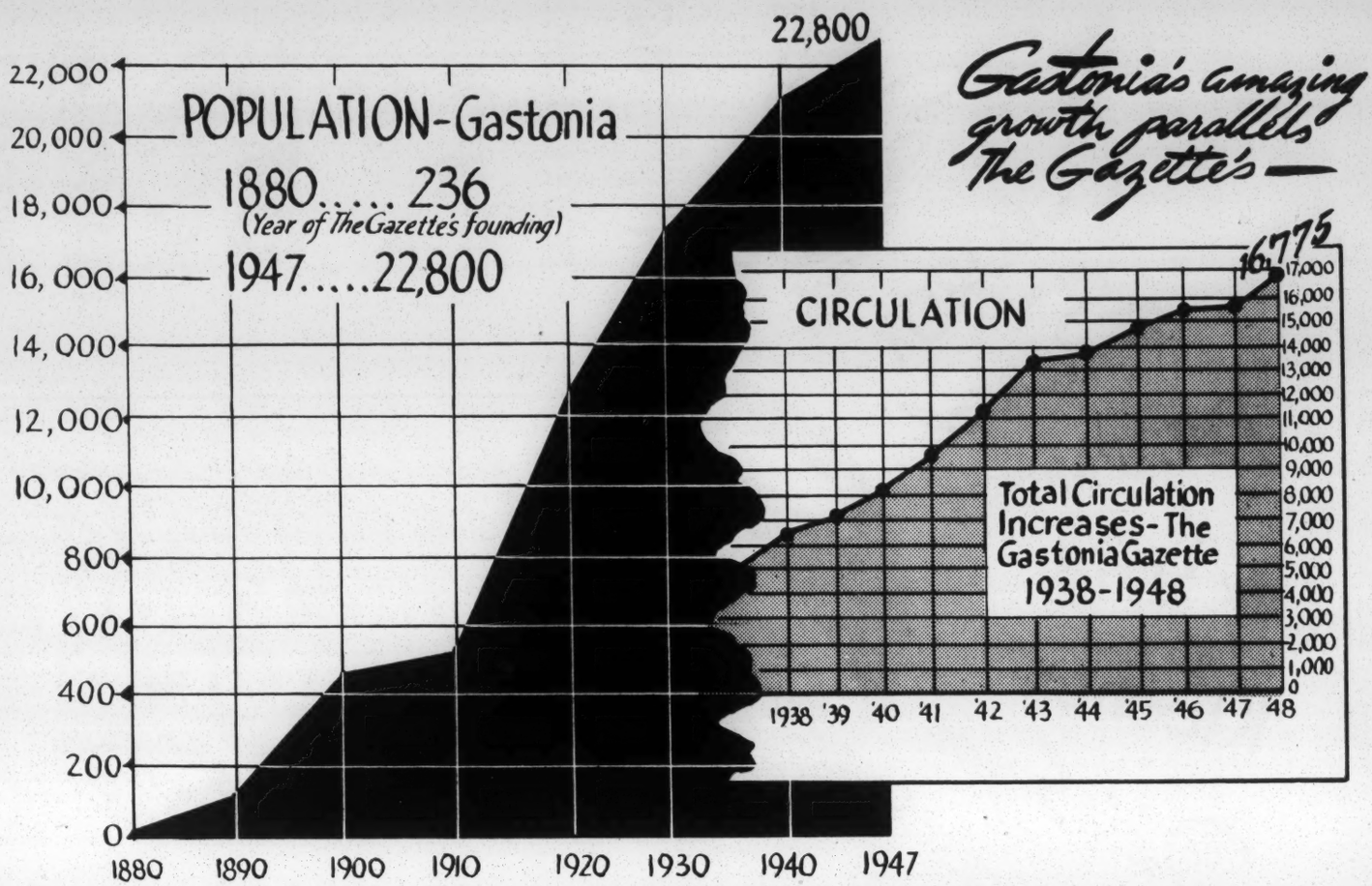
ALONG THE AVENUE
TEEN TALK
AROUND CAPITAL SQUARE
HAL BOYLE

COMICS & CARTOONS

UNCLE BUD SAYS
THERE OUGHTTA BE A LAW
PRISCILLA'S POP
RED RYDER
VIC FLINT
FRECKLES & HIS FRIENDS
ALLEY OOP
BOOTS & HER BUDDIES
WASH TUBBS
OUT OUR WAY
OUR BOARDING HOUSE



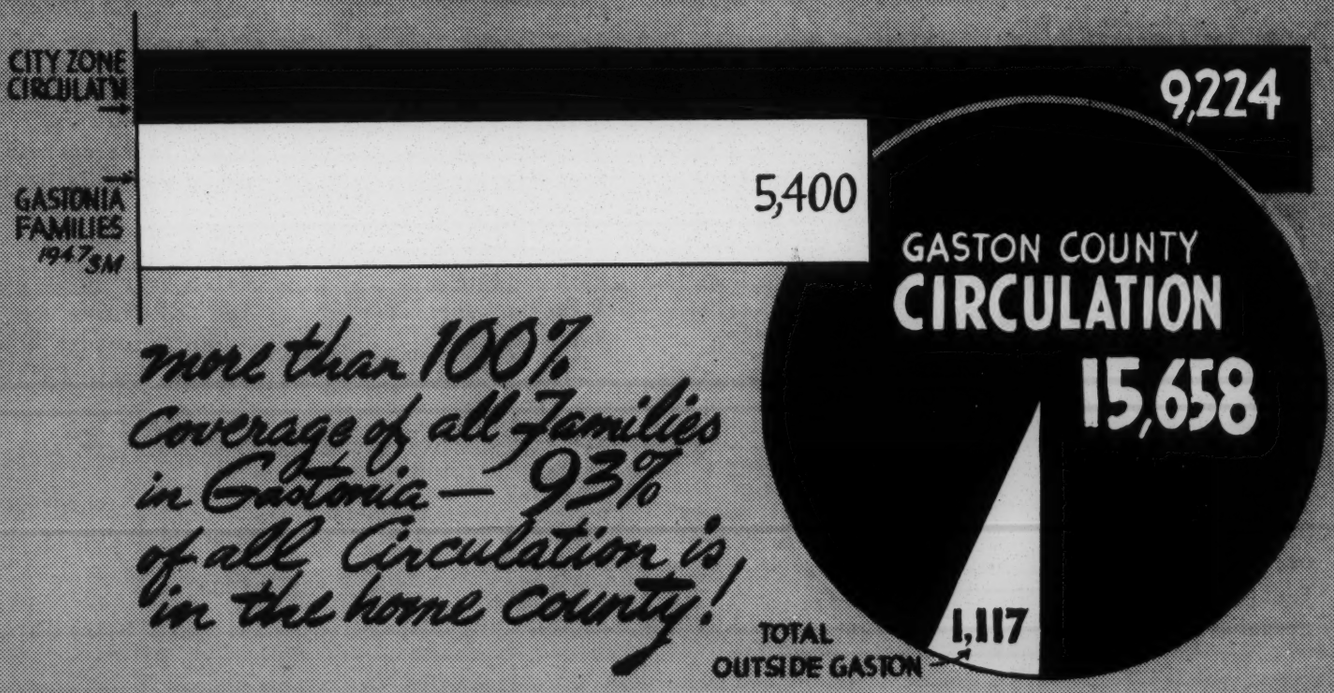
Gazette readers know their newspaper is complete, self-contained. That is why the majority read it exclusively!



Gastonia's amazing growth parallels The Gazette's —

TTE — *the Only way to Sell Gastonia & Gaston County*

CONCENTRATED, *SUPER* COVERAGE.....



more than 100% Coverage of all Families in Gastonia — 93% of all Circulation is in the home county!

Zerone
Firestone
Buick
Pepsi-Cola
Comet Rice
Kellogg's
Swift's Products
Old English Wax
Kenny's Products
Creamulsion
Clorox
Sweet
Philip Morris
Arrid
Kleenex
Dixie Sugar
Carr Crackers
Dodge
Washington Apples
Borden's Cheese
Lincoln
Merita Bread
JFG Coffee
Cadillac
Gillo Coffee
Esso
Vick's Vapo Rub

213 important advertisers WHO KNOW THE VALUE OF The Gastonia Gazette

AUTO ACCESSORIES

Atlas Tires
U.S. Tires
Super Pyro Anti Freeze
Zerone & Zerex Anti Freeze
Fram Oil & Motor Cleanser
Vacumatic Carburetor Co.
Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.

AUTO CARS & TRUCKS

Buick
Chevrolet
" Trucks
Dodge
GMC Trucks
Nash
Oldsmobile
Pontiac
Studebaker
Willys Jeep
Dodge Trucks
Ford Trucks
Kaiser-Frazer
Lincoln-Mercury
Mercury
Dodge-Plymouth
International Trucks
DeSoto
Studebaker Trucks
Cadillac
Hudson

AUTO, GAS & OIL

Esso
Gulf Oil
Amoco
Mobilgas

BEER & WINE

U. S. Brewers Found.
Ruppert Beer
Trommers Beer
Free State Beer
Budweiser Beer
N. C. Brewers
Barbarossa Beer
Atlantic Beer & Ale
Ret Top Ale

BEVERAGES

Canada Dry Ginger Ale
Kool Aid
Nesbitts Orange
Pepsi Cola
Lime Cola
Spur

CLOTHING

Torrent Togs
Ben Ros Clothes
Rugby Knitting Mills
Hanes Knitting Mills

CONFECTIONERY

Belle Camp Chocolates
Goo Goo Cluster
Meador's Peanut Brittle
Hollingsworth Candies

ELECTRIC APPLIANCES

Telecoin Launderettes
General Electric

FOOD

Biltmore Dairy Farms

Avoset
Carr Crackers
Comet Rice
Dixie Crystals Sugar
Dixie Margarine
Dukes Mayonnaise
Mrs. Filberts Margarine
" " Mayonnaise

Gills Coffee
Hearth Club
Holsum Bread
JFG Coffee
Kelloggs Cereals
Kenny's Norwood Coffee
Kenny's Salad Dressing
Nucoa
Swift Meats
Swiftning
Washington State Apples
White Good Flour
Kenny's Vegetables
Swift & Co.
Kenny's Fruits
Kenny's Prods.
Red Band Flour
Mrs. T. H. Williams
Southern Bread & Cake
Borden Chesse
French Mkt Coffee
Kenny's Tomato Catsup
Merita Bread
Polar Bear Flour
Chip Steaks

HARDWARE & PAINTS

Old English Wax

HEATING & PLUMBING

V-Co. Electric Appliance
Fuel Oil Suppliers of N.C.
Fairbanks Morse Stokers

HOTELS, RESORTS & REST

Gulfstream Hotel
Fort Sumter Hotel
Princess Anne Hotel
Raleigh Hotel
Great Northern Hotel
Orange City Hotel
Santo Springs Hotel

INSURANCE

Home Security Life Ins.
Liberty Mutual Ins.
Liberty Life Ins.
Equitable Life Assur.
Reserve Life Inst. Co.

MEDICAL

Bell Ans.
Beltone
Blacks Perscription
Dr. Caldwell
Capudine
Carters Pills
Creomulsion

THE GAZETTE'S NATIONAL ADVERTISING RATE IS Only 8¢ PER LINE

Cuticura
Doan's Pills
Dobbs Truss
Foley's Cough Compound
Frontier Asthma
Dr. Jaynes PW
Johnson & Johnson
Dr. Kilmer Remedy
Edene
Kleerex
Merritt Powder
Mendaco
Moones Emerald Oil
Musterole
On
Ostrex
Pertussin
Pinex
Lydia Pinkham
Romind
San Cura Ointment
Smith Bros. Cough Drops
SSS
Udga
Geo Mineral
Vicks Va Po Rub
Vicks Va Tro Nol
Willard Treatment
Educational Div.
Mennen Quicool
Ayds
Calotabs
Cystex
Petersons Ointment
PPP
Inner Aid
D. T. Lane Co.
Mothers Friend
Nef-Tex Tablets
Penetro Nose Drops
Nok-out-Balm
Tremment Sweet Tablets
Victory Ointment
Antiphlogistine
BC
Lavoptik
DMC Compoung #49
Te-ol
Ex It
Swamp Rood
Trienna
Space

PUBLIC UTILITIES

Duke Power Co.
Southern Bell Tel. & Tel
Public Serv. Co. of N. C.

SCHOOLS & COLLEGES

American School

SOUPS & CLEANERS

Super Suds
Vel
Chiffon Soap Flakes
Kloronol
Clorox
Dreft
Spic and Span
Swerl

TOBACCO

La Palina Cigars
Garcia Grande Cigars
Sterling Hall Pipes
Lucky Strike
Camels
Phillip Morris

TOILET REQUISITES

Fasteeth
Modess
Arrid
Veto
Gillette Blades
Holliwell's Cold Cream
Horville's Hand Glo
Charm Kurl
Colgate-Eversharp
Kleenex

TRANSPORTATION

Greyhound
Southern Railway Sys.
Queen City Trailways
Clipper Coach Co.
Southeastern Railway

MISCELLANEOUS

Freeman, S.T. & Co.
Ball Fruit Jars
Keeley Institute
McNair's Certified Seeds
Nationwide Wholesalers
American Fat Salv.
Carolina Mills, Inc.
T. W. Woods Seeds
Display Want Ads
U. S. Army & Air Force
Sangers Mail Order
Jefferson Stand. Life Ins.
Cats Paw Rubber Heels
Strout Realty Agcy.
Kress Books
Fair Acre Feeds
Monarch Bulbs
Paymaster Feeds
War Assets Adm.
Farmer's States Rights Assoc.
Southern Factors
G M Diesel Power
Paris Jewelry Co.
Townsend Contest Serv.
Wellborn Anderson&Grass Seed
Charlotte Trading Co.
Owen Nurseries
Institute of Mentalphysics
Pulvex Dog Food
Dash Dog Food
Kasco Dog Food
National Guard
Bethel Ring & Novelty Co.
U.S. Army

BUILDING MATERIALS

Mohawk Co.
Portland Cement Assoc.

Rates AND OTHER DATA

1—GENERAL ADVERTISING

a. Display, flat per line.....$0.08
b. No time or space discounts.
c. Full position 25% extra.
d. Display advertising must be as many inches deep as columns wide.

Daily Comic Strip Advertising. (Full page of Comics) 35 or 70 lines deep across 5, 6, 7 or 8 columns acceptable for daily comic page at regular black and white rate. Minimum Schedule 13 times in 13 weeks.

f. Saturday Tabloid Color Comic Section.
Full Page (980 lines)....$117.60
Half Page (490 lines)....$ 58.80
1/4 Page (245 lines).....$ .29.40
For less than 1/4 page, 12c per line, plus $3.00 net to cover service charge.

2—CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

a. 6-point type, per line.....$0.15 Minimum space 3 lines.
b. Six words to the line 6-point.
c. All classified advertisements cash with order.

3—READING NOTICES

a. 7-point body type, per line $0.20.
b. All readers marked "adv."
c. Minimum three lines.

4—COMMISSIONS AND CASH DISCOUNTS

a. Agency commission.....15%
b. Cash discount..... 2%
c. Cash discount date 15th of month following service.

5—MECHANICAL REQUIREMENTS

a. Width of column, 2 inches
b. Depth of column, 280 agate lines.
c. Eight columns to page.
d. Center spread sold as 17 columns.
e. Full page type space 16½x20 inches—2,240 lines.
f. Half tone screen required, 65.
g. Can use mats and unmounted cuts.

6—CIRCULATION

a. Local newspaper.
b. ABC member.
c. 94 per cent of total circulation home delivered in city and suburbs of Gastonia and in 15 neighboring towns.
d. Publisher reserves the right to revise advertising rates at any time upon 60 days' notice in writing to the holder of the contract.

7—MISCELLANEOUS

a. Publisher not responsible for inaccurate impression of "key numbers" or other inserts.
b. Advertisements ordered full column depth will be billed full 280 lines, regardless of shrinkage.

STEWART ATKINS, Advertising Director.
BEN E. ATKINS, Business Manager.

THE DAILY GAZETTE

Published Every Evening Except Sunday

REPRESENTATIVE

THE JOHN BUDD COMPANY

Graybar Building, New York City, 17

CHICAGO, 11 ATLANTA, 3 DALLAS, 1 SAN FRANCISCO, 3 SEATTLE, 1
LOS ANGELES, 14 DETROIT, 26

Prepared in conformity with "Standard Rate Card,, of American Association of Advertising Agencies.

GASTON COUNTY IS 3rd LARGEST IN INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYEES AND PAYROLL:

N.C. County	Mfg. Employees	Annual Wages
1. Guilford	31,576	$80,174,656
2. Forsyth	30,481	69,552,256
3. Gaston	30,410	65,698,648

Source: N.C.Empl.Security Comm.

* * * * * * * * * *

GASTON COUNTY IS 6th IN AUTO REGISTRATIONS:

N.C. County	No. Registrations
1. Gullford	44,536
2. Mecklenburg	41,077
3. Forsyth	32,424
4. Wake	29,217
5. Buncombe	23,125
6. Gaston	20,610

(Through March 1948)

* * * * * * * * * *

VALUE OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS IN GASTON COUNTY:

1939 Census	$59,554,241
1948 Estimate	200,000.000

* * * * * * * * * *

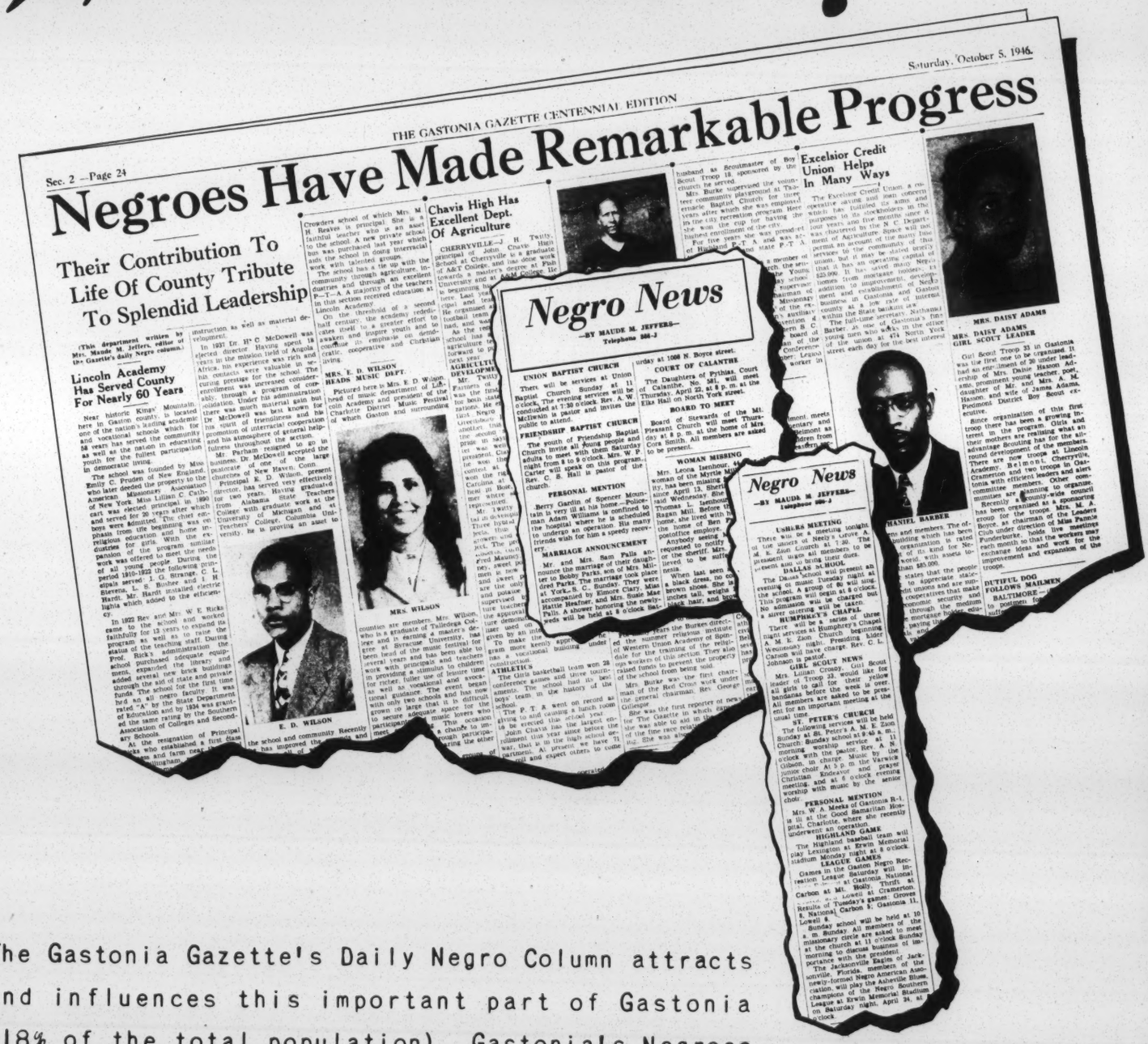
FARM INCOME IN GASTON COUNTY, 1946:

Fruits and Field Crops	$3,372,032
Milk & Dairy Products	1,000,000
Hogs	140,000
Turkeys, Poultry & Poultry Products	656,000
Total	$5,168,032

210 miles of Rural Electrification lines traverse Gaston County.

Source: County Farm Agent 1947

not just 4/5ths of the Market... BUT ALL OF IT!



Saturday, October 5, 1946.

THE GASTONIA GAZETTE CENTENNIAL EDITION

Sec. 2 —Page 24

Negroes Have Made Remarkable Progress

Their Contribution To Life Of County Tribute To Splendid Leadership

(This department written by Mrs. Maude M. Jeffers, editor of the Gazette's daily Negro column.)

Lincoln Academy Has Served County For Nearly 60 Years

Near historic Kings' Mountain, here in Gaston county, is located one of the nation's leading academic and vocational schools which for 58 years has served the community as well as the nation in educating youth for the fullest participation in democratic living.

The school was founded by Miss Emily C. Pruden of New England, who later deeded the property to the American Missionary Association of New York. Miss Lillian C. Calhoun served as principal in 1890 and served for 20 years after which boys were admitted. The chief emphasis from the beginning was on religious education and home industries for girls. With the expansion of the program similar work was offered to meet the needs of all young people. During the period 1910-1922 the following principals served: I. G. Strange, C. L. Stevens, L. S. Busher and I. H. Hardt. Mr. Hardt installed electric lights which added to the efficiency.

In 1922 Rev. and Mrs. W. E. Ricks came to the school and worked faithfully for 13 years to expand its program as well as to raise the status of the teaching staff. During Prof. Ricks' administration the school purchased adequate equipment, expanded the library and added several new brick buildings through the aid of state and private funds. The school for the first time had an all negro faculty. It was rated "A" by the State Department and the same rating by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

At the resignation of Principal Ricks who established a first class farm and farm near [illegible] instruction as well as material development.

In 1931 Dr. H. C. McDowell was elected director. Having spent 18 years in the mission field of Angola, Africa, his experience was rich and his contacts were valuable in securing prestige for the school. The enrollment was increased considerably, through a program of consolidation. Under his administration there was much material gain but Dr. McDowell was best known for his spirit of friendliness and his promotion of interracial cooperation and his atmosphere of generous helpfulness throughout the section.

Mr. Parham resigned to go in business. Dr. McDowell accepted the pastorate of one of the large churches of New Haven, Conn.

Principal E. D. Wilson, present director, has served very effectively for two years. Having graduated from Alabama State Teachers College with graduate work at the University of Michigan and at Teachers' College, Columbia University, he is proving an asset to the school and community. Recently he has improved the [illegible] and [illegible] counties are members. Mrs. Wilson, who is a graduate of Talladega College and at Syracuse University, has been head of the music festival for several years and has been able to work with principals and teachers in providing a stimulus to children for richer, fuller use of leisure time as well as vocational and avocational guidance. The event began with only two schools and has now grown to large that it is difficult to secure adequate space for participating music lovers who meet. Thus occasion [illegible] a chance to improve through participating [illegible] during the other [illegible]

MRS. WILSON

E. D. WILSON

Crowders school of which Mrs. M. H. Reaves is principal. She is a faithful teacher who is an asset to the school. A new private school has was purchased last year which aids the school in doing interracial work with talented groups.

The school has a tie up with the community through an excellent dietrics and through an excellent P.-T.-A. A majority of the teachers in this section received education at Lincoln Academy.

On the threshold of a second half century, the academy rededicates itself to a greater effort to awaken and inspire youth and to continue its emphasis on democratic, cooperative and Christian living.

MRS. E. D. WILSON HEADS MUSIC DEPT.

Pictured here is Mrs. E. D. Wilson, head of music department of Lincoln Academy and president of the Charlotte District Music Festival of which Gaston and surrounding

Chavis High Has Excellent Dept. Of Agriculture

CHERRYVILLE—J. H. Twitty, principal of John Chavis High School at Cherryville is a graduate of A&T College, and has done work towards a master's degree at [illegible] College. He [illegible] here. Last year [illegible] cipal and teacher. He organized a football team, [illegible] nad, and sponsored [illegible] As the result [illegible] school has [illegible] agriculture to [illegible] forward to [illegible] next year.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Twitty [illegible] Farmers of [illegible] was the first [illegible] his high school [illegible] stations. He [illegible] first negro [illegible] Greensboro [illegible] another [illegible] the second [illegible] pride in saying [illegible] ter was well [illegible] president. Cla[illegible] he won the [illegible] contest at [illegible] won the [illegible] Carolina at [illegible] head at Boiling [illegible] mer white [illegible] representative [illegible]

Mr. Twitty [illegible] tal is developing [illegible] Three hundred [illegible] pecta. This [illegible] grown and [illegible] ick. The program [illegible] school is [illegible] Fred Mauney [illegible] men is rich [illegible] and sweet [illegible] are the only [illegible] and popular [illegible] supervised by [illegible] ture teachers [illegible] the agricultural [illegible] ture demonstration [illegible] liner used on [illegible] given by an indu[illegible] To make the [illegible] gram more keenly appe[illegible] has a vocational building under construction.

ATHLETICS

The Girls basketball team won 28 conference games and three tournaments. The school had its best boys' team in the history of the school.

The P. T. A. went on record as giving to and causing a lunch room to be erected this school year.

John Chavis has the largest enrollment this year since before the war, but is in the high school department. At present we have 11 [illegible] and expect others to come [illegible] ed the summer religious institute of Western Union Academy of Spartanburg for the training of the religious workers of this section. They also raised funds to prevent the property of the school from being sold.

Mrs. Burke was the first chairman of the Red Cross work under the general chairman, Rev. George Gillespie.

She was the first reporter of news for The Gazette in which capacity she was able to aid in the [illegible] of the fine race relations [illegible] ing. She was also [illegible] husband as Scoutmaster of Boy Scout Troop 18 sponsored by the church he served.

Mrs. Burke supervised the volunteer community playground at Takeware Baptist Church for three years after which she was employed in the city recreation program. Here in the city for two years she was president of the city [illegible]

For five years she was active [illegible] of Highland P.-T. A. and was active [illegible] State P.-T. A. [illegible] a member of [illegible] church. The seni[illegible] Young [illegible] day school [illegible] chairman of [illegible] Missionary [illegible] of the ex[illegible] auxiliary [illegible] western S. C. [illegible] board of [illegible] of the [illegible] Conference [illegible] worker in [illegible]

Excelsior Credit Union Helps In Many Ways

The Excelsior Credit Union, a cooperative saving and loan concern which has flourished its aims and purposes in its stockholders in this four years and five months since it was chartered by the N. C. Department of Agriculture. Since it has been in the community of this county, it has been duly registered to the community of this county, but it may be stated briefly that it has an operating capital of $25,000. It has served many Negro homes from mortgage holders, in addition to improvement, development and establishment of Negro business in Gastonia and Gaston county at a low rate of interest within the State banking law.

The full-time secretary, Nathaniel Barber, is one of Gastonia's fine young men who works in the office of the union at 474 North York street each day for the best interest [illegible] ment meets [illegible] tary and [illegible] Belmont as [illegible] dren from [illegible] Gastonia.

MRS. DAISY ADAMS

MRS. DAISY ADAMS GIRL SCOUT LEADER

Girl Scout Troop 33 in Gastonia was the first one to be organized. It had an enrollment of 20 under leadership of Mrs. Dahie Hasson Adams, prominent young teacher, poet, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A. M. Hasson, and wife of James Adams, Piedmont District Boy Scout executive.

Since organization of this first troop there has been a growing interest in the program. Girls and their mothers are realizing what an advantage Scouting has for the all-round development of the members. There are now troops at Lincoln Academy, Belmont, Cherryville, Cramerton and two troops in Gastonia with efficient leaders and alert committee members. Other communities are planning to organize.

Recently a county-wide council has been organized as a sponsoring group for the troops. Mrs. M. A. Boyce, as chairman of the Leaders Club under direction of Miss Pannie Funderburke, holds live meetings each month so that the workers may exchange ideas and work for the improvement and expansion of the troops.

DANIEL BARBER

Negro News

—BY MAUDE M. JEFFERS—
Telephone 566-J

UNION BAPTIST CHURCH

There will be services at Union Baptist Church Sunday at 11 o'clock. The evening services will be conducted at 7:30 o'clock. Rev. A. W. McIlwain is pastor and invites the public to attend.

FRIENDSHIP BAPTIST CHURCH

The youth of Friendship Baptist Church invite all young people and adults to meet with them Saturday night from 8 to 9 o'clock. Mrs. W. P. Carter will speak on this program. Rev. C. S. Hall is pastor of the church.

PERSONAL MENTION

Berry Gardin of Spencer Mountain is very ill at his home—Poliolman Adam Williams is confined to the hospital where he is scheduled to undergo an operation. His many friends wish for him a speedy recovery.

MARRIAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. and Mrs. Sam Palls announce the marriage of their daughter to Bobby Parks, son of Mrs. Mildred Parks. The marriage took place at York, S. C., Sunday. They were accompanied by Elmore Clary, Miss Hattie Heafner, and Mrs. Susie Mae Palls. A shower honoring the newly-weds will be held at 8 o'clock Saturday at 1008 N. Boyce street.

COURT OF CALANTHE

The Daughters of Pythias, Court of Calanthe, No. 581, will meet Thursday, April 25, at 8 p. m. at the Elks Hall on North York street.

BOARD TO MEET

Board of Stewards of the Mt. Pleasant Church will meet Thursday at 8 p. m. at the home of Mrs. Cora Smith. All members are asked to be present.

WOMAN MISSING

Mrs. Leona Isenhour, the woman of the Myrtle Mill community, has been missing since April 13, Sheriff Rogers said Wednesday. She lives with Thomas L. Isenhour, Rogers Mill. Before the home, she lived with her [illegible] the home of Ben [illegible] postoffice employe.

Anybody seeing [illegible] requested to notify [illegible] or the sheriff. Mrs. [illegible] lieved to be suffering [illegible] nesia.

When last seen [illegible] a black dress, no co[illegible] brown shoes. She is [illegible] inches tall, weighs [illegible] black hair, and brown [illegible]

Negro News

—BY MAUDE M. JEFFERS—
Telephone 566-J

USHERS MEETING

There will be a meeting tonight of the ushers of Neely's Grove A. M. E. Zion Church at 7:30. The president asks all members to be present and to bring their dues.

DALLAS SCHOOL

The Dallas school will present an evening of music Tuesday night at 8 o'clock. A group of 60 will sing. This program will begin at 8 o'clock. No admission will be taken. A silver offering will be taken.

HUMPHREY'S CHAPEL

There will be a series of three night services at Humphrey's Chapel A. M. E. Zion Church beginning Wednesday night. Presiding Elder Carson will have charge. Rev. C. L. Johnson is pastor.

GIRL SCOUT NEWS

Mrs. Lillian Cronoy, Girl Scout leader of Troop 33, would like for all girls to call for their yellow bandanas before the week is over. All members are asked to be present at an important meeting at the usual time.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH

The following services will be held Sunday at St. Peter's A. M. E. Zion Church: Sunday school at 9:45 a. m. morning worship service at 11 o'clock with the pastor, Rev. A. N. Gibson, in charge. Music by the junior choir. At 5 p. m. the Varwick Christian Endeavor and prayer meeting, and at 6 o'clock evening worship with music by the senior choir.

PERSONAL MENTION

Mrs. W. A. Meeks of Gastonia R-1, is ill at the Good Samaritan Hospital, Charlotte, where she recently underwent an operation.

HIGHLAND GAME

The Highland baseball team will play Lexington at Erwin Memorial stadium Monday night at 8 o'clock.

LEAGUE GAMES

Games in the Gaston Negro Recreation League Saturday will include: [illegible] at Gastonia National [illegible] Holly Thrift at Carbon at Mt. Holly. Thrift at [illegible] Lowell at Cramerton. [illegible] Results of Tuesday's games: Grover 8, National Carbon 5; Gastonia 11, Lowell 8.

Sunday school will be held at 10 a. m. Sunday. All members of the missionary circle are asked to meet at the church at 11 o'clock Sunday morning to discuss business of importance with the president.

The Jacksonville Eagles of Jacksonville, Florida, members of the newly-formed Negro American Association, will play the Asheville Blues, champions of the Negro Southern League at Erwin Memorial Stadium on Saturday night, April 24, at 8 o'clock.

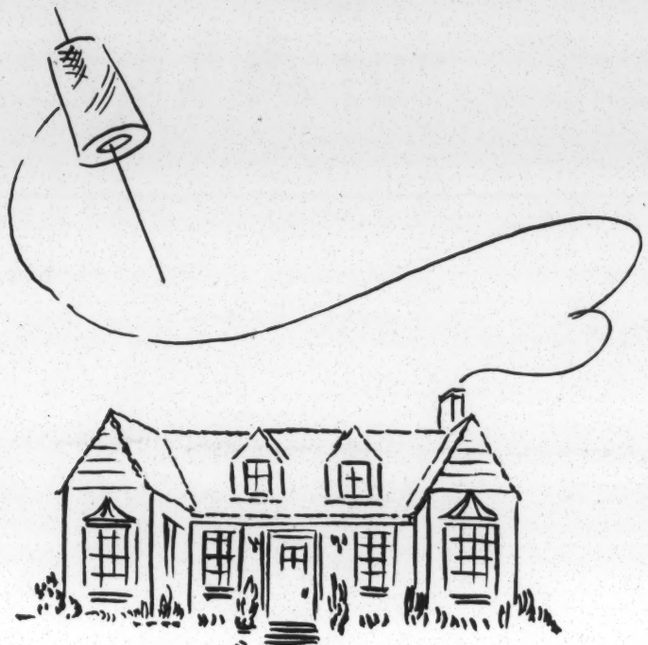
DUTIFUL DOG FOLLOWS MARLMEN

BALTIMORE—[illegible] to [illegible] for [illegible] suffe[illegible]

The Gastonia Gazette's Daily Negro Column attracts and influences this important part of Gastonia (18% of the total population). Gastonia's Negroes represent a progressive, increasingly properous group that is also unusually responsive to advertising. The Gastonia Gazette reaches them, too - thus delivering the entire Gastonia Market!

THE GASTONIA GAZETTE

GASTON COUNTY, THE FINE COMBED YARN CENTER OF AMERICA

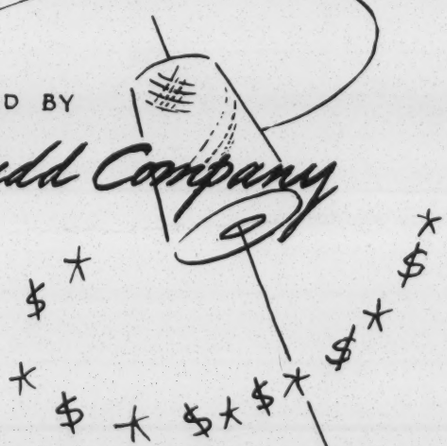


THE GASTONIA GAZETTE

Gastonia
North Carolina

REPRESENTED BY

The John Budd Company



24-Mc-Misc-
McCay, H. L.

April 21, 1949

Mr. H. L. McCay, Secretary
Rotary Club of Miami
P. O. Box 448
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. McCay:

I greatly appreciate your kind letter of April 18.

Miami is a far step for me, and I was only able to get there this time because the district meeting covered the cost of the trip.

However, it is mighty nice to feel welcome and, if I can possibly get to south Florida in the next ten or twelve months, I will be at pains to let you know well ahead of time.

I send you a new leaflet about our Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

ROTARY CLUB OF MIAMI

CHARTER NO. 271

SERVICE ABOVE SELF

POST OFFICE BOX 448
MIAMI, FLORIDA

April 18, 1949

George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Our members who attended the Rotary Conference at Hollywood a few weeks ago were greatly impressed with the way you presented your subject.

It was so unusual in many respects and such a clever way to educate many Southerners who are prejudiced that we would be delighted to put you on our program.

I trust that you may have time to speak in Florida next year. If you do, let us know a month or more in advance if possible so that we can hold open a date for you.

We seldom find it necessary to pay our speakers but we would be glad to take care of minor expenses.

Very truly,

ROTARY CLUB OF MIAMI

Harold L. McCay

H. L. McCay, Secretary

RECEIVED
APR 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

25-MO - Misc.
Moore, Robert

April 22, 1949

Mr. Robert Moore
Democratic National Committee
Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Larry Hewes, as you know, has been in Japan doing agricultural reorganization for McArthur. I hear indirectly that he is coming back to this country in June. He has been over there better than two years. Patsy and the boy are with him. The job over there is about done. I have been in touch with Larry through others who have been to Japan lately, and have heard the most praising accounts of his work.

I also hear lately that he does not know what he is to come back to in June.

Larry ought to be one of the top Board guys for the new Columbia Valley Authority. Look what he's got: Private banking experience. Federal Land Bank. Farm Security--Regional Director. He handled for the army the replacement of removed Japanese farmers by acceptable ones and, as you know, was smartly commended by the army for the way he handled the job. Now he has done the important thing for McArthur, and I am certain McArthur would praise him effectively.

Larry is straight, as you know, on the question of land for the smaller farmer. He wrote his doctor's dissertation (Georgetown) on the organization of the market produce farming of California. He knows farm labor, he knows irrigation, he knows the whole central valley idea. He is remarkably able administratively. The Lord knows he is industrious.

I don't know another person with Larry's sound, liberal ideas who has the standing Larry has with hardboiled guys, particularly with army guys. You know very well he understands and likes the democratic party.

Can you either (1) get busy yourself or (2)advise me fully what should be done to land a job of that kind for Larry?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

cc: Mrs. Adele Ford Boke

24 Miss. (Me)
Melton,
Rev. J.W.

April 22, 1949

The Rev. Mr. J. W. Melton
First Presbyterian Church
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Melton:

I send you ten copies of this new leaflet about the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

24 Mc - Misc

McLanahan, Jack

April 22, 1949

Mr. Jack McLanahan
237 De Villen Street
Royal Oak, Michigan

Dear Mr. McLanahan:

Here is a new leaflet about the Council. I send you a couple, on the chance that one would still be useful with Mr. Kaplan.

We understand that the preparation of an article for Reader's Digest has been turned over to Stanley High, and have hopes that it will come along through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

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PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
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FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 2, 1949

Mr. Jack McLanahan
237 De Villen Street
Royal Oak, Michigan

RECEIVED
FEB 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. McLanahan:

Any reason to be hopeful about the contact with Mr. Kaplan?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

He was in Calif. all Jan - I plan to be in New York the 17th of Feb to see him & will ask what are possibilities based on my letter to him around Christmas time. Any progress on article in Reader's Digest?

Still pushing on here with Co-ops - But like with all departures from Status Quo - Hard going.

Would appreciate copy Alumni Record with article about your Father -

Sincerely Jack McL

GSM:t

Sending: Race and Suffrage, Condition, Fleming, Oct. 47 New South, Oct. 48 New South, Intercultural Education, Hospital Construction, Vance.

Mitchell, assisted MT

December 22, 1948

Mr. Jack McLanahan
Eau Gallie, Florida

Dear Mr. McLanahan:

Here is the letter we wrote the other day for Fulton Ourslor.

If you would be kind enough, in your discretion, to send it to Mr. Kaplan and see whether he could be interested in the Council, I would be very grateful.

Herewith also various pieces of literature.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

24-Mc-misc. —
Mezentsoff, Michael

April 28, 1949

Mr. and Mrs. Michael Mezentsoff
881 Windermere Avenue
Drexel Hills, Pennsylvania

Dear Vera and Michael:

Here is a leaflet that tells about the Council I work for.

Where are you, and what do you do?

We are all right, and think often of the three of you, and of Mr. and Mrs. Kazarinoff.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

23-M- misc. -
MacColl, James E.

April 28, 1949

Mr. James E. MacColl
Craigrannoch
Ballachulish
Argyll
Scotland, N.B.

Dear MacColl:

My list of ancient addresses pleasantly turns up yours. I send you a copy of a pamphlet describing the Council I work with these days.

Every now and then something of yours breaks into the public prints and I get a glimpse of you.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

24-Mc-Miss
Minahan, Adele

April 29, [redacted]

Miss Adele Minahan
1930 College Street
Columbia 5, S. C.

Dear Miss Minahan:

We have noted with gratification that the South Carolina legislature has called for a referendum on repeal of the poll tax.

It would be desirable for us to know more about how the issue will be laid before the people in 1950. Could you manage to send us a copy of the resolution on this subject passed by the legislature? We will be most grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

24-Ma-Misc.
Milliken, RM

WEJ.
EH

May 2, 1949

Mrs. R. M. Milikin
Jesup, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Milikin:

I greatly appreciate your kindness in sending the check for $31.80 covering my expenses to the meeting at Savannah.

It was a most interesting group to be with, and I was very glad to have the opportunity to talk to them.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Council for Cooperative Development

343 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET • CHICAGO 4, ILLINOIS
44 WEST 143RD STREET • NEW YORK 30, NEW YORK
941 Howard Street Detroit 26, Michigan

Provisional Executive Committee

CO-CHAIRMEN:
Victor Reuther
Educational Director
United Auto Workers—CIO

Arnold Zander, President
International, State, County & Municipal Employees—A.F. of L.

SECRETARY-TREASURER:
William Torma
General Manager
Central States Cooperatives, Inc.

MEMBERS:
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Chairman, Labor Committee
Cooperative League of U.S.A.

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United Rubber Workers—CIO

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Chairman, Cooperative & Credit Union Committee, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor—A.F. of L.

Ray Pasnick
Educational & Publicity Director
Mid-West Section
United Steel Workers—CIO

Mrs. Halena Wilson
President, Women's Auxiliary
International Union Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—A.F. of L.

Robert L. Smith
Eastern Cooperatives, Inc.

ACTING DIRECTOR:
C. J. McLanahan
Educational Director
Cooperative League of U.S.A.

file

May 17, 1949

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Kaplan's address is: The Welch's Grape Juice Company, 55 Fifth Avenue, New York City. I am writing Kaplan today and will note that you expect to be in New York soon.

Good luck and let me know what is the outcome. While it may not mean any definite results now, I believe it will help in the future.

Sincerely yours,

C. J. McLanahan

24 Ne - Jure
McLanahan, C. J.

May 16, 1949

Mr. C. J. McLanahan
941 Howard Street
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Mr. McLanahan:

Thanks a lot for your letter of May 11. I wired you for Kaplan's address.

I am going to be in New York May 23 and 24 and shall pay a visit to Mr. Kaplan if he is available. I realize he probably won't help just yet, but it would be well to keep him interested.

We are still floating, but I see shoals ahead unless we can turn up some more funds.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

paid

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Mr. C. J. McLanahan
941 Howard Street
Detroit 26, Michigan

REURLET MAY 11, SHALL BE NEW YORK SOON. AIRMAIL ME HERE KAPLAN'S ADDRESS.

George S. Mitchell

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Council for Cooperative Development

343 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET • CHICAGO 4, ILLINOIS
44 WEST 143RD STREET • NEW YORK 30, NEW YORK

Provisional Executive Committee

CO-CHAIRMEN:

Victor Reuther
Educational Director
United Auto Workers—CIO

Arnold Zander, President
International, State, County & Municipal Employees—A.F. of L.

SECRETARY-TREASURER:

William Torma
General Manager
Central States Cooperatives, Inc.

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John D. Nicola
Chairman, Cooperative & Credit Union Committee, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor—A.F. of L.

Ray Pasnick
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Mid-West Section
United Steel Workers—CIO

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President, Women's Auxiliary
International Union Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—A.F. of L.

Robert L. Smith
Eastern Cooperatives, Inc.

ACTING DIRECTOR:

C. J. McLanahan
Educational Director
Cooperative League of U.S.A.

941 Howard Street
Detroit 26, Michigan

May 11, 1949

RECEIVED
MAY 13 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional
Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

I was in New York last week and while there talked to Mr. Kaplan and gave him the leaflet which you sent to me recently.

He had read the other material and is at least oriented to the work of the Council. He is, however, up to his ears in work of the Welch Company and is not giving much thought to outside activities.

He said that he was not in a position to make any contribution now but would give it further consideration. I will keep the subject before him and there is some possibility when he is in the mood for it that there might be some specific results.

He is a man who drives at top speed and he seems to be under more pressure to run his operation than anyone I have ever witnessed in the business field. He scarcely relaxes for a minute to think of anything else other than the job at hand.

I will, however, keep at it and perhaps there will be some good results. I think it would be in order for you to call on him when you are in New York. He knows who you are now and something about the work. If you or Morris could see him personally, it would push the idea very concretely before him.

I hope the Readers Digest article comes through and when it does I will be sure that he receives a copy.

How goes the work of the Council these days and things in general south of the Mason-Dixon line?

Sincerely,

C. J. McLanahan

CJMcL/ewc

23-92-Inc.
Malkoff, Sol

May 17, 1949

Mr. Sol Malkoff
Stein Printing Company
161 Luckie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Malkoff:

I am sure you will be glad to learn that the Council's new promotion pamphlet, which you helped prepare, has been widely praised by our members and friends. Our state divisions are using it in their membership drives, and we have every reason to expect better returns than ever before with our old promotion literature.

Your services in designing the pamphlet are responsible in large part for its success. I look forward to working with you on future Council publications.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

94-Sec. Inc.
Mitchell, Broadus

May 17, 1949

Dear Broad:

Thanks for your card. The Council has a hard time, but still lives.

If you have a bed for me Monday night, May 23, I will be most happy to sleep in it. I am at other people's beck and call Monday and Tuesday, and don't know when they will turn me loose. But as one of Father's sons, I am generally heading bedwards by nine o'clock at night. If they turn me loose sooner, I will show up for supper.

In any case, I will 'phone.

Sincerely,

Dr. Broadus Mitchell
313 West 20th Street
New York 11, New York

313 West 20th St

May 12. New City 11

We are delighted you will come to see us. Stay if you can. I saw Mrs. Sidney Hertzberg who said Regional Council was affected by Rosenwald liquidation. Hope not too bad. Morris & I pored in Pickett etc statement vs Norris Atlantic Pact. Think we are right. Love to you

Both and Mrs Mess.

Brandeis

25, Ro - Inse

Morton, Nelle

Nelle Morton
Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Chapel Hill, N.C.

May 19, 1949

Dear Nelle:

I thought you would be interested in this Town and Country School for Religious Workers, to be held at Emory July 4 - 21. Mr. Sells, who is with the Town and Country Commission of the Methodist Church, has an office down the hall from ours. The school, however, is non-sectarian.

My understanding is that the School is limited to white ministers this year, but that they hope to include Negroes in the future.

We are all interested in the progress of Fellowship Center. I don't know if you are still recruiting for the work camp. If so, have you been in touch with Al Ritchie, Camp Wilkins, Athens, Georgia? He was in the office one day getting information about summer projects. I told him about you, and my recollection is that he said he was already in touch with you. A student at Emory who would help in interesting others is: Jamie Gardner, Box 627, Emory University, Georgia. He is alreay committed to a Methodist project in Harlem for this summer, but he would be interested in getting the word around, I know.

Would you ask Lorita to send us Buck Kester's address, on the enclosed card? We still have his S. C. address.

Blessings on you all,

M - Miss Maslow

American Jewish Congress

STEPHEN S. WISE, *President*
IRVING MILLER, *Chairman Executive Committee*
JOACHIM PRINZ, *Chairman Administrative Committee*
ALFRED J. MARROW, *Treasurer*
SAMUEL CAPLAN, *Secretary*
DAVID W. PETEGORSKY, *Executive Director*
ISAAC TOUBIN, *Assistant Director*

COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION

WILL MASLOW, *Director* LEO PFEFFER, *Assistant Director*

1834 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • CIRCLE 6-1900

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May 20, 1949

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Audobon Street, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I take pleasure in enclosing a copy of our Balance Sheet on Race Relations. I regret that it is published so long after 1948 but I believe it may still be of use.

We are faced again with the problem of trying to follow the legislation in the Southern states, particularly the poll tax and anti-lynching bills. Would it be possible for you r Council to prepare a chart listing the progress of these bills along the lines of the chart which is enclosed and which dealt with the Federal Civil rights program?

Sincerely yours,

Will Maslow

Will Maslow

Enclosures

CLSA Reports
COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
1834 Broadway, New York 23, N.Y. • Circle 6-1900

RECEIVED
MAY 23 1949
Southern Regional Council

LEGISLATIVE STATUS AT CLOSE OF 80th CONGRESS
OF MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS OF
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

July 6, 1948

Subject	Pres. Truman's Civil Rights Message of February 2, 1948	1944 Republican Platform	Status
1. Fed. FEPC law	Recommended	"Establishment... of a permanent FEPC"	S.984 (Ives) reported favorably, 3/2/48, by Senate Committee on Labor & Public Welfare, (S.Rep.No.951). Never reached Senate floor. House Committee never took action on H.R.2824 (Fulton).
2. FEPC for Federal Employees	New Exec. Order promised "shortly"	See above	Not issued.
3. Poll Tax	Recommended	"Immediate submission of a Constitutional amendment for its abolition."	HR29 (Bender) passed House 7/21/47, by 290 to 112. Reported favorably 4/30/48 by Senate Rules and Administration Comm. (S.Rep.No. 1235). Never reached Senate floor.
4. Anti-Lynching Bill	Recommended	"Early enactment" of "legislation against lynching."	HR5673 (Case), reported favorably by House Judiciary Comm., 3/23/48 (H.Rep. No.1597). S.2860, greatly curtailed bill, reported favorably by Senate Judiciary Comm., 6/14/48 (S.Rep.No.1625). Never reached floor of either House.

5. Organization of Civil Rights Division of Dept. of Justice	Recommended		Attorney General against regional offices; enlarged budget not requested. No provision made for enlarged appropriation.
6. Permanent Commission on Civil Rights	Recommended		No bill introduced.
7. Amendment of existing civil rights laws.	Recommended		No bills in Senate. No action by House Judiciary Comm. on HR4471 (Celler) amending 18 USC 51 and HR4472 (Celler) amending 18 USC 52.
8. Comprehensive protection of elections bill	Recommended		No bill introduced
9. Segregation in armed forces	No recommendation	"Immediate Congressional inquiry" and "corrective legislation."	Navy eliminating segregation; Army and Air Forces opposed. No bill in Senate. No action on HR279 (Powell) by House Committee on Armed Forces Anti-segregation amendments to draft bill (S.2655) defeated in Senate and House.
10. Discrimination and segregation in interstate commerce	Recommended		No bill in Senate. No action by House Comm. on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on HR280 (Powell).
11. End of racial bars to naturalization	Recommended		No action in Senate on S1655 or 2245 (McGrath). Hearing held, 4/21/48, before House Judiciary Comm. on HR5004 (Judd), but no final Committee action. No substantial action in either House on any bill affecting particular groups except HR5310 (Jackson) to admit Siamese, which passe House 3/15/48 on consent calendar.

12.	Japanese Evacuation Claims	Recommended	HR3999 (Michener) passed both Houses. Signed by President on 7/2/48.
13.	Civil Rights bill for District of Columbia	Home rule for D.C. to come first	No action by Senate DC Committee on S2682 (Taylor) to end segregation in schools. No action by House DC Committee on HR231 (Dawson) or HR4951 (Powell), covering discrimination in public accommodations, or on HR6488 (Klein) to end segregation in schools.
14.	District of Columbia Home Rule	Recommended	HR6227 (Auchincloss) reported favorably, 5/6/48 by House DC Committee (H.Rep.No.1876). Never reached floor of House.
15.	Reforming Federal employees loyalty program	Not mentioned but in hands of Richardson Loyalty Review Board	HR3813 (Rees) passed House 7/15/47 by 319 to 61. No action taken by Senate Civil Service Committee.
16.	Creating a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights	No recommendation	No bill in Senate. No action by House Committee on Rules on H.J.Res.326 (Huber).

24 Ne - Ness
McKinley, Chas

June 2, 1949

Professor Charles McKinley
Reed College
Portland 2, Oregon

Dear Mr. McKinley:

If Reed College is looking for a president, I have a nominee:

Lawrence I. Hewes, present address:

NRS - GHQ - SCAP
APO 500
c/o Postmaster, San Francisco, California

Larry Hewes is 47. His father has been for many years a mathematical engineer for the Public Roads Administration and, I believe, still has charge of some very large western area. They are San Francisco people. The mother is a good deal of an author--mostly children's books, but some novels.

Larry was raised partly in the state of Washington on a ranch, partly in San Francisco, and partly in Alexandria, Virginia. They sent him to Dartmouth. He got a degree from there (nothing brilliant), sold bonds in San Francisco until the '29 crash. Got a job with the Farm Credit Administration and learned farm land prices and so on. Came east and took a job with the Resettlement Administration under Rex Tugwell in 1935. Had most responsible work in the office of the Administrator dealing with the members of Congress and with the Democratic National Committee. Was regional director in the Farm Security Administration (successor to Resettlement) for three or four years, in charge of this

work in California, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona. While in Washington, D. C., he tied into George Washington University and got a Ph.D. degree. Wrote his thesis on the relationship of migratory farm labor and farm produce marketing arrangements on the West Coast.

As regional director of Farm Security, managed a staff of several hundred people widely scattered in the states named. Did the job with great distinction. As regional director, had charge of the migratory labor camps of the Farm Security Administration for his area--of course the most critical one.

When the war came and the Commanding General of the West Coast area required the removal of Japanese farmers, the army put on Larry the job of finding replacement farmers for the lands vacated by Japanese and Japanese-American farmers. The army commended him publicly and most warmly for the skill and respect with which he put through that difficult job.

He left Farm Security about 1943 and for a year and a half conducted a program in connection with the American Council on Race Relations for interracial adjustment in the wartime migration to the West Coast.

Shortly after VJ day, he was picked up by General McArthur to have a most responsible position in the rehabilitation of Japanese agriculture. That job is over and in a few weeks Larry will be coming back.

Academic field: economics. College teaching experience: virtually none. Administrative experience: very broad. Foundation contacts: good.

Married; one son, about eighteen. Politics, democrat. Church affiliation: not known to me. Ancestrally probably a Presbyterian. I could give you references that would turn up independent views about him.

Exceedingly able person, modern in views—not radical.

I don't know whether Larry would want to be a college president, but I guess he would.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

24 - Inc Dum
MacDougall, R.C

June 2, 1949

Mr. R. C. MacDougall
13th Floor
The New York Times
229 West 43 Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. MacDougall:

Please forgive this delay in answering your letter of May 16, requesting a copy of our membership list.

Unfortunately, we are bound by a longstanding policy of the Southern Regional Council which does not permit the mailing list to go outside the organization. We wish we felt free to assist the New York Times in this way.

As it is, we can supply you with the names of our Board of Directors and chairmen of our State Divisions and affiliated committees. These are enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc

The New York Times
Times Square

May 16, 1949

Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

If a copy of your membership list is available to The New York Times will you be good enough to send us one?

Please address it as follows:

Mr. R.C. MacDougall
13th floor
The New York Times
229 West 43 Street
New York 18, N.Y.

If there is a charge for the list please let me know the amount so that I may ask our purchasing department to send you an order.

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Cordially yours,

R.C. MacDougall

R.C. MacDougall

rcm/sh

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

Thurs night
Johnny

C-has in past permitted me to go outside the body

We wish we felt free to assist NYT in this way.

As it is we can send the names of our bd of dirs and the officers of our State Divs & affiliated committees.

These are encl

Sincerely yrs

25 No. Pine
Moore-Cottrell Sub. Ag

June 3, 1949

The Moore-Cottrell Subscription Agencies
North Cohocton
New York

Dear Sirs:

Here is the information which you asked for.

We regret very much that we are unable to offer reduced rates to subscription agencies. The Council is a non-profit organization, operating on an exceedingly tight budget and distributing its pamphlets and subscriptions at/and below costs. We feel therefore, that we cannot increase our own losses by paying commissions to subscription agencies. Ours is a public service, and we appreciate your help in extending it.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosure

ESTABLISHED 1869

THE MOORE-COTTRELL SUBSCRIPTION AGENCIES
INCORPORATED
NORTH COHOCTON, NEW YORK

RECEIVED
JUN 3 1949
Southern Regional Council

June 1, 1949

Dear Publisher:

May we ask that you fill out COMPLETELY the enclosed Rate Blank and return it to us promptly.

We say "COMPLETELY" so that we may give your orders the best possible service with fewest possible errors, and a minimum of correspondence. We handle orders for all lengths of term and from all countries. We urgently need ALL information requested.

May we also ask for your best possible rate. We know that your cost of production has gone up, but at the same time our own cost of doing business has greatly increased. Catalogs, Order Blanks, Envelopes, Stationery and Office Wages cost more in our office too.

As a Catalog Agency, selling without high pressure, we forward to most publishers a constant and dependable number of quality subscriptions year after year. We have been in business since 1869, and expect to continue. The rates we pay to many publishers are from 50% to 70% lower than the retail price, and we solicit your generous consideration.

Thank you for filling out and promptly returning the Rate Blank.

Sincerely yours,

THE MOORE-COTTRELL SUBSCRIPTION AGENCIES, INC.

24 Me - Incl
Merkerson, John W.

June 6, 1949

Mr. John W. Merkerson
583 Houston Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Merkerson:

You will be interested in this evidence that Greenville is moving ahead with veterans' training. I remember that you gave this whole business some part of its stimulus.

Cordially, and with regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

24 - Pub, Dec
Merton, Robert K

June 27, 1949

Mr. Robert K. Merton
Lane Bryant Annual Award
465 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Merton:

Your kind letter of June 18 about the forthcoming Annual Award was addressed to Mr. Will W. Alexander, executive director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

The Commission was succeeded five years ago by the Southern Regional Council. I suppose I, as the Council's executive director, am therefore successor and proper recipient of your letter to Mr. Alexander.

I do not know of the work of Mr. Low, nor of the Montclair Chapter of AVC, and I greatly doubt that Mr. Alexander does.

We applaud your plan of awards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

LANE BRYANT ANNUAL AWARD

For Volunteer Service to the Community

465 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Award Committee

Dr. Carl Binger,
Psychiatrist and author,
New York

Miss Sarah G. Blanding,
President, Vassar College,
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Mrs. J. L. Blair Buck,
President, General Federation
of Women's Clubs, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Bryn Hovde,
President, New School for
Social Research, New York

Dr. Daniel E. Poling,
Chaplain of the Chapel of
the Four Chaplains, Philadelphia

Committee Advisor

Dr. Robert King Merton,
Co-Director, Bureau of Applied Social
Research, Columbia University,
New York

June 18, 1949

Mr. Will W. Alexander, Executive Director
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The recipient of the Lane Bryant Annual Award for outstanding service to the community in 1948 is soon to be selected. The Award is given to an individual or group whose voluntary and non-remunerative activities have improved community living.

Candidates for the Award have been nominated by other members of their communities who know of their activities. Using the material contained in the nominations as criteria for selection of a recipient, the original group of 212 nominees has been narrowed down to a group of ten who are apparently the most worthy candidates.

Much material in support of their nominations has already been collected. It is, of course, to be expected that nominators will be predisposed in favor of their candidates. We are, therefore, writing to you as an impartial and informed person who might give us further information about these nominees. This will be treated in the strictest confidence. Your judgment of the role played by these nominees in their communities will help us immeasurably.

Reverend A. Ritchie Low
Vergennes, Vermont

Montclair Chapter of the American Veterans Comm.
c/o Curtis Campaigne, Jr.
215 Montclair Avenue
Upper Montclair, New Jersey

We will be most grateful for any information which you might be able to provide.

Sincerely yours,

Robert K. Merton

Robert K. Merton

RKM:ls

24- Mc- Misc
McConnell, C. M.

July 14, 1949

Mr. C. M. McConnell
Boston University School of Theology
72 Mount Vernon Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. McConnell:

Could you start a tracer on the matter of payment of my expenses, etc., on the trip to Worcester, Mass. last May.

We work on the slenderest of margins, and would welcome the check on that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

August 4, 1949

Mr. Paul V. Maris
c/o American Country Life Association, Inc.
3166 North Eighteenth Street
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Paul,

I wish I could go to Columbus for the meeting. I have got a conflict with a southwide meeting here at just the same time.

I greatly appreciated the opportunity to be present last year.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

23 - Mr. Mitchell
Maris, Paul V.

AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION, INC.

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE: 3166 N. EIGHTEENTH STREET, ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA

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U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.

*WILFRED SHAW
American Farm Bureau Federation
58 E. Washington Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

*T. A. TRIPP
Committee on Town and Country
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

JERRY VOORHIS
Cooperative League of the U.S.A.
343 S. Dearborn Street
Chicago 4, Illinois

* *Executive Committee Members*

August 1, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your note about Quentin Reynolds' article in Colliers. A lot of credit goes to the story writer. It was the best writing job I have seen.

I am enclosing a news letter announcing our next ACLA meeting. Can't you put this on your calendar and plan to be present throughout? We are expecting a very much larger meeeting this year than last.

Very sincerely yours,

Paul V. Maris

Paul V. Maris
Executive Secretary

Enclosure

RECEIVED
AUG 3 1949
Southern Regional Council

23 - Mr - Miss
Maris, Paul V.

July 25, 1949

Mr. Paul V. Maris, Director
Farm Ownership Division
Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Paul:

That was a grand article in the July 30 issue of Collier's. My warmest congratulations on your seeing through to success that grand enterprise.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

NEWS LETTER

AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION

Headquarters Office
3166 North Eighteenth Street
Arlington, Virginia

June 22, 1949

To: FRIENDS AND MEMBERS OF ACLA

Subject: The Columbus Meeting

Prospects are bright for an ACLA meeting of unusual interest and importance at Columbus, Ohio, September 7, 8, and 9. There are four reasons why this is true:

1. A worthwhile program has been planned.
2. Accommodations on the Ohio State campus will be excellent.
3. Necessary subsistence costs of those attending will be modest.
4. A large attendance is anticipated.

THE PROGRAM

"The Place of the Rural Community in Formulating Farm Policy", is the phrasing of the theme as finally adopted. It is taken for granted that the rural community should have a place in formulating national farm policy. The problem of the delegates at Columbus will be to determine how completely the rural communities of our time are exercising their rights, privileges, and responsibilities in our democracy and to express constructive suggestions that may result from their deliberations.

THE ANNIVERSARY FEATURE

The Columbus meeting will commemorate the 30th anniversary of the founding of ACLA and the 40th anniversary of the report of Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission which was the inspiration for our birth. The Country Life Commission Report will serve as a benchmark for measuring the 40 years of rural progress in America. Emphasis, however, will not be upon historical aspects but rather upon current problems and future outlook.

A WORKSHOP CONVENTION

The Columbus meeting will be organized on a workshop rather than a speechmaking basis. There will be ten workshops. The topics for these workshops are as follows:

1. The Rural Home
2. The Rural Church
3. Education - Schools, Libraries, Extension, etc.
4. Rural Health
5. Rural Recreation
6. Rural Utilities (Transportation, Communication, Electric Power)

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7. Farmers Organizations -

General (Farm Bureau, Grange, Farmers Union)
Cooperative (Buying, Selling, Credit, Service)
Special Interests (Dairymen, Poultrymen, Tobacco Growers, etc.)

8. Private Merchandising Services

Chain Organizations
Cooperatives
Local Business
Regional or National Business Institutions

9. Governmental Agencies (International, National, State, Local)

10. Labor and the Rural Community

HOW WILL THE WORKSHOPS WORK?

Each workshop will have a chairman, secretary, from three to half a dozen "resource persons", plus convention delegates who choose to attend that workshop. Each will have three half-day periods in which to appraise the problem assigned to it and to agree upon a set of constructive recommendations. The finished product of each workshop group will be a written statement reflecting fairly and accurately the thinking and attitude of participants. It is neither expected nor desired that discussions will continue until agreements are reached on all issues. There will be disagreements, but it will be the task of conference chairmen, secretaries, and resource persons to draft a report in such a manner as to reflect divergent views as well as prevailing opinions.

GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

There will be at least five general assemblies. Each day will start with one. There will be brief opening devotional services for which Rev. Clyde Rogers, Director of the Town and Country Department of the Ohio Council of Churches, will be responsible. There will be group singing. Governor Frank J. Lausche will be asked to welcome the convention to Ohio. Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan has been invited to address us and has promised to do so if not in Europe or otherwise unavailable at the time. Convention reporters of the Elmer Davis, Kaltenborn type (but specialists in our field), will give - at each general assembly - the highlights of what is transpiring in the workshops. That is all the convention as a whole will receive from the workshops until the printed proceedings are available. In other words, the delegate body will not censor, alter, or approve the reports developed in the workshops. Nor will it be called upon to sit through the reading of long reports.

PANEL OF NATIONAL LEADERS

One half-day session will be devoted to a panel upon which farm organization leaders, business leaders, labor leaders, and religious leaders will participate. This will be a conference highlight.

YOUTH PARTICIPATION

Youth will have a part. This part has been worked out with Merle J. Thomas, president, Rural Youth of the U.S.A., Carlysle De LaCroix, head of the Youth

Department, American Farm Bureau Federation, and Wib Justi, Youth Department of the National Grange. The youth group will reconnoiter at a luncheon the first day. They will have charge of the evening session that day and a recreational program following the close of workshop periods the second day.

The American Library Association will be represented with valuable educational exhibits in the form of bookmobiles and stationary exhibits.

CONFERENCE FINALE

Two outstanding churchmen will give the concluding addresses at the general session on the afternoon of the third day. They are Bishop William C. Martin of the Dallas-Fort Worth area, organizer of the National Methodist Rural Life Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska in July, 1947; and Bishop Edwin V. O'Hara of Kansas City, Missouri founder of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference.

THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

This will follow the adjournment of the convention proper. No attempt will be made to hold the large delegate body for the transaction of routine ACLA business, but all who are interested will be urged to remain for the business session.

THE ACCOMMODATIONS

There are two good assembly rooms on the University campus. One, Campbell Hall, will accommodate about 500; the other, University Hall, around 1,000. It is highly probable that we will be obliged to use a larger auditorium.

Classrooms for workshops will be easily reached from either auditorium. For overnight guests, between 250 and 300 rooms will be available at Baker Hall at a charge of $2.00 a night. This is one of the University's dormitories. Baker Hall may serve meals, in which case the breakfast charge will be 45¢, dinner 65¢, and supper 85¢. If Baker Hall is not operating at the time, meals will be available at eating houses on or near the campus.

FEES AND REGISTRATION

A decision arrived at with our Ohio committee bears upon the question of finances. There will be three registration desks at the Ohio convention. One will be for those who desire to become members of ACLA, receive all of its proceedings, circular letters, etc. The individual dues are $3.00.

A second registration desk will accommodate those who desire the proceedings of the Ohio convention. These persons will pay $1.00. It is hoped that one in every family attending, not taking out a membership in ACLA, will register at this desk.

A third registration desk will accommodate those who neither desire to become members nor to receive copies of proceedings.

A STRONG LOCAL COMMITTEE

On May 11, we met a group representing the host state in the office of Dean L. L. Rummell of the College of Agriculture in Columbus. Present, in addition to Dean Rummell, were Director of Extension C. M. Ferguson, Maurice Wieting, Assistant to President Robert Peel of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, Miss Christine Van

Gordon substituting for Joseph W. Fichter, Master of the Ohio Grange, and Merle J. Thomas, president of Rural Youth, U.S.A. Convention arrangements and convention attendance were both thoroughly discussed. A strong Ohio committee on arrangements and attendance has been set up which consists of the following persons:

Honorary Chairmen

H. L. Bevis, President, Ohio State University
L. L. Rummell, Dean, College of Agriculture

Chairman

C. M. Ferguson, Director, Extension Service

Arrangements - Housing, meals, rooms, registration

Chairman - George Crane, Assistant Director of Extension
Members - T. G. Watson, Secretary, College of Agriculture
Jesse Amsbaugh, Assistant Secretary, Ohio Extension Service

Publicity and Attendance

Frank Byrnes, Assistant Agricultural Editor, College of Agriculture
Maurice Wieting, Assistant to President Peele, Ohio Farm Bureau
Christine Van Gordon, Assistant Editor, Ohio State Grange Monthly
Walter Bluck, Executive Secretary, Ohio Council of Farm Co-ops
Clyde N. Rogers, Director, Town and Country Department, Ohio Council of Churches
Father Julian J. Schaefer, Rural Life Secretary, Columbus Diocese

Youth Program

Merle J. Thomas, President, Rural Youth of U. S. A.
Darwin Bryan, Recreation Director, Ohio Farm Bureau
C. C. Lang, 4-H Club Supervisor, Ohio Extension Service and Chairman, Committee on Older Rural Youth
Gus Umbauch, Head, Youth Activities, Ohio State Grange

ATTENDANCE

At Columbus, ACLA will be making its first big effort to get back on the pre-war basis of a large attendance of farm men and women from the territory surrounding the meeting place. Ohio ranks at the top or near the top as a Grange state. Our program should appeal to Grange masters, Grange lecturers, members of Grange home economics committees, and members of subordinate Grange youth committees. If these persons alone should attend our meeting, the largest auditorium on the campus would not accommodate the crowd. Ohio Farm Bureau discussion groups number around 1,400. Carl Hutchinson, the educational director, indicated that the attention of these groups will be centered upon ACLA workshop topics prior to our meeting. This is another group that would overflow convention hall. We had the privilege of dining with the Directors of the Ohio State Farm Bureau and we are assured of their interest and support.

Clyde N. Rogers, Director of the Town and Country Department of the Ohio Council of Churches, and Father Schaefer, prominent leader of Catholic rural life activities, are on the Ohio committee on publicity and attendance. Church leaders

should be well represented.

Youth is well-organized in Ohio in 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers Associations, the Grange, Farm Bureau and Rural Youth of U.S.A., and many young people are expected.

A good delegation of rural ministers, librarians, Extension workers and agricultural teachers can be expected from states once or twice removed from Ohio.

The Secretary's office expects to work with key men in various fields of interest for out-of-state representation.

In keeping with its forum tradition and plan of operation, a special effort will be made to secure representation at the Columbus meeting from business and labor groups. Representatives of these groups will share the privilege of the floor with other participants in workshops. Some of them will be resource persons. Agricultural representatives will benefit by their presence. They will benefit by an unusual opportunity for first-hand contacts with representatives from the rural communities.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

Immediate past ACLA president, Joe Ackerman, reports that the proceedings of the Dubuque and Berea meetings are scheduled to come from the press soon. Gunvor Johannesen has helped Joe Ackerman and his staff put these reports in form for printing. ACLA is greatly indebted to the Farm Foundation and its leaders, Frank Peck and Joe Ackerman, for financing the printing of the Dubuque and Berea proceedings. Those who registered at these meetings will receive copies automatically as soon as they are delivered to the Secretary's office.

******

Your attention is directed to the enclosed new ACLA folder entitled "Building a Better Rural Life". Frances Fox of the Information Staff of the Farmers Home Administration is the author.

******

Our ACLA Treasurer, R. K. Bliss, wrote under the date of June 7, "I have taken in quite a little money with this past letter (requesting payment of 1949 dues). In fact, I did pretty well (no figures given). I think perhaps I will follow up with another letter sometime soon although the checks are still coming in." Unless you especially want to receive Director Bliss's second letter, it is suggested that those who have not done so forward him their personal check for $2.00 to cover dues for 1949. His address is Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.

******

We have communicated directly with Liberty Hyde Bailey whom it has been our desire to honor in person at Columbus. Although he has passed his 90th milestone, this outstanding figure among agricultural leaders is still engaged in heavy work as the following quote from his reply to our letter indicates: "I remember the old Country Life Association, but I suppose it is still new and thriving. I am now too old to undertake the attendance of such meetings and take part in the program, and my days are filled with heavy work which I hope in part to finish."

Many of our readers will be interested in the following statement of philosophy excerpted from a letter written and read by Mr. Bailey at a meeting of Epsilon

Sigma Phi at Cornell University, where he spoke some months ago:

"You ask my reaction to the long years of my life. Life has had its troubles and afflictions but it has also had transcendent satisfactions. The earth itself has seemed good to me, with its boundless scenery, its inexplicable animals, its whelming vegetation, its universal beauty. I do not yet know why plants come out of the land or float in streams or creep on rocks or roll from the sea. I am entranced by the mystery of them, and absorbed by their variety and kinds. Everywhere they are visible yet everywhere occult. I may even grow them and thus cooperate in the creation. I may help in the furnishment of the globe.

"Seeds are prophecies. The young shoot is an aspiration. It is my obligation to watch the unfolding process, to see the leaves come forth and take the positions peculiar to their kind, then flowers with colors of earth and heaven, pods and fruits, and again the prophetic seeds by which the planet is always furnished and clothed even though it is changing. I look at the roots and wonder why. I smell the soil and feel it with my fingers. What are all the troubles and toils of life as compared with the privileges that are mine to partake, even before I ask?"

Roger Corbett

President

Paul V. Maris

Executive Secretary

P.S. by PVM: Our president, Roger Corbett, severed his connections with the University of Maryland where he was Associate Dean of Agriculture, on April 11 of this year, and became Agricultural Counsel for the National Association of Food Chains, 726 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C. This move brings the President and the Executive Secretary closer together and facilitates their inter-communication and transportation between offices.

23-M- Misc. -
Maris, Paul V.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

FEB 24 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regiomal Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

It has been quite sometime since I received your good and interesting letter of January 4. Your remarks as always are thought provoking.

I wish now that I had sent you the entire chapter rather than the excerpt. My object was to avoid imposing upon you. I tried to put in a strong plug for "converting the wage-hand place into a family farm." At least I have dealt in another portion of the chapter with the curse of the inadequate farms and the need for farm enlargement and development.

Also, in the chapter on legislative background I quoted the California report comparing neighborhoods.

Yes, you are right, at least I think you are, that the text in general will indicate why Puerto Rico and Hawaii are dragged in.

I attended the annual meeting of our Negro borrowers in Chambers County last week. In this particular county, it appeared to me that Negro borrowers are responding much more satisfactorily to supervision than many of our white borrowers in the same county.

Very sincerely yours,

Paul V. Maris

Paul V. Maris
Consultant

25 Ins - Misc
Morse, Wayne

August 8, 1949

The Honorable Wayne Morse
United States Capitol
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Morse:

One of the Council's Executive Committee suggested that you would be interested in this account of the recent Irwinton, Georgia lynching and the article on possible legislation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

24-Fre-Misc
Mr Neill Warren

August 15, 1949

Mr. Warren A. McNeill
United States Senate
Committee on Banking and Currency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Warren:

Brooks Hayes' bill has some most interesting points. It would encourage states to enact their own anti-lynch legislation containing arrangements which in the event of a lynching would throw responsibility for persecution directly upon the Governor or the State Attorney General.

Under that bill, appeal would lie to Federal officials only in the event that State officials wilfully withheld action.

I, personally, would be for a stronger bill, but the Hayes bill has some very good points.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

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AUG 15 19
Southern Regional Counc

August 11, 1949m

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I appreciate your letter of August 9 with enclosure of an account of the lynching at Irwinton, Georgia and an analysis of pending Federal anti-lynching laws.

As you know, Virginia has not had a lynching during the twenty years since the Byrd Anti-Lynch Law was passed. It seems to me that such State action is the best answer to the problem rather than an attempt to enact a Federal law which, aside from the possibility of stirring up further ill-will, is almost certain to do violence to our Constitution.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Warren

Warren A. McNeill

24- Irwin-Press
Mr. Paul Warren

August 9, 1949

Mr. Warren McNeil
Office of Senator A. Willis Robertson
United States Congress
Washington, D. C.

Dear Warren:

We think this account of the lynching at Irwinton, Georgia is a useful piece of writing. Observe overleaf, the analysis of possible legislation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

August 25, 1949

Dear Margaret,

That was nice of you to sit down and write us a good long newsy letter. We were all delighted to have it.

We are getting New South going to you. Here is one red hot from Stein.

We are living, but with a limp.

Come to see us whenever you are in this part of the world.

Warm regards to your good husband.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Mrs. S. D. Mullins, Jr.
951 Summit Avenue
Jersey City, New Jersey

25 - Ma - Mis
Mullins, Margaret P.

RECEIVED
AUG 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

951 Summit Avenue
Jersey City, N. J.
August 18, 1949

Dear Dr. Mitchell and all the SRC Folks:

First of all, let me say to you, Dr. Mitchell, how very much I appreciate the grand letter of recommendation you wrote to the National Health Council for me. Dr. Dublin was quite impressed--and I'm having trouble living up to it.

I did get the job at the National Health Council. I'm secretary-assistant to a Mr. Samuel Peskin who is making "an inventory and analysis of local and state health councils in the United States"--to quote dozens of letters I've typed for him. The study is quite interesting, and I am having a chance to use some of the community organization knowledge I acquired at SRC. I seems a bit hard to get used to thinking in terms of 48 states rather than 13, and I am learning much new geography. The study is still in its beginning stages. We spent the day revising and re-revising the questionnaire which is to go to the health councils. Having been thoroughly indoctrinated in the Mitchell-simple-language system (the principles of which I believe in, even though I never did master it!), I keep wanting to simplify the questionnaire.

I'm sending some material on local health councils and on evaluating local health units to Janie for what they may be worth if the Survey Manual comes in for another revision.

By now we like New York lots; Jersey City we just ignore. It really is a most depressing place--not a new house has been built for years, not even apartment projects. The residents say they have the highest property tax rate in the country, so no one is interested in buying or building. A goodly portion of the money has gone into the Medical Center, which is most huge and fancy, and the rest has apparently gone into the pockets of "Hague-y", as his name is pronounced by our landlord. Delon is quite happy over the Medical Center. It really is a tremendous place--seven buildings, ranging in height from eight stories to fourteen. It is beautifully kept and well-staffed with thousands of cops and political hangers-on. Delon says there are a number of "boarders" on his ward--men who are perfectly well and able to go home but who just haven't gotten around to it. According to some stories, there was an unexpected and very deep snow a few years ago, and Jersey City people who couldn't get home simply went to the hospital to live for a few days!

Mrs. Furst, Dr. Mitchell, was quite helpful in my job-hunting. She referred me to several people, to an excellent employment agency, and was to "press my case" with Fred Wale at the Bureau for Intercultural Education. In the meantime, though, I talked to David Ruhe, who told me about this job.

'Twould be grand to hear from some of you about what SRC is doing, etc. I haven't received New South since I have been here, but since I didn't send a formal change of address I have no complaint there. I wish you would consider this letter formal, though, and send it. Please give my best regards to Lucille, Jimmie, and other people around the building. And if any of you are ever up this way, please let me know. Office address is 1790 Broadway; telephone is CIrcle 5-8000, ext. 159.

8-22-49

Regards to all, and best wishes. I miss you--

Margaret Price Mullins

25 MO - Misc —
Mullins,
Margaret

April 14, 1949
Dict. April 13

Mrs. S. D. Mullins
1234 - 15th Street
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Margaret:

You were a good egg to be willing to change things all around and go up to Knoxville. Sorry about the planes, but do appreciate your willingness. Jane talked to Guy Johnson by 'phone, and I hope that Guy was able to accomplish something toward getting the survey known. Guy helps us so much I hated to leave it to him by himself.

I do hope you will come by Atlanta before you go yonderwards for the long stay.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

PAINE COLLEGE

ESTABLISHED 1883

Warren A. Candler Memorial Library

E. C. PETERS, PRESIDENT

AUGUSTA

GEORGIA

April 1, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Things were against us today. There are two planes a day to Knoxville--one at 11:30 and one at 12:30. I could not get a reservation on the 12:30 flight and I could not make the 11:30 flight. I'm sorry as can be, because it was all right with the other members of the library staff for me to leave and I myself was as excited as could be about it.

Thanks for asking me to go to Knoxville. I hope you will try me on something else.

Sincerely,

Margaret

Margaret Price Mullins

RECEIVED
APR 4 1949
Southern Regional Council

24- Pre-Farm
Mitchell, H. L.

August 26, 1949

Mr. H. L. Mitchell
National Farmers Union
300 B Street, S. E.
Washington 2, D. C.

Dear H. L.:

That business last month in Lake County, Florida was probably at bottom an agricultural labor matter. Therefore, I thought you would be interested in this careful account of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

23-M-Miss
Mason, Lucy

August 29, 1949

Miss Lucy Mason
75 Ivy Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Lucy:

Here is an extra copy of what the Southern Baptists said.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:vgd

Enclosure

24 - The Press
McWilliams, Carey

August 30, 1949

Mr. Carey McWilliams
c/o J. B. Lippincott Co.
227-231 South Sixth Street
Philadelphia 5, Pa.

Dear Mr. McWilliams:

In connection with the outburst of mob violence in Lake County, Florida last month, the Council sent down a man who produced the enclosed thoughtful, balanced analysis of those events.

I know your interest in matters concerning agricultural labor, and thought, therefore, that you would be interested in this account, particularly the first column on page seven showing the relationship between mobility and violence in such an area.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

24- Inc - Misc
McMath, Sid

STATE OF ARKANSAS
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
LITTLE ROCK

SID McMATH
GOVERNOR

September 2, 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 26 enclosing copy of the "New South".

Yours very truly,

Sid McMath

Sid McMath

August 26, 1949

The Honorable Sidney S. McMath
Governor of Arkansas
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Governor McMath:

I have the honor to send you a copy of New South containing an analysis of the outburst of mob violence last month in Lake County, Florida.

This account has in it some lessons which, I think, would be of interest to responsible officials in charge of law enforcement.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

M-Miscel

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September
10, 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 13 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Area Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I thought you would be interested in my letter of September 6 addressed to Mr. George Wilson of the Department of Public Safety and his reply to my letter.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM
dem
enc-2

Department of Public Safety
Post Office Box 1456
Atlanta 1, Georgia
September 7, 1949

Mr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mays:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 6th with reference to discourtesy shown you by one of our Patrolmen.

We sincerely regret that this unfortunate incident occurred to you and we want you to know that our Troopers are instructed at all times to be courteous to the public.

You may rest assured that this case will be investigated and if we can ever be of assistance to you, please feel free to call on us.

With best wishes,

Yours very truly,

/s/

George W. Wilson
Colonel - Director

GWW/bf

COPY COPY COPY

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
SEP 13 1949
Southern Regional Council

September 6, 1949

Colonel George Wilson, Director
Department of Public Safety
959 East Confederate Street, SE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wilson:

I hope you do not mind if I report an incident to you which I think you should know. Thursday, September 1 I was passing through Danielsville on Route 29 enroute to Atlanta. Several yards before getting to a traffic light, which was a blinking light, I saw a highway patrolman and two cars. The patrolman was talking to a man in one car and as he went to talk to a man in the other car he gave a signal which I interpreted to mean "pass on". It was definitely not a signal to stop. Interpreting the signal to mean continue, I simply slowed down and did not stop. Of course the patrolman in threatening voice, had me to understand that I was to stop.

In insulting tones he began to abuse me with words for not stopping. I explained to the patrolman that I mistook his signal and thought he was directing the traffic and advised me to continue. He didn't like my explanation very well and ordered me to hush. When I did hush, he began asking questions and because I did not answer them as rapidly as he thought I should, he demanded that I answer the questions. And when I still explained to him that I mistook his signal, he threatened to knock me out of the car if I didn't shut up. Of course, I had no choice.

I do not know whether this particular patrolman treats all persons as he did me, or that he did it to me because He discovered that I am a Negro. In either case it is bad. If it was because I am a Negro, it is worse. Because in that case he is taking advantage of the Negro's weak status in American life.

As I experienced this incident with the patrolman, I knew that my life was in jeopardy and that with one or two more words from me, he would have either beaten me up, or killed me on the spot. And if I had been killed, in all probability, nothing would have been done about it, despite the fact that I had committed no wrong, or violated no law.

I am not asking you to do anything about this, but I do want you to know what happened. I think highway patrolmen can be decent, although they have authority and are armed. I believe this patrolman wore a badge Number 65.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:dem

24 - Mc Intic
Metcalf, Dr. John

906 Lullwater Road
Atlanta, Georgia
September 14, 1949

Dear Mrs. Metcalf,

On behalf of all of the Mitchells, I write to express our deepest sorrow in Dr. Metcalf's death.

We all knew how greatly Father loved him, and our own lives were the richer in the knowledge of that closest friendship.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Mrs. John Calvin Metcalf
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

DR. JOHN METCALF, EDUCATOR, IS DEAD

Former Literature Professor and Graduate School Dean at U. of Virginia Was 84

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va., Sept. 10—Dr. John Calvin Metcalf, Professor of English Literature at the University of Virginia from 1917 to 1940, and former dean of the Graduate School for twenty-three years, died last night at the university. He was 84 years old.

Born near Garrettsburg, Ky., son of Dr. John Calvin Metcalf, a prominent physician in southern Kentucky, Dr. Metcalf received a Master of Arts degree at Georgetown (Ky.) College and did graduate work at the University of Chicago and Harvard.

Before coming to Virginia in 1905 he had taught in colleges in Tennessee, Georgia and Kentucky, being Professor of English at the University of Richmond for twelve years and dean of the college for three. Dr. Metcalf was the author of a number of books on literary subjects, including histories of English and American literature that are widely used today as texts in schools and colleges.

He was a member of the American Dialect Society, the Modern Language Association of America, the Association of American University Professors and the Authors Club of London.

Dr. Metcalf leaves his second wife, the former Edmonia Carrington Lancaster of Richmond.

New York Times 9/11/49

2-3-Pa-Parson

Parson, John

September 15, 1949

Mr. John Marion
Southern Presbyterian Church
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Marion:

Do put your imagination to work and show us how we could get the widest possible circulation of this new pamphlet.

It could do a lot of good. You will see that it is written persuasively and not carpingly. It is perfect for a local action program. There is no politics, nothing that is fairly to be criticised; and skillfully used, it can do a lot to build goodwill. We are selling it for fifteen cents.

The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association has agreed to mail it out to each of its members.

Is there any promotion engine we could reach which would interest your church people?

We are having printed a flyer describing the pamphlet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

23-M Misc
Marion, John H

May 23, 1949

The Rev. Mr. John H. Marion, Director
Committee on Christian Relations
Presbyterian Church in the United States
P. O. Box 5094
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Marion:

We are delighted to have an opportunity to help get out even more widely your Committee's report to the General Assembly on "States' Rights and Human Rights". We all rejoiced when its fine and courageous language saw print.

After a good deal of reflection, I think the best thing to do would be to get the Outlook to send copies to the following:

1. The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council (List enclosed).

2. The Fellows of the Southern Regional Council (names and addresses on the enclosed cards). These are highly selected young persons scattered over the South, of both races, in leadership positions, who serve as eyes and ears for the Council.

3. The officers of the several State Divisions and affiliated committees of the Council. (List enclosed. We have checked the names of those persons who also are on the Board list, mentioned under 1, above.)

4. Selected additional names listed on an enclosed sheet.

It would help everything if the Outlook could get those out.

Could you also get them to send us ten copies, at least, for uses that would come to us from day to day?

How very kind that was of you to send the check for fifteen dollars. We will use it to swell our "sale of publications" figure.

I am to be in Richmond probably on Thursday, May 26, and shall try to get to see you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

cc: Mrs. McKoy

ADDITIONAL NAMES FOR MAILING REPORT

Mr. R. B. Eleazer (5 copies)
810 Broadway
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Bishop J. W. E. Bowen
25 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Rev. Harrison McMains
200 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Rt. Rev. John Moore Walker
2744 Peachtree Rd., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Bishop R. R. Wright
Morris Brown College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Harry Richardson, President (5 copies)
Gammon Theological Seminary
Atlanta, Georgia

The Rt. Rev. William R. Moody
Bishop of Lexington
Lexington, Kentucky

Dr. Kelley Barnett
Roberts School of Christianity
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Professor George Hayes
Agnes Scott College
Decatur, Georgia

Dr. J. Max Bond
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Thelma Stevens, Exec. Sec.
Department of Christian Social
Relations and Local Church
Activities
Woman's Division of Christian Service
Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Miss Marjorie Minkler, Exec. Sec.
Bureau of Town and Country Work
...(Remainder of address same
as Miss Stevens)

Mrs. Jeanetta Welch Brown
Executive Director
National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, NW
Washington 5, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

STUART R. OGLESBY, CHAIRMAN
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, TREASURER
FRANK H. CALDWELL
R. A. FARNSWORTH
ANNIE TAIT JENKINS
JOHN S. LAND
LOUIE LOGAN
J. MCDOWELL RICHARDS
J. FARRA VAN METER
CARY N. WEISIGER, III
ROBERT R. WILSON
GEORGE H. WRIGHT

JOHN H. MARION, JR., *Director*
P. O. Box 5094
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

May 17, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

One of our church papers, the Presbyterian Outlook, recently published an abbreviated version of our Committee's report to the General Assembly this year on "States' Rights and Human Rights". The editor of the Outlook tells me that he has several hundred extra copies of that issue which we might send to people whom we think would be interested in seeing the report. It occurred to me that there are many members of the Southern Regional Council who might be particularly interested in seeing that published part of our report.

Would it be possible for you to let me have a list of the members of the Council for this purpose? If this would be too much trouble, I wonder if you could give us 75 or 100 names to whom we could send this issue.

I am enclosing a check for $15.00 for the Council, which will cover the cost of the material you sent us some time ago and perhaps help a bit with some other projects on your agenda.

B C Smith
May 19. 49
epms

Cordially yours,

John H. Marion

John H. Marion

JHM/p
Encl: 1

RECEIVED
MAY 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

23-M-Misc-
Marion, Rev. John H. Jr.

January 24, 1949

Rev. John H. Marion, Jr., Director
Committee on Christian Relations
Presbyterian Church in the United States
P. O. Box 5094
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Marion:

I am sorry you had to write me for the material I promised to send. I did indeed start the machinery, a day or two after I got back, and here they are, by dint of your reminding.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

STUART R. OGLESBY, CHAIRMAN
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, TREASURER
FRANK H. CALDWELL
R. A. FARNSWORTH
ANNIE TAIT JENKINS
JOHN S. LAND
LOUIE LOGAN
J. MCDOWELL RICHARDS
J. FARRA VAN METER
CARY N. WEISIGER, III
ROBERT R. WILSON
GEORGE H. WRIGHT

JOHN H. MARION, JR., *Director*
P. O. Box 5094
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

January 19, 1949

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It was good to have that chance to talk with you the other day, and I greatly appreciated your offer to send me the various materials that I shall need in the preparation of our Committee's report to the next General Assembly. Maybe you are still on the wing and haven't been able to get the pamphlets together, but if you could send them to me within the next week or ten days I would be most grateful to you. The first draft of our report is to be discussed by the Committee on the 7th of March, and I want to get it out to the members in plenty of time for them to think it over carefully before we meet.

Also if you have a leaflet that lists your various publications, and the prices of them, I would also like to have a copy of that. I am sure that you have various pieces of literature that we ought to buy for inclusion in the packets we send out to our ministers and other church leaders.

Thank you again for your kindness and help.

Cordially yours,

John H. Marion

John H. Marion

JHM/p

24- Fro. Press
Miller, A. C.

September 16, 1949

Dr. A. C. Miller
301 Baptist Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Dr. Miller:

Here is a brand new pamphlet which we have just got out. Do please take a few minutes to look through it.

As you will have seen, a movement is already under way in the South for the press to be more attentive on Negro news. This pamphlet can speed and shape the movement quite a lot.

The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association has agreed to mail it all to all its members.

One of the major Negro life insurance companies has bought a thousand copies to distribute to policy-holders.

I am trying to get other companies to do the same (the price is fifteen cents straight).

The little pamphlet is basis for an easy, hardly controversial, and certainly rewarding, local action program. The papers will have had it and somebody on the paper will have read it. Now if citizens will read it and visit the papers and ask for better compliance with the rules in the little green book, that will do just a whole lot.

I would be most grateful for anything you might do to help us get it in use in your area.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:vgd

24 - Mr. - Miss
Meyer, Mrs. Eliz.

September 16, 1949

Mrs. Elizabeth T. Meijer
2721 West North Avenue
Baltimore 16, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Meijer:

Here are three copies of our new pamphlet Race in the News. You remember you wrote me about it February 17, and I have been promising it along to you ever since. We just got it back from the printer.

Could you get a little committee to go to see the Baltimore Sun?

The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association is mailing the pamphlet to all its members, but I suppose the Sun is not a member.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

24. Mc - Misc
Meijer, Mrs Eliz. T

RECEIVED
MAY 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

MRS. ELIZABETH T. MEIJER
2721 WEST NORTH AVENUE
BALTIMORE 16, MD.

May 3 '49

Dear Dr Mitchell,

I am of course elated over the L. H. J.'s decision (though I have not received this information from them in person) and I want to thank you very much for your much valued assistance. I am sure it had great influence

Sincerely yours
Elizabeth T. Meijer

24-McDiet
Meijer, Eliz
(see correspondence from
Ladies Home Journal)

April 28, 1949

Mrs. Elizabeth T. Meijer
2721 West North Avenue
Baltimore 16, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Meijer:

You will be interested in the attached copy of a letter we had today from the Ladies' Home Journal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

24 Inc - Inse
Meijer

April 19, 1949

Mrs. Elizabeth T. Meijer
2721 West North Avenue
Baltimore 16, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Meijer:

Here is a copy of the letter I got from the Ladies' Home Journal, in answer to the one I wrote at your suggestion.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

C
O
P
Y

LADIES' HOME JOURNAL
The Curtis Publishing Company
Bruce Gould
Beatrice Blackmar Gould
Editors
Philadelphis 5

April 7, 1949

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As we have perhaps informed you in the past, we have always printed the word negro with a small "n" just as we print the word white with a small "w".

We should like to adapt our usage to the consensus of negro sentiment since our desire in this matter is to please this group of our citizens. I myself rather dislike to capitalize the "n" in negro because, it seems to me, that is a kind of alphabetical segregation of which I do not approve. The American people in the United States are made up of many races, nationalities, and types. Our future, it seems to me, lies in a melting and unification of these diversified elements rather than differentiation. However, I am not a negro, and I do not feel as strongly about many things which seem important to you. And, in matters where no great principle is involved, but where feelings and emotions are, I would certainly wish to defer to responsible negro opinion in cases where our opinions seem to differ.

Therefore, I have asked our copy editor to contact a number of organizations which might be presumed to represent negro thought in this country, and we will maintain or change our policy on the basis of the consensus expressed.

With best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

(signed) Bruce Gould

Mr. George S. Mitchell
...
...
...

BG:bwk

24-Me-Misc

Meijer, Eliz.

March 23, 1949

The Editors
Ladies Home Journal
Independence Square
Philadelphia 5, Pennsylvania

Dear Editors:

One of our members in Baltimore has written us about the correspondence with the Journal on capitalizing the word Negro. Reference is made to a recent article by Dorothy Thompson, and an earlier serial by Pearl Buck, in both of which the word Negro was used with a small "n".

We are a southern organization, as you can see, with both white and Negro citizens as members. It has been unquestioned policy with us for many years to capitalize "Negro" as being a proper noun. "White" is an adjective and, therefore, not capitalized. The equivalent term for white people is "Caucasian".

I do hope you will consult about again.

Quite a considerable number of important daily papers in the South now uniformly use the capital "N", and one sees a capital "W" on white only in out-of-the-way places.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Mrs. Elizabeth T. Meijer

MRS. ELIZABETH T. MEIJER
2721 WEST NORTH AVENUE
BALTIMORE 16, MD.

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1949
Regional Council

March 12 1949

Dear George Mitchell,

The enclosed article speaks for itself. Can you write the Ladies Home Journal please either for The Southern Regional Council or as an individual?

And also get some other people or groups to do the same?

Use it any way you see fit.

Shall be expecting your newspaer pamphlets when they are ready.

Most sincerely yours

Elizabeth T. Meijer

24-MC-Misc —
Meijer, Mrs. Eliz. T.

February 24, 1949

Mrs. Elizabeth T. Meijer
2721 West North Avenue
Baltimore 16, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Meijer:

I am still getting after the author of our manual on race in the news, in an effort to get him to complete it. He is busy with a new job and has little time to spare. But as soon as we can get it, we will revive your letter and write to the Sun, as you suggest, and also send you a copy or two.

June 1 tickles set up MEJ

I send your new Association for Civic Unity various small items of Literature. Do you think they could scrape up $1.50 a year wherewith to subscribe to New South?

Sept 2/24 MEJ

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Ladies' Home Journal
Philadelphia 5, Pa.
Fourth month, 22, 1949

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You will be happy to learn, we believe, that as a result of our inquiry into the opinion of Negro leaders, we have changed our policy, and henceforth will use the capital "N" in the word "Negro."

Thank you for your interest in the Journal.

Sincerely yours,

(signed)
John H. Werner
Assistant Editor

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
FEB 21 1949
RECEIVED
The National Council

MRS. ELIZABETH T. MEIJER
272 WEST NORTH AVENUE
BALTIMORE 16, MD.

Feb 17 '49

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

It was about a year ago that I visited you in Atlanta. On the remainder of my trip I learned much. The trouble is, though, to find use for my many years of experience in a paid way. Plenty volunteer work here too, so I do as much as I can in the left time, caring life's necessities.

I have been working on the Sun papers and had some good results

Will you send me 3 or 4 copies please of the Manual for Reporters and would you prefer to send one yourself to Philip Wagner Editor of the Sun saying I asked you to or shall I do it myself when I receive them? It may be good publicity for your group to send it.

We have started a new group "Association for Civic Unity" 1510 W Northern Baltimore Md and would like any literature you care to send.

With best regards

Cordially yours

Elizabeth T. Meyer

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1940
Southern Regional Council

A Change Needed in the Racial Policy of the Ladies Home Journal.

Twice in the last few months there appeared in the Ladies Home Journal the word Negro spelled with a small"n". Once it was in an article by Dorothy Thompson and once in a serial by Pearl Buck.

When the editors's attention was drawn to this "error", their answer was"that it was their procedure, since it is not our policy to capitalize the word white. We have not felt that it is fair to make an exception of this kind, for we are all Americans, no matter what our race, color or creed. Negroes, themselves, prefer it that way".

The answer to a second letter, which again expressed the fact that this policy is extremely distasteful to their colored readers and explained that the word white and Negro are not comparable as are white and colored, but that Negro should be capitalized as are Indian or Jewish, brought this reply: "When this procedure became Journal policy, we checked with a number of prominent negro leaders. There was disagreement among them but the majority preferred the small"n", for they felt that the capital drew immediate attention to the color."

These letters were signed The Editors and initialled PH.

This seems to be a matter of great importance for the Ladies Home Journal is read by millions of people, who are thus subjected to this wrong racial attitude.

It is imperative that readers from all over the United States should inform the Editors of the Ladies Home Journal (Independence Square Philadelphia 5 Pa.) that they are wrong and should change this bad policy.

These mysterious "prominent negro leaders" who prefer the small"n", certainly cannot be either "prominent" or "leaders."!

(Mrs.) Elizabeth T. Meijer

2721 W. North Ave
Baltimore 16 Md.

24- Inc - Misc
McCallister, Frank

Roosevelt College

OF CHICAGO

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LABOR EDUCATION DIVISION

TELEPHONE WABASH 2-3580

September 22, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
SEP 26 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

We got a letter addressed to Horace Cayton in care of the Pittsburgh Courier, enclosing a pamphlet "Race in the News."

I am forwarding this on to Horace's New York address.

Presumably, he got the note you sent to me.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank McCallister
Director
Labor Education Division

FM:jc
liu-cio
No.1645

24- Inc - Misc
McCallister, Frank

September 19, 1949

Mr. Frank McCallister
Roosevelt College
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Frank:

Mighty nice of you to write about the meeting. It was a honey.

I will be in Chicago November 3-5 for the meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations, staying at the Shoreland.

Do hope I can get to see you and Mildred.

We are all right.

GWES is doing pretty nicely.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

24 - McC - Misc
McCallister, Frank

From the Desk of:

FRANK McCALLISTER
WAbash 2-3580, Extension 35
ROOSEVELT COLLEGE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

9/8/49

To George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Ave
Atlanta

RECEIVED
SEP 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear George -

Congratulations on getting Mrs. Roosevelt for your meeting. Hope her presence will push you over some of the humps ahead.

Come to see us in Chicago sometime.

Greetings to Alice + the kids.

Sincerely,
Frank

228

23-M-Misc

Minkler, Marjorie

September 26, 1949

Miss Marjorie Minkler, Executive Secretary
Bureau of Town and Country Work
Woman's Division of Christian Service
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss Minkler:

I think you will like this new pamphlet.

It promises to be remarkably useful all over the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

M - Misc

September 26, 1949

Rev. John Masterson
Saint Anthony's Priory
4640 Canal Street
New Orleans 19, Louisiana

Dear Father Masterson:

Here is a fairly comprehensive list of readings on the South. We are mailing separately a copy of Your Region's Resources, an annotated bibliography of southern resources.

Here are several other bibliographies that might be helpful:

Race Relations. A Selected List of Readings on Racial and Cultural Minorities in the United States with Special Emphasis on Negroes, by Julia Waxman. Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago (1945).

The Rural South. A reading guide for community leaders. Issued by the Southern Rural Life Council, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville 4, Tennessee (1946).

Agencies Concerned with the Quality of Rural Life in the South. Southern Rural Life Council, Nashville, Tennessee (1944).

A splendid new publication is Race and Region, "a descriptive bibliography compiled with special reference to the relations between whites and Negroes in the United States", by Edgar T. and Alma Macy Thompson. It is published by the University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill. The price is $5.00.

A most interesting series of booklets has been put out by the

PAGE (s) MISSING

Department of Justice
Office of the Assistant to the Attorney General
Washington

September 27, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge your letter, addressed to the Attorney General, in behalf of Mr. Neil Andrews for appointment as Judge of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Georgia, and assure you that your recommendation will receive careful consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Peyton Ford

Peyton Ford
The Assistant to the Attorney General

RECEIVED
SEP 30 1949
Southern Regional Council

24- Jud Misc
Joe Hardy J. Howard

September 20, 1949

Honorable J. Howard McGrath
Attorney General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Attorney-General;

I should like to express a concern that in the selection of a Judge for the North Georgia Federal District Court consideration be given to picking some one whose views on matters of race and the equal rights of all American citizens are modern and in unclouded sympathy with the spirit and letter of American constitutional practice.

In the years ahead the Courts of this area will be called upon to play their due part in speeding the achievement of equal opportunity in practice; it is of the greatest importance that judicial appointments be made with this long-run need in mind.

I am told that the name of Mr. Neill Andrews, of this area, is before the Department. I wish to add the strongest endorsement for him; as a citizen and as a Federal official he has consistently merited the praise and gratitude of all who have called for his proper aid in obtaining the just operation of Federal laws.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

24 - Inc. Inc
Inc McGrath Howard

August 26, 1949

The Honorable J. Howard McGrath
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

I have the honor to send you a just-completed analysis of mob violence last month at Lake County, Florida for appropriate review within the Department.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

24 - Inc - Misc
McCormick Chas.

September 29, 1949

Mr. Charles McCormick
Chairman of the Board
McCormick and Company
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mr. McCormick:

At the suggestion of Mr. Paul Williams, I take pleasure in sending you copies of some recent typical publications by the Council. These are done in a popular style and are widely used in colleges and universities throughout the South, and by local study groups.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t
enclosures

bc: Paul Williams

24- Inc Inc
Jenkinson, L.H.

October 4, 1949

Mr. L. W. Merkison
583 Houston Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Merkison:

You will be interested in this fine copy of Greenville's publication about veterans' training.

I think some of their progress is attributable to your work in the early stages.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

24 - Mc. - Misc.
McConnell, C.M

October 18, 1949
Dict. October 17

Mr. C. M. McConnell
Boston University School of Theology
72 Mount Vernon Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. McConnell:

My letter to you of October 11 must have crossed in the mail with Mr. MacArthur's kind dispatch from Weston October 7 of a check for $145.23 for expenses for the Worcester trip.

It was a great help to us and I am appreciative of his and your getting it all straight for us. I have written Mr. MacArthur.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

145.23

October 13, 1949
AIR MAIL

Mr. C. M. McConnell
Boston University School of Theology
72 Mount Vernon Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. McConnell:

We have received from Mr. MacArthur a check to cover the expense account that Dr. Mitchell wrote you about October 11.

Dr. Mitchell is out of the office, but I was sure he would want you to have this information.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Taylor
Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

October 11, 1949

Mr. C. M. McConnell
Boston University School of Theology
72 Mount Vernon Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. McConnell:

May I appeal for your kindness in arranging payment of the travel expenses for my trip last May, to the New England Conference?

We are in dire straits to meet an oncoming payroll, and that sum is material.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

MET

Please dig up the a dress of the Theologian McConnell (In Boston, at a Methodist Seminary) and write him more or less as follows:

May I appeal for your kindness in arranging payment of ~~my~~ the travel expenses for my trip last May, to the New England Conference? I wrote you on August, 30 ~~and~~ , and .

We are in dire straits to meet an oncoming payroll, and that sum is material.

Thank you,

Dates cannot be supplied from files.

MET

23-M - Misc -
MacArthur, Roy I

October 18, 1949
Dict. October 17

Mr. Roy I. MacArthur
Valley View Road
Weston 93, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. MacArthur:

Thank you so much for your kindness in sending on the check for $145.23. It was a great help to us.

I enjoyed the trip and the opportunity to be with your group.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

Valley View Rd
Weston 93 Mass
October 7 1949

Dear Brother Mitchell

Sorry the delay in mailing you the check for your expenses to Worcester for New England Conference Laymens Banquet.

Thank you very much

Yours truly

Roy L. MacArthur
Treasurer

RECEIVED
OCT 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

23-M-Misc-
Madison, Ward N.

October 19, 1949

Mr. Ward N. Madison, Secretary
The American University at Cairo
Land Title Building
Philadelphia 10, Pennsylvania

Dear Ward:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 11.

I was very much interested in the leaflet about the American University at Cairo.

Here is our newest one. Maybe you can help us get it talked about and better used. It is already influencing the press in the South quite a good deal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

DOUGLAS HORTON, *Chairman*
JOSEPH M. STEELE, *Treasurer*
WARD N. MADISON, *Secretary*
L. S. KELLEY, *Field Director*
ANNA LISTER, *Comptroller*

JOHN S. BADEAU, *President*
Cairo, Egypt

الجامعة الأميركية بالقاهرة

The American University at Cairo

LAND TITLE BUILDING PHILADELPHIA 10, PA.

Executive Offices
BOARD OF TRUSTEES

11 October 1949

Dear George:

About a year ago you wrote me a nice little note with which you enclosed a fine statement by your Council about civil rights. I hope your other correspondents are not as slow in replying. My wife and I enjoyed the article very much and we have been glad to see in the press occasional references to the work of your Council.

The American University at Cairo is carrying on as effectively as ever. Classes for the present academic year opened last Thursday. I only wish you could see them in operation as my wife and I did nearly two years ago. When you do go to Cairo, you will want to take along the enclosed folder!

I hope things are going well with you and that you will drop in whenever you have occasion to be in this city.

Very cordially,

Ward

WARD N. MADISON

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
13 1949
Southern Regional Council

M-Misc

RECEIVED
OCT 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 19, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I thought you would be interested to receive a word from the college at the very opening of the year. So I am writing a letter to several hundreds of our friends to give them a bit of information about Morehouse.

Despite the fact that our enrollment is slightly below what we had anticipated, Morehouse College has gotten off to an exceptionally good start. We had set a budget for about 660 and we have 610. We are about 50 students short and we will have to revise ourbudget to obviate a deficit by cutting $12,000 from the approved budget. I believe the adjustment can be made to enable us to close in 1950 without a deficit. This is important because during the nine years of my presidency, we have never had a deficit.

Our expansion campaign is on quietly and it will be perhaps two, three, or four weeks before we make public announcements. The trustees feel that we should get a firm to conduct the campaign and we are held up at that point. As you know the first segment of our campaign calls for $500,000 for a new chemistry building which will serve all of the colleges in this center. I will give more details about this later.

We had to do something immediately about student housing so the five units authorized by the Board of Trustees are nearing completion. We can house 115 men in the five units at the low cost of $112,000 which amount we took from endowment and current funds. These units will take the place of the first temporary dormitory built by the Government for veterans.

Several of our teachers who were studying last year have returned to the college and I am quite convinced that ourfaculty is stronger than ever before. It is an inspiring group and I feel that we are doing one of the finest jobs to be found anywhere.

As for myself, I returned to the college August 10 after being away for forty-three days in Europe. I went to England first to attend the Central Committee meeting of the World Council of Churches. I was privileged to travel through some other parts of Europe before returning.

Thanking you for your past interest in our work and soliciting your continued prayers and help, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays

Benjamin E. Mays
President

25 - Ins - Misc
Morrison, Rev. T.V.

October 21, 1949

The Rev. Mr. T. V. Morrison, Rector
St. Paul's Episcopal Church
221 - 34th Street
Newport News, Virginia

Dear Mr. Morrison:

We had word today from Mr. Emerson Smith that you had very kindly agreed to be the representative of the Southern Regional Council at Mr. Moron's inauguration.

So far as I know, that entails no duties other than attending the appropriate meeting and marching in the procession.

For certainty's sake, I have notified the Inauguration Committee at Hampton myself of the fact that you would serve.

To guard against the unlikely event of anyone's asking you for some discussion of the Southern Regional Council, I supply you with a leaflet or two.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t
enclosures

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 26, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Just a note to thank you for sending me a copy of "Law and Discrimination", and also for the article which appeared in the New York Times. I am delighted in the many good things that the Council is doing and it is certainly good that you are getting good cooperation from the press.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM
arw

RECEIVED
OCT 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

23- In-Mail
Mays, Benjamin

October 20, 1949

Mr. Benjamin Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mays:

We had a note today from Alfred Mynders, in Chattanooga, saying Senator Kefauver had asked him to send on to an official of the State Department the September New South, with the article about Law and Discrimination.

Filed SRC Publicity

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

23-M-Misc-
Mays, Benj.

October 19, 1949

Dr. Benjamin Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

We were delighted that this fine story appeared in the New York Times for October 17.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

23-M-Misc.-
Mays, Benj.

October 19, 1949

Dr. Benjamin Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

Last year in the annual meeting the Council undertook to examine the question of law and mores and get something into print about it. It has been a difficult assignment and we are none of us praising much what we did get finally into the current September issue of New South. But perhaps it will do something to strengthen people's understanding of the worth of law in combatting discrimination.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

23-Mr-Misc
Mays, Benj. E

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

April 27, 1949

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I thank you for your recent letter. I shall be very glad to distribute this leaflet to persons who frequent my office.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin E Mays
President

BEM:H

RECEIVED
APR 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

23-M-Press
Mays, Benj. E.

4/25/49

April 25, 1949

President Benjamin E. Mays
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mays:

The Council has lately done this new leaflet about itself.

I thought perhaps you would be good enough to let a dozen copies be on an office shelf, within your reach for visitors. They are coming to you separately.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

23-M-Misc-
Mays, Benj. E.

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 12, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3,
Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This letter comes to inform you that we will not be able to work further on the $3,000,000 campaign for Morehouse College until after July 15. Beginning March 15 and extending through July 15, the thirty-two member colleges can work only in the interest of the United Negro College Fund.

In the early Fall we hope to have the $3,000,000 campaign definitely on its way and we covet your continued interest and good will as we move forward in the biggest financial effort ever launched in the interest of Morehouse College. We can not afford to lose the interest of a single person and I hope that you will be with us in the future as you have been in the past.

We had on hand on Founder's Day, February 18, around $7,000. So our efforts are already beginning to bear fruit.

In this new effort we are trying to secure the maximum participation and contributions from our alumni. I thought you would be interested in this special appeal to our graduates.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

RECEIVED
MAR 16 1949
Southern Regional Council

BEM:dem

THE FUTURE OF MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
IS IN
THE LAPS OF ITS ALUMNI

« « « TO MOREHOUSE MEN » » »

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE EXPANSION FUND

GOAL — $3,057,000.00

For the following purposes:

$ 500,000 — Chemistry Building and Endowment for Building

500,000 — Gymnasium and Endowment for Gymnasium

250,000 — Chapel and Endowment for Chapel

750,000 — Two Dormitories

1,000,000 — Endowment

57,000 — Current Support — Money from Churches primarily for Current Support

1. WHAT MOREHOUSE MEN COULD DO FOR THEIR COLLEGE IN THIS CAMPAIGN

5 Morehouse men could give Morehouse $1,000 a year each for five years.

10 Morehouse men could give Morehouse $ 500 a year each for five years.

100 Morehouse men could give Morehouse $ 120 a year each for five years.

100 Morehouse men could give Morehouse $ 60 a year each for five years.

200 Morehouse men could give Morehouse $ 24 a year each for five years.

1,000 Morehouse men could give Morehouse $ 12 a year each for five years.

2. *TABLE FOLLOWS:

5 Donors could give $5,000 a year — $25,000 in five years.

10 Donors could give 5,000 a year — 25,000 in five years.

100 Donors could give 12,000 a year — 60,000 in five years.

100 Donors could give 6,000 a year — 30,000 in five years.

200 Donors could give 4,800 a year — 24,000 in five years.

1,000 Donors could give 12,000 a year — 60,000 in five years.

TOTAL: $44,800 a year — $224,000 in five years.

* These amounts could be paid by the month, by the quarter, semi-annually or annually.

TO MOREHOUSE PASTORS

3. WHAT CHURCHES PASTORED BY MOREHOUSE MEN COULD DO:

4 Churches could give Morehouse
$ 50 each for five years.

16 Churches could give Morehouse
100 each for five years.

12 Churches could give Morehouse
200 each for five years.

4 Churches could give Morehouse
300 each for five years.

12 Churches could give Morehouse
500 each for five years.

4. TABLE FOLLOWS:

4 Churches could give Morehouse
$ 200 a year — $ 1,000 in five years.

16 Churches could give Morehouse
1,600 a year — 8,000 in five years.

12 Churches could give Morehouse
2,400 a year — 12,000 in five years.

4 Churches could give Morehouse
1,200 a year — 6,000 in five years.

12 Churches could give Morehouse
6,000 a year — 30,000 in five years.

TOTAL: $11,400 a year — $57,000 in five years.

5. PLEDGE FORM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

In recognition of the needs of Morehouse College and in consideration of the gifts of others, I pledge to contribute to the College $_____ a year for a period of five years. I will pay this pledge in the following manner: $_____ a month, or $_____ a quarter, or $_____ semi-annually, or $_____ a year.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

_____

OCCUPATION_____

6. PLEDGE FORM FOR THE CHURCH

In recognition of the needs of Morehouse College and in consideration of the gifts of other Churches, I pledge my Church to contribute to Morehouse $_____ a year for a period of five years. The Church will pay this amount on or about_____ of each year.

NAME OF CHURCH_____

ADDRESS_____

NAME OF PASTOR_____

ADDRESS_____

If you have not already pledged as a Church or individual, please fill out form and mail to:

Benjamin E. Mays
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

"THE FUTURE OF MOREHOUSE COLLEGE IS IN THE LAPS OF ITS ALUMNI"

24 - Inc Misc
McKee, J. T.

October 26, 1949

Mr. J. T. McKee
Northport, Alabama

Dear Mr. McKee:

I am deeply grateful for your thoughtfulness in sending a copy of the report of the Committee on Interracial Relations of the Tuscaloosa Religious Council for the recent quarter. What is being done is commendable in every way.

I am taking the liberty of making the Committee's work known to the head of our Alabama Division, Dr. A. D. Beittel at Talladega College, who will be greatly interested also.

I make bold to offer three suggestions, some of which might have value now or later on:

1. The next job is equal school facilities, by consent and agreement if possible rather than by law suit. If you will take time to go through the pamphlet on "A Virginia County", you will see at once the relevance to each southern county's situation. Nothing would build good will and lasting citizenship better than mutual agreement between white and Negro leadership on how and how soon equal schools can be god.

2. The green pamphlet enclosed, called RACE IN THE NEWS. I am sure you will understand at once the benefits that would flow from a visit or two to local editors by a committee or by individuals who discussed with him the simple rules laid down in the little green book. The newspaper publishers already have received a copy through their own association.

3. The Home Town Self-Survey. This enables us to get to the bottom of most of the problems in a city or town. It works.

If the Council could be of assistance to you in any way, we would be most anxious to do so.

Please let us know from time to time of your program.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t
cc: Dr. A. D. Beittel

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Ga

Northport Ala
10-22-49

Dear Sirs:

The enclosed report will show efforts being made to study some vital topics pertaining to the welfare of our Negroes in Tuscaloosa County. This Com is composed of about 35 people, one third of which are Negroes.

We shall appreciate very much if you will send me any materials that will help in these studies

Yours for better racial relations

J. T. McKee

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTER-RACIAL RELATIONS
OF THE TUSCALOOSA RELIGIOUS COUNCIL
FOR THE QUARTER ENDING 9-20-49

The first meeting of the Committee was held at the Center on September 15, with eighteen persons present. The Committee plans to hold regular meetings, once every six weeks at the Tuscaloosa Negro Center.

This is the inter-racial committee and will be composed of twenty-five to thirty white people and ten to twelve Negroes. At present we have three Negro ministers, three high school principals, the Negro County nurse, one dentist, two leading club leaders among the Negro women, and one Negro barber who operates a barber-shop for white men on 6th Street.

Our meetings will be for the purpose of hearing reports of studies to be made by different groups that will be assigned special topics for study. Among the topics that will be studied are, first, the organization and development of Negro centers, such as ours, throughout the country. In this way we hope to improve considerably the educational and recreational programs at our own Center, and, better still, sell the possibilities of the Center to both our white people and Negroes. At the recent meeting of the Committee, attention was called to two very important matters of recreation not yet provided for Negroes. There is no place around Tuscaloosa, except the Warrior River, where a Negro can learn to swim, and there is no place suitable for Negro Scout groups, or other groups of Negro children, to hold camps.

A second study topic will be cooperative, inter-racial, religious efforts being made in the South by different denominations; in other words, what successful efforts have been made by Southern Baptists, Methodists, Catholics, Presbyterians, etc., in the matter of cooperative religious developments between the races.

A third topic will be concerned with remedial health measures in an effort to guarantee safer living conditions for all the people of the Tuscaloosa area. This topic will naturally include a study of housing, sanitation, etc., available for Negroes. For example, the dangers involved in living conditions that are conducive to the development of T.B. among Negro families are not confined to Negroes. Too, there are certain fundamentals of health and happiness to which all people who live in our area are entitled.

A fourth topic of study will have to do with occupational opportunities here in Tuscaloosa County, and elsewhere, for Negroes that should be an inducement to Negro children to go on through high school, and for many, through college. These and other study topics will be the basis of the work of the Committee on Inter-Racial Relations.

At our September 15th meeting, a committee was appointed to study the possibilities of an inter-denominational Sunday School at the Center on Sunday afternoon, particularly for those who live near the Center and are not attending Sunday School elsewhere. Miss Williamson, Head of the Department of Religious Education at Stillman, is chairman of this committee and will be glad to make available her students in religious education at Stillman to help carry on this project.

One iron-clad rule of the Committee on Inter-Racial Relations, which will be adhered to in all discussions, is to avoid all racial criticism and to engage in no racial-controversial discussions. Our interest lies solely in finding problems that can and should be solved in the interest of all the people of the Tuscaloosa area which will enable them to build up more effective racial relationships in our peaceful community.

J. T. McKee
Chairman

McKoy

November 10, 1949

AIR MAIL

Mrs. Leslie Neighbors Webb
410 North Bragg Avenue
Lookout Mountain, Tennessee

letter sent to:
Angebilt Hotel
Orlando, Florida

Dear Mrs. Webb:

Your letter of November 8, addressed to Mrs. McKoy, has reached the office while she is away on account of illness. She is improving, however, and I discussed your letter with her by telephone.

Mrs. McKoy expects to return to the office on Monday. She asked me to say that she would be happy to have lunch with you on Thursday, November 17, as you suggested. If necessary, she could be at your disposal on Wednesday evening, November 16.

Our telephones at the office are: WALNUT 1821 and WALNUT 7963. Perhaps you could call Mrs. McKoy when you reach Atlanta. She is looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Taylor

P.S. Mrs. McKoy's home telephone is VERNON 0916.

MRS. LESLIE NEIGHBORS WEBB
410 NORTH BRAGG AVENUE
LOOKOUT MTN., TENNESSEE

Nov. 8, 1949

My dear Mrs. McKay,

Ever since your invitation to S.R.C. Annual Meet came, I intended explaining why I could not be there!

This annual Human Relations Institute (sponsored by N.C.C.J.) meets today & tomorrow here, and my husband and I are active in that.

On Thursday I go to Orlando, Fla. to see my sister.

I am deeply interested in the Southern Regional Council and am quite out of touch with it because of illness.

If you could have a little visit with me one day next week say Wed. or Thursday, Nov. 16 or 17.

I can stop in Atlanta on my way home -

Will you kindly let me hear from you at

The Angebilt Hotel

Orlando, Florida, as to which day would suit you best - I plan to fly and my plane is due in Atlanta from Orlando around 5:00 P.M. I am just realizing as I write that your office will be closed "that" afternoon, but if you can see me either "that" evening for dinner (be my guest) or the next day for lunch, I will spend the nite at Georgian Terrace Hotel - Helen

Rosalie

M- Musical

November 14, 1949

Dorothy Mommser
Macedonia Co-op Community
Clarkesville, Georgia

Dear Dorothy Mommser:

I'm sorry to be so long in answering your letter about the proposed meeting on interracial conference locations. It came when we were in a fever of preparation for annual Board and membership meetings. I wanted to talk it over with George Mitchell, and couldn't catch him until yesterday.

When we talked about the meeting at Macedonia, I didn't realize that it would come after I have left Atlanta. This is a matter of deep interest to the Council, however, and I hope you will keep the others here informed.

I just tried to get in touch with Rosalie Oakes and Irene Harris and found they are both out of town. They are due back the 19th. I inquired about November 26 and found that Irene is supposed to be in Atlanta then. Since I am not to be here, it might be simpler to have the meeting in their office. Let us know what you think. George Mitchell will be out of town also on the 26th, but he says you are welcome to meet in this office, and perhaps some member of the staff could be here.

We would like to help in any way we can.

Hi to everybody.

macedonia co-op community clarkesville georgia

Nov 11, 1949

Dear Elizabeth Taylor,

I'm writing to check on whether it is all right to hold our meeting of the 26 of November at your office. It seemed O.K. when I spoke to you in the pottery shop two weeks ago, but I wondered whether Thanksgiving day coming two days before would change this. Are you planning to be at the meeting of the 26th.

Hope you might be able to spend Thanksgiving Day with us here.

Sincerely,
Ed Moyer

macedonia co-op community clarkesville georgia

November 4, 1949

Dear Elizabeth Taylor:

As you know, in 1947 a series of meetings was held in Atlanta -- called first by the YWCA and YMCA -- to discuss the need felt by church, education and labor groups for inter-racial conference locations and other similar problems arising in connection with inter-racial activity. One of the proposals at that time was a conference site to be established here at Macedonia. The project was left largely in our hands but lay dormant because we lacked personnel and a sense of financial security. We are now better established in terms of a larger, more stable group, a better financial situation and considerably better community relations.

We would like to revive the project and are calling a meeting for a preliminary discussion on the morning of November 26. The discussion will bring us all up to date with each other's thinking in connection with the need for a conference center and with plans for developing such a center. We hope to send out a copy of the agenda within two weeks and would be glad to know of any items you would like to have placed on the agenda. Would you also let us know whether your office might be available as the meeting place on November 26, please.

Many thanks for your interest and help.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Mommsen

for Arthur Wiser

GSM:

I will be gone. You will be away.

I think SRC should be interested in this.

Do you think we should make the office available, if none of us can be here?

Sould some other staff member come?

This is the Sat. after Thanksgiving.

met

M-Misc

November 15, 1949

Mrs. Edward P. Mulcahy
1836 Naldo Avenue
Jacksonville 7, Florida

Dear Mrs. Mulcahy:

I have a proposal about the manuscript.

The Council could give it some additional touches, prune it by five or six pages, and then mimeograph it. We could then send copies of it accompanied by letters to each of the educational journals which might conceivably have interest among their readers in it. We would ask the various journals to describe the article (in a brief description we would supply) and to list it as available from the Council at, say, ten cents a copy. That would cover postage, but not paper, stencils, and so on.

That seems to me to accomplish making the article available to interested people without the expense of printing it, at a time when we the Council simply haven't the money to print it.

Let me know if that is acceptable and if so we will proceed. If it is not, give us your advice.

I still think the article is quite good and should be got out to as many people as possible.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t
cc: Mrs. Henry Havens

Harold Fleming

M-Misc

State of Arkansas
DEPARTMENT of EDUCATION
STATE CAPITOL LITTLE ROCK

November 17, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks very much for your pamphlet "Race in the News." I am sure that no other one topic seems to be more rampant in the news than race, and that pamphlets based on basic reliable information will result in more fair play and less double standards in the future than we have had in the past.

Recent reorganization plans carried out in the State of Arkansas have done away with our one, two or three room school administrative units which has resulted in a shift toward supervision at the various high school centers for any outlying schools in lieu of the old county Jeanes supervisory program. As a result of this change Arkansas now has no Jeanes teachers. Instead, we have 424 local school administrative units replacing the more than 4,000 which we had some twenty years ago when Dr. Howard A. Dawson launched the all out campaign of school consolidation in Arkansas.

In the next few days we expect to have our new educational directory for the school year of 1949-50 indicating the superintendents in charge of Negro schools as well as white. We are wondering if you would like to have a copy of this directory for your use in distributing the pamphlet mentioned above.

Yours truly,

Ed McCuistion

Ed McCuistion, Director
Division of Negro Education

EMcC:mh

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

25-mo-misc.-
Morgan, W. H.

December 1, 1949

Mr. William H. Morgan
Appalachian State Teachers College
Boone, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Morgan:

Thank you for your kind letter with news of the Weatherfords too.

I send a pamphlet with some description of the Council and a membership blank in the back. We would greatly like to have you join us. We are open to anybody who agrees with us in general and wish anxiously to increase our membership.

We now have a brand new state division in North Carolina. The former North Carolina Interracial Commission a few weeks ago converted itself into the North Carolina Division of the Council. So, a half of your dues will go back to Raleigh for use in North Carolina.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

Appalachian State Teachers College
Boone, North Carolina

DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGES
ENGLISH

(Faculty Apartments)

Nov.28,1949

RECEIVED
30 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Through contacts with you when both of us happened to be at Blue Ridge or in the Weatherfords' home, I have learned a bit about the Southern Regional Council. I should, however, like to know more. Have you any material that you could have mailed to me? Is membership by invitation?

By the way, you will be interested to learn that the Weatherfords are now living at Berea, Kentucky. Back at Black Mountain the other day, I learned that they had found it difficult to find a woman to live with Mrs. Weatherford and that Dr.Weatherford had taken her to Berea in the early autumn.

With kind regards, I am

Very cordially,

W. H. Morgan

Wm.H.Morgan

Mr. - Musical

December 2, 1949

Mr. Frank McCallister
c/o Roosevelt College
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Frank:

I want to try to be of the company that is getting help from Mrs. Blaine. Could you begin to make the Council's use and needs known?

I would come up, of course, on any chance of talking with her.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

17

December 13, 1949

Mr. Will Maslow, Director
American Jewish Congress
1834 Broadway
New York 23, New York

Dear Mr. Maslow:

Thank you for your letter of December 8 and a copy of the 1948 Balance Sheet. I had already received a copy and read it with much admiration.

I should welcome a chance to see the 1949 Balance Sheet in advance and will be glad to add any information that might be helpful.

We have no regular mailing list for the dissemination of such materials as the Georgia Law Reporter, but anytime I come across such an item, I will be glad to send it to you. Meanwhile, feel free to make specific requests to us.

Because of a limited staff, we are not always able to answer them promptly or completely, but we will always try.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:wgd

CHRISTIAN SERVICE TRAINING CENTER, INC.

RECEIVED
DEC 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

Purpose — To prepare rural workers for home and foreign missionary work to raise the standard of living among the people where they will work.

To help foreign students to apply what they have learned in American institutions.

To train young people for rural work camps in America and other lands.

"This is the greatest and most needed task before the Church, yet undone."
—John R. Mott.

This center will not duplicate the work of colleges and universities. In conference projects and demonstration, preparation will be given by qualified men and women in the following subjects:—

(1) The care and utilization of domestic animals, their place in the health of the missionary family and in service to rural people.

(2) The love of the land and work thereon in home environment, garden, field and orchard. A wider knowledge of plants and their world distribution for the welfare of all mankind.

(3) Health. We envisage a motor trailer unit for medical work in villages by lay workers.

(4) Rural Industries — automotive mechanics, metal working, furniture making, elementary machine work, repair of farm equipment.

(5) Land development — clearing, drainage, irrigation, soil improvement, and general agriculture.

(6) Construction of homes and rural buildings including simple plumbing and electrical equipment and their care, often difficult to find in mission lands.

(7) Cottage industries or handicrafts such as weaving, basket making and other skills.

(8) Christian home projects for women trainees especially, in nutrition, meal planning in primitive or foreign lands, home economics, the proper use of servants and child-care, with the desire to improve the standard of the village home.

(9) Mission and Board project conferences including finance, efficiency in typing, correspondence, story telling and photography, also Mission and Board relationships and Mission and Government.

(10) Church Devotion and Christian Fellowship.

Location — The Center has 850 acres on Lake Reedy, Florida. The lake is 5 miles long and 4 miles wide. Fortunately there is a paved road a mile and a half along the lake shore, and a clean sandy beach. Its variety of soils and climate make it possible to grow tropical, subtropical and temperate vegetation. The Center is accessible from outside by railroad and main highways.

(over)

Advice and help in soil conservation, forestry, and the layout of gardens and orchards have been given by state and local authorities and other qualified people, challenging staff and trainees to improve and beautify the undeveloped land.

Penn State Mission to China is cooperating with the Plant Exchange, and other developments.

There is at the Center a machinery shed and a rural industry workshop with tools ready for operation. Some of these are being used.

Farm equipment, workshop and industrial equipment, building materials and home furnishings have been given to the value of about $25,000.00

The Community Workshop Association has made valuable contributions.

One bungalow has been given and will be occupied in December.

Dr. and Mrs. John Mott were so impressed by this opportunity to serve that they gave $5,000 toward the land.

Other gifts toward the land and money to be used in development have been gratefully received.

It is hoped that the Christian Service Training Center will carry forward the work of Jesus among the hungry, the thirsty, the strangers, the naked, the sick and the imprisoned. A great deal of help is needed in this endeavor; first your prayers, then: —

A Small Chapel of Meditation

Dining Hall, Kitchen and Store Rooms

Ten Small Home Units For Staff Members and Helpers

An Administration, Assembly Hall and Library Building

Housing

Four Additional Rural Industries Workshops

A Model Traveling Medical Clinic

Farm Buildings and Land Development

Deep Well Water System

If you can give toward or aid this project in any way surely Jesus will say, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

SAM AND ETHEL HIGGINBOTTOM

24- Mc- Misc.

McDonald, Morton

December 23, '49

Mr. Morton McDonald
120 West New York Avenue
DeLand, Fla.

Dear Mr. McDonald,

Thank you for your letter.

I'll be most happy to talk on January 15 at noon, for the DeLand Rotary Club, on my way down to Miami.

Can't decide yet whether train or car, but if I will need your help in getting from Daytona to DeLand I will call on you ahead of time!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

THE ABSTRACT CORPORATION

TITLES INSURED BY
LAWYERS TITLE INSURANCE
CORPORATION

120 WEST NEW YORK AVENUE

DELAND, FLORIDA

MORTON McDONALD
PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
DEC 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

December 20, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have been sometime in answering your kind letter in reference to speaking at some of the Rotary Clubs in Florida. I want to apologize for being so long but really thought I had taken care of this matter, and your letter had been filed away before I had written.

I would like very much for you to speak at the DeLand Rotary Club at noon on January 13th.

If you are planning to go to Miami by train, it would be most convenient for you to stop at Daytona Beach, and I could pick you up. You could then get a train from Daytona Beach later in the day or on January 14th. for Miami. I would be more than delighted to meet you wherever it is convenient for you and see that you make connections for Miami after the meeting here.

Looking forward to seeing you again, I am,

Sincerely,

Morton McDonald

Morton McDonald

MMcD/bld

24-Mc-Jane
McDonald, Morton

September 1, 1949

Mr. Morton McDonald
The Abstract Corporation
120 West New York Avenue
Deland, Florida

Dear Mr. McDonald:

It would be a simple matter for me to be available almost anywhere on the east coast of Florida on Friday, January 13, 1950.

On the way back up, Tuesday, the 17th would be my best day.

My expenses to Miami and back are being paid so that I would have no reason to charge anybody who might use me more than the few dollars involved in a night in a hotel and a breakfast and a supper.

I greatly enjoyed being with your group in Hollywood Beach, and would be happy to have the opportunity to talk to any of the local groups that may want me.

There is no question that the South is improving very rapidly, indeed, in its handling of most matters of race. We are both old enough to remember when many things that today are (rightly) causes of earnest protest passed without comment or complaint.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

24- Inc-Misc
McDonald, Morton

August 26, 1949

Mr. Morton McDonald
120 West New York Avenue
Deland, Florida

Dear Mr. McDonald:

I thought that you would be interested in this just published analysis of the recent outburst of mob violence in Lake County.

We made every effort to have it a balanced and careful account.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

24-DAS-Misc -
McDonald, Morton

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

ROTARY INTERNATIONAL

SERVICE ABOVE SELF · HE PROFITS MOST WHO SERVES BEST

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR, DISTRICT NO. 167-B
MORTON McDONALD, DISTRICT GOVERNOR
P. O. BOX 115
DE LAND, FLORIDA, U. S. A.

April 12, 1949.

RECEIVED
APR 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. NE.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:-

I appreciate very much having you address our District Conference at Hollywood on the 4th. There was much favorable comment on your address. It was enjoyed by all as well as being very instructive.

You helped make our conference the great success that we feel it was.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Morton McDonald

Morton McDonald

RECEIVED
APR 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

40th ANNUAL CONVENTION
NEW YORK CITY
U. S. A.
JUNE 12-16, 1949

24 Mc, Misc – McDonald, Morton

April 11, 1949

Mr. Morton McDonald
P. O. Box 115
De Land, Florida

Dear Mr. McDonald:

I had a good time at your meeting. The trip down let me go on and talk to several classes at Miami University, and on the way back up I stopped with the Rotary Club at Vero Beach.

Thank you sincerely for making all the arrangements. It was also generous of the Conference to cover the expenses and make the contribution besides.

If the Council can ever be of assistance to Rotary Clubs, in your own area or elsewhere, please let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

February 15, 1949

Mr. Morton McDonald
District Governor
Rotary International
P. O. Box 115
De Land, Florida

Dear Mr. McDonald:

Thank you for your letter of February 8, about the talk on Monday, April 4, at 9:45 A.M.

I will fly down and register at the Hollywood Beach Hotel in the early afternoon of Sunday, April 3. By leaving here on Sunday morning, I would be protected should anything be wrong with the planes, and could still make a day trip to Jacksonville and a night one to Hollywood. Short of foul weather, you can be assured that I will be on hand in the hotel in the afternoon, and in the event of foul weather, before nine o'clock Monday morning, the 4th.

If I may come to the dinner on Sunday evening, I would greatly like to, in order to learn more about the men I will be talking to.

For a subject take your pick of:

The Map of the South
People, Politics, and Progress in the South
The Economic and Political Geography of the South

It will be the same speech, under either title!

Forty minutes is enough. Thank you.

I send you the latest issue of our little magazine--this time about schools.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

ROTARY INTERNATIONAL

SERVICE ABOVE SELF · HE PROFITS MOST WHO SERVES BEST

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR, DISTRICT NO. 167-B
MORTON McDONALD, DISTRICT GOVERNOR
P. O. BOX 115
DE LAND, FLORIDA, U. S. A.

February 8, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
FEB 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am looking forward with pleasure to having you address the Rotary District Conference at Hollywood, Florida, Monday, April 4.

The exact time for your address is scheduled for 9:45 Monday morning. I believe you told me you would prefer having 40 minutes. I have you scheduled for 35 minutes, followed by group singing for 10 minutes, so we can squeeze in the 40 minutes without much difficulty.

I will be glad to pay your expenses to and from the conference and while you are in attendance. I am sure we can make at least a small contribution, even though we work on a very close budget.

Our conference opens with a fellowship dinner Sunday evening, April 3, and closes at 2 P. M. April 5.

40th ANNUAL
CONVENTION
NEW YORK CITY
U. S. A.
JUNE 12-16, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director 1/8/49
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

We will be delighted to have you stay for all or any part of the conference. We have some exceptionally fine speakers lined up for this meeting.

Please let me know, as soon as possible, the day and hour you plan to arrive and leave. We will make arrangements for your stay at the Hollywood Beach Hotel. I would also like to know what subject you wish to give your address, so that it might be put in the program.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Morton McDonald

Morton McDonald

MMcD/bd

January 13, 1949

Mr. Norton McDonald, District Governor
Rotary International
P. O. Box 115
De Land, Florida

Dear Mr. McDonald:

I greatly appreciate the honor of being invited to talk at 10:00 A.M. Monday, April 4 before the Rotary District Conference at Hollywood. Of course I gladly accept.

The Council has never charged a fee for a talk by its executive director, but we would hope that you could pay my expenses down and back. The Council lives entirely on dues and donations, and would be most grateful for any sum which you felt you could allow. Twenty-five or fifty dollars we would think generous, and as I say, I will be most happy to come down for expenses only.

The map speech is something I have been putting together over the years, but have not yet written down, because in order to have it stand the light of proper critical comment, those lines would have to be drawn with the greatest accuracy. I can do swoops on a blackboard which are mainly correct, but to print the maps means a great deal of patient work with the census. Fortunately, we have had a most competent person doing that work with the census for the last couple of months, and I think we can get the thing into print sometime during 1949.

You will find much of the same material in Rupert Vance's book, The Human Geography of the South, published now fifteen years

ago, I suppose, by the University of North Carolina Press.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMit

ROTARY INTERNATIONAL

SERVICE ABOVE SELF · HE PROFITS MOST WHO SERVES BEST

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR, DISTRICT NO. 167-B
MORTON McDONALD, DISTRICT GOVERNOR
P. O. BOX 115
DE LAND, FLORIDA, U. S. A.

January 6, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I spoke to you at Daytona Beach, Monday, about appearing on the Rotary District Conference program at the Hollywood Beach Hotel in Hollywood, Florida on April 3, 4 and 5. I would like very much to have you appear on the program at 10:00 o'clock on Monday morning, April 4, 1949. I will be glad to allow you 40 minutes.

Will you please let me know your fee for such appearances, and I will then confirm, with you, this date, as I must operate within a budget for this meeting.

I would also like to know if I could obtain a copy of the address you gave at Daytona Beach or information in reference to the address, so that I might study the subject further. I am very much interested in the subject matter and enjoyed your address very much.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours very truly,

Morton McDonald

Morton McDonald

MMcD/bd

40th ANNUAL
CONVENTION
NEW YORK CITY
U. S. A.
JUNE 12-16, 1949

17

December 27, 1949

President Benjamin E. Mays
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

How very kind indeed that was of you to send us the quite extra thirty dollars.

Our need is so great that we take it, but it causes me to mark in my memory your own sincerity and generosity.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

December 23, 1949

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I had hoped to send $50 as an additional contribution for the work of the Council, but find that my Christmas giving makes this prohibitive, so I am sending a check for $30. I hope the other members of the Board are doing something as we discussed in our last meeting.

Wih l kindest regards and best wishes for Christmas and the New Year, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays

Benjamin E. Mays
President

30.00 ck
MG.K.

BEM:H
Encl-Check

RECEIVED
DEC 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

7

December 27, 1949

Mr. W. N. Martin
Box 702
Media, Pa.

Dear Mr. Martin:

I am grateful for the new folder on the training center at Babson Park.

I hope during the coming year to get down there for a visit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
1834 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y. • Telephone CIrcle 6-1900

January 5, 1950

HCF

Southern Regional Council
63 Audobon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I should appreciate receiving a copy of your annual summary and report.

As you know, we are about to publish a draft version of the 1950 edition of our Balance Sheet on Group Relations, which runs, I regret, to more than 75 mimeographed pages. Would your staff be able and willing to read it and give us the benefit of ~~your~~ their views? If you can, how many copies would you need?

Sincerely yours,

Will Maslow

Will Maslow
Director

M.

January 9, 1949

Mr. Will Maslow, Director
Commission on Law and Social Action
American Jewish Congress
1834 Broadway
New York 23, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Maslow:

Enclosed is a copy of the October New South which contains the nearest thing to an annual report we have published this year. I hope it will be helpful.

Thank you for your offer to let us read the draft version of the 1950 Balance Sheet. I have lately been in correspondence with Mr. Morroe Berger. As I told him, we will be glad to read the draft version and make such suggestions as occur to us. It would be good if we could have two or three copies.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enclosure

M-Misc

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 23, 1950

My dear George:

I am ever so sorry that I missed you when you called at my office recently. While I regretted not having an opportunity to chat with you, you are correct in your surmise that there is not much that I can do to assist you in your present activity.

We usually schedule the Glee Club from Florida A. & M. College here in Gainesville for at least one engagement each year. Beyond this we have not gone.

With kind regards and all good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

J. Hillis Miller

J. Hillis Miller
President

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 25 1950
Southern Regional Council

23 - M - Misc. -
Maslow, Will

January 23, 1950

Mr. Will Maslow, Director
Commission on Law and Social Action
American Jewish Congress
1834 Broadway
New York 23, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Maslow:

The draft of your Balance Sheet for 1949, which we received today, is an excellent job. Though I have only had time for one rather hasty reading, I have found almost no inaccuracies.

See materials files: "1 - Annual Summaries - 1949"

The following points -- all of them quite small -- I offer for whatever they are worth:

Section I, Item 7 - As a matter of pin-point accuracy, our files show that 29 Southern towns and cities now have anti-mask ordinances.

Section III, Item 1 - Your statement about the Ga. Supreme Court's ruling on the reregistration law is a trifle misleading. Some of the newspaper reporting about it was quite murky. The fact is that the pleadings in the case did not attack specific parts of the law as unconstitutional, but simply cited the bill as a whole as a violation of the "equal protection" clause. The court, then, declined to declare the law as a whole unconstitutional ("on its face"), but did not close the door to pleadings on specific provisions of the law. (I hope this isn't too murky, also.)

Section V, Item 12 - Actually, the Board of Control for Southern Regional Education has so far shown no disposition to "set up" separate graduate institutions, but is providing contractual services between participating states and existing institutions, on a segregated basis.

Section VI, Item 19 - You might want to make it clear that Mr. Calhoun, the Negro realtor involved, did not become executive secretary of the local NAACP until after his license was revoked.

Section IX - It may be worth noting that, during the past year, the Conference of Southern Graduate Deans admitted the deans of seven Negro institutions to membership.

As you can see, these are by no means major corrections, and I doubt that your publication would suffer much for want of them.

We look forward to receiving the printed edition.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

American Jewish Congress

STEPHEN S. WISE *President*
IRVING MILLER *Chairman Executive Comm.*
SIMON SOBELOFF *Chairman Administrative Comm.*
MAX BRESSLER *Chairman Council on Org. & Fin.*
ALFRED J. MARROW *Treasurer*
SAMUEL CAPLAN *Secretary*

Vice-Presidents:
HAROLD O. N. FRANKEL *New York*
SAMUEL E. KRATZOK *Philadelphia*
LEO LOWITZ *Chicago*
MAX NUSSBAUM *Los Angeles*
SHAD POLIER *New York*
DAVID STONEMAN *Boston*
LOUIS STURZ *New York*
ISIDOR TEITELBAUM *New York*
MRS. STEPHEN S. WISE *New York*

DAVID W. PETEGORSKY, *Executive Director*

1834 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • CIRCLE 6-1900

January 19, 1950

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ASC + NAACP

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing a copy of our balance sheet for 1949, which I hope you will be good enough to read as soon as you possibly can. This copy still contains typographical errors that can be ignored. Any comments you care to make will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Will Maslow

Will Maslow, Director
Commission on Law & Social Action

RECEIVED
JAN 23 1950
Southern Regional Council

Could I possibly have your comments by Monday
W.

WM:aw

Roosevelt College
OF CHICAGO
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LABOR EDUCATION
DIVISION

TELEPHONE
WAbash 2-3580

February 13, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I will be glad to see you when you come to Chicago this week.

Call me at the office, WAbash 2-3580, some time Thursday morning and I will see what can be arranged.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank McCallister
Director
Labor Education Division

FM:jc
liu-cio
No.1645

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

M - Musical

February 13, 1950

Miss Celeste Mason
Social Security Board
Newport News, Virginia

Dear Miss Celeste Mason:

That was just mighty kind of you to come all the way out to Hampton for my speech making. It made me feel like old times to have part of the Farm Security Administration there.

Do come on and join the Council. You will like it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Mays

This letter also written to
Dr. Dent at Dillard
Dr. Patterson at Tuskegee
Dr. Johnson at Fisk

February 20, 1950

President Benjamin Mays
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mays:

I was in Chicago the other day and happened into the offices of the Henry Strong Educational Foundation, 50 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois. This is an old foundation making loans to students. They prefer to help Juniors and Seniors and an occasional graduate student. Loans usually run from around one hundred dollars to three, four or five hundred dollars. The interest is three per cent, which begins to accrue only upon graduation. The first tenth of the principle repayable one year after graduation and in later years, increasing amounts. Their money accumulated pretty well during the G. I. period, but is currently in great demand.

They do not help students in eastern institutions but bracket the South with the West as their territory. They have no affiliation with the Hattie Strong Foundation in New York, which merely happens to have a similar name and to do a similar job.

I was told that Morehouse College, along with Tuskegee, Dillard, and Fisk, was some years ago put on the Strong Foundations approved list. Few or no loan requests have come from any of these institutions. The implication was obvious that the Strong Foundation was prepared to help students in those colleges.

They were proud of the mimimum of red tape involved in a loan from them. In ordinary applications, the loan is approved by the appropriate college official (frequently a loan officer) and an application so approved usually gets a check from them mailed on the same day the request was received. I thought perhaps it would be well to let you know of this current opportunity.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

FORM HS 7-H

THE HENRY STRONG EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION

50 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

APPLICATION FOR LOAN

1. Read our explanatory booklet before making application.
2. Be sure you understand the terms of the loan.
3. Answer all questions fully.

Date_____

1. Name in full_____
2. College or University_____ *(where loan will be used)* Class_____ *(junior, senior, etc.)*
3. Expect to receive degree of_____ in_____ *(month, year)* Date of birth_____
4. I wish to borrow $_____ to be paid to me (1) $_____ Date_____ (2) $_____ Date_____
   (Payments may be advanced to meet student's *quarterly* or *semester* requirements)

---

5. Permanent address_____
   Street *City* *State*
6. College address_____
   Street *City* *State*
7. Birthplace_____ Race_____
   State *Country*
8. Father's name_____ Occupation_____
9. Father's address_____
   Street *City* *State*
10. Mother's name_____ Occupation_____
11. Mother's address_____
    Street *City* *State*
12. If dead, cause of death (father)_____ (mother)_____
13. Brothers and sisters:

NAME	ADDRESS	AGE	OCCUPATION

14. Are you married?_____ Dependents_____
15. Is your health good?_____ Height_____ Weight_____
16. What physical handicaps do you have?_____
17. What High or Preparatory School did you attend?_____
18. Year of graduation_____ Average standing_____

Applicant must attach small inexpensive picture.

19. What other colleges have you attended?

_____

_____

_____

20. What are your athletic and social activities?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

21. What was your average scholastic standing as last reported to you? _____

22. Why are your parents or relatives unable to assist you? _____

_____

23. Do you expect to earn part of your expenses? _____ What do you expect to do? _____

_____

24. List your present indebtedness, if any:

CREDITOR	ADDRESS	AMOUNT	DATE MADE	DATE DUE

25. How much of this indebtedness will be paid by this loan? _____

26. How much have you personally borrowed and repaid? $ _____

27. How much life insurance do you have? $ _____ Who pays the premium? _____

In what company? _____

Who is the beneficiary? _____

Have you borrowed against it? _____ How much? $ _____

If requested, are you willing to assign your insurance to the Foundation? _____

Have you been refused insurance? _____

28. Estimated value of any real or personal property owned by you $ _____

29. Estimate your expenses for the period during which the loan is to be used. Estimate the income you expect to have to meet these expenses. The difference represents what you need to borrow.

THIS BUDGET COVERS PERIOD FROM_____TO_____

EXPENSES	AMOUNT	INCOME	AMOUNT
Tuition and fees	$	Savings on hand	$
Board		Earnings during school year	
Room		Gifts (relatives, friends)	
Books		Gifts (relatives, friends)	
Clothing		Gifts from College (scholarships)	
Organizations		Loans from College	
Travel		Other loans	
Laundry			
Insurance premiums			
Miscellaneous		Need to borrow to cover expenses	
Totals must balance Total	$	Total	$

30. What is your intended vocation or profession?_____

31. Do you expect to do graduate work?_____Where?_____

32. How did you hear of this Foundation?_____

_____

33. Give three references. These should be people who have known you for several years and who are apt to be in reasonably close touch with you throughout your life. Do not give relatives, college officials, students, or casual acquaintances. If you have a family physician you consult periodically, include his name. Names and addresses must be complete.

NAME	ADDRESS	OCCUPATION

34. Use this space for additional information of value in the consideration of this loan:

To the best of my knowledge the answers to the foregoing questions are correct. Should the loan be granted, the money will be used for the necessary expenses incident to securing my education.

I fully understand that I am obligating myself to repay such loan when it becomes due, with interest. In addition, I feel a keen moral obligation to repay it promptly so that other needy students may have the use of the money which I have borrowed.

(Applicant's Signature)_____

COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY ENDORSEMENT

As a duly appointed representative of_____
(Name of Institution)

I recommend approval of the above student's request for a loan of $_____

(Signed)_____

Date_____ (Title)_____

(Do not write below this line)

Date_____ Amount $_____ (Approved)_____

Date_____ Amount $_____ (Approved)_____

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
FEB 22 1950
Southern Regional Council

February 21, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I thank you for your letter of February 20 calling my attention to the Henry Strong Educational Fund of Chicago. I shall establish communication with them at once since we may need to get loans for a few of our Juniors and Seniors this current semester. The College has just established a small revolving fund for loans not to exceed fifty dollars. Loans from the Henry Strong Foundation would enable a boy who is a senior to borrow a much larger sum.

Appreciating your calling my attention to this, and with kindest regards, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM
dem

M — Miscel

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ATLANTA AVE.
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RECEIVED
FEB 24 1950
Southern Regional Council

February 23, 1950

Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Attention: Harold Fleming

Dear Harold:

Thanks again for sending me the material on housing. I shall put it to good use.

We plan some work here along inter-racial lines in the Spring, and I have set myself to the task of bringing in some new members.

It was good to see you at Montgomery. Remember me kindly to George Mitchell.

Yours sincerely,

C. Mantinband

Charles Mantinband

March 2, 1950

Mr. Reginald Mitchell, Chairman
Conclave Committee
Cosmopolitan Club
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I greatly appreciate your kind invitation and I am sorry as I can be that I have a long standing engagement to be in New Orleans on Friday, April 14. Otherwise, I would be most happy to come over and help you in any way.

In any case, sometime when you are in Atlanta, do please come in and see me either here at the Council office or at my home, 906 Lullwater Road, which is on your way into town in Druid Hills. I am something of a Britisher myself you know and would like to talk with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Cosmopolitan Club

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

Athens, Georgia

February 27, 1950

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Perhaps you are aware that we have thirty-five foreign students now studying at the University of Georgia from twenty different countries. These students have an organization which they call the Cosmopolitan Club.

Last year, the Club sponsored a very successful conclave for all the foreign students studying in the state. This was held on the University campus. The aims of this conclave were to enable the foreign students studying in various institutions throughout the state to get to know each other, to exchange views and ideas, and to discuss common problems. Also, we wished the students here in Athens to become acquainted with the visitors and to participate in their forums, discussion groups, and other activities. The conclave was extremely successful, in the opinion of the President of the University, the Dean of Faculties, the Dean of Men, the Dean of Women, the Administrative Counselor, and the participating students, and it was decided to make the occasion an annual affair.

Mrs. Stoney has told me of your very excellent "Map Speech." This is exactly the type of talk we need to open our program for this year, which is a presentation of the South today. Therefore, I am taking the liberty of asking you whether you could speak to our group in the Chapel of the University at 2:30 p.m. on Friday, April 14.

Unfortunately, we foreign students are extremely limited in funds and, therefore, we cannot offer any honorarium. However, we would only be too glad to pay your transportation to Athens and any other expenses you might incur while you are here.

As we hope to present this Conclave on April 14 and 15, and have set March 14 as the date by which we should know the scheduled program, we would greatly appreciate your letting us know whether you can participate in our Conclave before this date.

We thank you for your consideration of this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Reginald Mitchell

Reginald Mitchell, England
Chairman, Conclave Committee

Mays

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 9, 1950

RECEIVED
MAR 10 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have just received a letter which Mr. Nelson Jackson sent you. I have been wanting to talk with you several days about the matter mentioned in Mr. Jackson's letter. It is a long story.

As a member of the National Committee of the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth, I called on Governor Talmadge last September and expressed the hope that he would appoint a representative committee in Georgia. I had a cordial response and he said he would give it consideration. But when he appointed the committee he made it quite clear that he wanted an all white committee and did not want Negroes to participate. I know Mrs. Hobbs quoted only a part of the Governor's letter, which you find in Mr. Jackson's letter to you.

Even when Mr. Jackson and Mrs. Warren Cochran were appointed members of the Georgia Committee through recommendations of the local chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, they were informed later that they could not participate because the Governor wanted an all-white committee. I would appreciate having your judgment as to what we should do next in an attempt to get a representative Georgia Committee.

I do not believe that the present committee as now constituted can do justice to the Negro children and youth of Georgia under any condition. If the committee represents the attitude of the Governor, I know it will be impossible for them to give fair and adequate appraisal on any data that they get on Negro children and youth in this State.

Appreciating your comments on this and with kindest regards, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:aw

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

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SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION:
Nelson C. Jackson, *Director*
George L. Edwards, *Asst. Director*

March 8, 1950

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

A group locally, comprised of Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Mr. Warren R. Cochrane, Mrs. Hortense Cochrane, Mrs. B. E. Mays, Dr. Forrester B. Washington and Nelson C. Jackson, has been meeting to make plans for democratic participation of all citizens in the White House Conference on Children and Youth, which meets in Washington during December of 1950. This is a conference which meets once each ten years, called by the President of the United States; and in his charge to the Governors, a State-wide Committee is appointed to plan for participation of the states in the White House Conference.

Most of our Southern States have practiced democracy in appointing Negroes to the State Committees in the South. Our Governor - Herman E. Talmadge - has refused to appoint Negroes to this Committee. A letter from Mrs. Ralph Hobbs, President of the Georgia Parent-Teachers Association, to Dr. Benjamin E. Mays on January 24, states:

> "Today, I have received Governor Talmadge's letter. This is a very busy time with him and so getting the message through has been slow. I have talked with him and written presenting the question of Negro participation.
>
> "There has been no change in his opinion. I quote from his letter "Any Negro organization who so desires to file with the Governor's Committee any type of material or suggestions for consideration may do so. The Committee could then either

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1950
Southern Regional Council

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accept or reject, in whole or in part, anything submitted."

Our Committee would like for letters to go to the Governor of Georgia, and copies sent to Mr. Oscar Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, Washington 25, D. C., embodying the information that the President has asked for representation from each state. This representation should be democratic and one-third of the population of Georgia should not be omitted.

We would appreciate also having as many persons as possible indicate their feelings to the Governor and Mr. Ewing about Georgia's lack of democratic approach to a conference which will set the pace for children's programs for the next ten years.

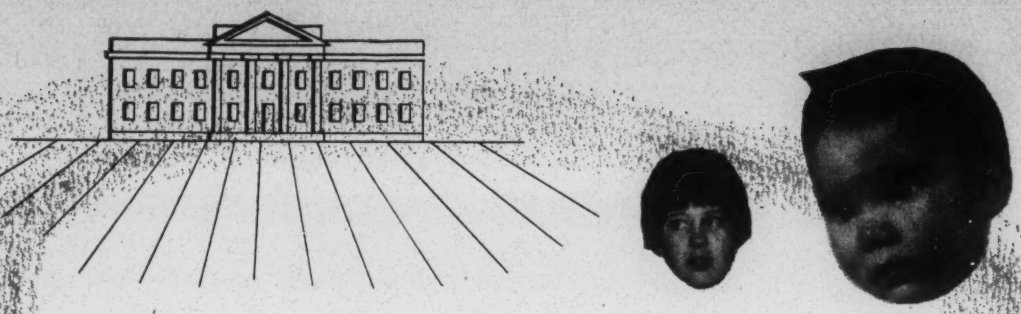
I am sending to you a statement on the Mid-Century White House Conference, which will give additional information about the history of the past conferences and the focus of the present.

Cordially yours,

Nelson C. Jackson,
Southern Field Director.

NCJ:MW

cc: Dr. B. E. Mays
Mr. Melvin Glasser
Mr. Lester B. Granger
Mrs. Ann Hedgeman
Miss Katharine Lenroot



MIDCENTURY WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE MOVES FORWARD

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Southern Regional Council

I think this rising generation has prospects before it that are really unequaled in the history of the world. And what we want to do is to impress upon them their responsibilities. I think that is the principal reason for this meeting, outlining a program for this future generation that is coming into control of this country and the whole world.

We have been working strenuously since September 2, 1945, for world peace, and that is still our main objective. We are going to get that world peace eventually, and it is going to be a peace we will all be proud of, and under which we can all live and progress.

I am hopeful that some of the things with which we are confronted can be remedied by this conference next year. One of the things that I am vitally interested in is the health of the people of the United States. We discovered in the draft program that 34 percent of the young people who came up for examination for draft purposes were physically or mentally unfit for service.

I think that is rather disgraceful in the richest nation in the world, with all the resources that we have, to neglect the health of the young people. I think that is one of the principal things we want to look after.

Then the other and the most important thing is the mental attitude of these young people. We want them to have the right outlook on life. And in order to do that, they must have proper instruction both at home and in the schools.

You know, if a child has a good mother, and most children do have, and his first three grade teachers are good teachers, who understand the moral outlook as we see it, there is no danger of that child being anything but a good citizen, no matter what happens after that first 8 or 10 years. That is the thing in which I am sure you are vitally interested.

I can't tell you how much I appreciate your interest, shown by your presence here, and I hope that the 1950 conference will be the most important and fowardlooking and successful one that we have ever had. And I am sure it will.

And I want to say to you here that you have all the cooperation that goes with the Office of the President of the United States. I won't be running for office next year, and I can do a lot of things that I couldn't ordinarily do.

Harry Truman

Excerpted from the remarks of the President of the United States at the first meeting of the National Committee, Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, held at the White House, Washington, September 8, 1949.

THE TASK OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

OSCAR R. EWING,

Federal Security Administrator
Chairman, National Committee, Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth

MAY I EXTEND to you a warm welcome on the occasion of the inauguration of this great national effort in behalf of the Nation's children? I have already expressed personally to President Truman my appreciation for his deep interest in and support of the conference program and for his graciousness in extending to us the hospitality of the White House in holding this meeting.

Recently, as I have walked about the White House and have seen the girders going up, and workmen busily engaged in repairing this historic structure, I wondered whether there would be room for us to meet here. At the same time, the White House provides almost a symbolic setting for us. For the renovation is preserving the structure, the tradition, and the strengths of the White House and at the same time is adding new materials, new mechanical devices resulting from additions to man's knowledge, and new skills in making this a sturdier and a better place in

Reprint from *The Child*, October 1949. FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY, Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau.
For a subscription to *The Child* send $1 to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.
862787—49

which our Presidents may in the future live.

It seems to me that this is precisely the task before us so far as our children are concerned. We are a great and a strong people. Over the years we have demonstrated that we have not only the physical resources but the capacity and the will to use them to advance the well-being of our Nation and of the world. Our concern for our children is in many ways a continuing symbol of this interest. Through the efforts of voluntary groups, of the Federal Government, of the four previous White House conferences—of citizens everywhere—we have a rich tradition and a record of demonstrated achievement in building healthier, happier, more secure children.

But much remains to be done. The challenge to this committee is to see where our work for children needs shoring up, to ascertain its strengths and weaknesses, to bring to bear man's new knowledge and experience on the problems of children, toward the goal of an ever-better environment in which they may grow in peace and in security.

Solve problems together

You here in this room—members of the National Committee for the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth—come from all walks of life; you represent most of the major interests in our society. The sponsors of this meeting have no preconceived blueprint to hand you that will solve all the problems of children and their parents. We admit fully and frankly that there is a great deal we do not know, and that there is a great deal we know which we do not know how to apply.

We need your broad experience and background. We need your active participation and leadership. With your help, and through you the help of all the people, we hope to work together on some of these problems and move toward better solutions.

If I may, I should like to outline here the work which I think this committee might well undertake.

In the first place, we must chart the broad objectives of the midcentury conference; and secondly, we must devise mechanisms that will accomplish those objectives.

By and large, the 1950 conference should gather together the accumulated experience and wisdom that now exists with respect to the problems of children, particularly what has been gained in the past 10 years. Next, the conference must determine the ways and means that can best be used to make this knowledge available to all those who can use it—parents, professional workers with children, States, communities, and all other individuals and organizations dealing with children and their problems. And perhaps most important to all, the conference should develop its policies and projects with the view of achieving recommendations that will be of value and use in the years following the conference to individuals and organizations concerned with children. Beyond this, the conference should determine those areas which need further research and study and suggest methods whereby these can be carried on.

The President has chosen each member of this committee because he believes each of you has a unique contribution that you can make to the deliberation of the conference and that you can provide leadership in planning its work, in the conference itself and in the follow-up work that must be carried on afterward in order to put its recommendations into practice.

The committee needs to consider at the outset the general theme of the conference, and its focus. Should we undertake detailed examination of all problems relating to children, or rather choose one or more specific problems and concentrate on these? Building on the work of the previous conferences, we might consider giving attention to some particular problem, such as, for example, the growth and development of children in a changing world.

The recommendations of previous conferences were chiefly concerned with social and economic arrangements for the child in the family. Perhaps this was because knowledge of the emotional and psychological aspects of child care and child development were still very much in the making. Although this is still true, considerable advance in recent years has been made, and perhaps the time has come for a full-fledged attack on these aspects of the needs of children.

The magnitude and complexity either of attempting to study all problems of children or of concentrating on one or more is really appalling. There are 46,000,000 children under 18 years of age in the United States. They are part of about one-half of the families of the Nation. They are concentrated in low-income families and low-income States. Three out of five live in families with incomes of less than $2,100. Four out of five live in families with incomes of less than $3,000 a year. One-half of the Nation's children live in 32 States, with only one-third of the national income. Farm families have about 30 percent of the children, but only 11 percent of the national income. Yet the economic problem, important as it is, is far from the whole picture. We live today in a world far more complex than that in which we as youngsters grew up. The tensions are greater, and the demands made upon children for stability and maturity are greater and more difficult to meet.

Our staff will present for your consideration various suggestions for the preparatory work of the conference and for financing it. You are free to accept, reject, or modify each and every one of these suggestions because, in final analysis, this is to be your conference.

The tasks that I have outlined are ambitious ones. As your chairman, I am truly humble in the face of them. I can claim rich first-hand experience as a father and a grandfather. I know the joys and the problems involved. In recent years I have had a chance to know more fully the impact of the total problem of this country, materially wealthy as it is, in providing an environment, a climate—psychological, economic, social, spiritual—in which all our children can grow and develop into healthy, happy citizens.

Contributions will add up

We propose to deal in the conference with the whole child, his health, his education (and that of his parents in dealing with him), his social welfare. Few of us can be expert in all these matters. But in the membership of this committee there is that sum total of knowledge, experience, and passionate concern for

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Given at the first meeting of the National Committee, Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, held at the White House, Washington, September 8, 1949.

the well-being of our children that makes it possible for us to take another great step forward in the over-all study and planning for the needs of children and young people.

This conference is a national study program; but it also envisages follow-up action programs in behalf of children in States and localities throughout the country.

We look to you as members of this National Committee for the unifying force to these activities. You must help provide the knowledge, the leadership, the organization, and the direction to make the conference a success.

We go forward together in an exciting adventure. We need your help. I pledge you my sincere devotion and full support in our common undertaking.

SUMMING UP THE PREVIOUS WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCES

KATHARINE F. LENROOT, *Chief, Children's Bureau*

Secretary, National Committee, Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth

IN THE CLOSING year of each decade or the closing year of a new decade in the twentieth century a conference on some phase of the care of children has been held in the Nation's Capital under the sponsorship of the President. One or more sessions have usually been held at the White House. Each conference has included several hundred persons, representing all geographic areas and many varieties of experience and opinion. Although called by the President, with facilities made available by the Federal Government, the White House conferences have not been advisory to any Federal agency or group of agencies. They have been advisory to the American people, and to their representatives in local, State, and national legislative bodies, professional and citizens' associations, public and private agencies.

To strengthen home life

The suggestion for the first White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children originated with a young lawyer who had been raised in a Washington orphanage. He was impressed by the desirability of a fresh and constructive program in relation to child-caring agencies.

Some 200 persons met at the White House on January 25 to 26, 1909. The period was characterized by a crusading spirit, which inspired courageous action to overcome serious evils threatening child life. For the first time a clarion call sounded throughout the Nation to preserve and strengthen home life for children. Poverty alone should not be a reason for separating a child from his loved ones. The conference declared that "Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. * * * Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons." The conference further recommended that if care outside the home is necessary for a normal child, he should be provided for if possible in a substitute home. If institutional care is needed it should be provided in cottage-type institutions approximating as nearly as possible the atmosphere of a home.

Outgrowths of the 1909 conference were the mothers'-pension movement—the precursor of aid to dependent children—improvements in foster care of children, and the creation of a governmental agency—the Children's Bureau—and a national voluntary organization—the Child Welfare League of America.

The 1919 Conference on Child Welfare Standards was the culminating activity of Children's Year, conducted by the Children's Bureau in cooperation with the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense. This was an era of effort to apply knowledge and concern and crystallize opinion in standards for legislative or administrative action.

In sponsoring Children's Year as a year for special activity for children while the First World War was being brought to a successful conclusion, President Wilson said: "I trust that the work may so successfully develop as to set up certain irreducible minimum standards for the health, education, and work of the American child." The Washington meetings, which began May 5, 1919, were followed by eight regional meetings in various parts of the country. The conference was most influential in relation to the protection of maternity and infancy, which received great impetus through Federal legislation and development of State maternity and infancy programs. The child-labor standards adopted by the conference had an important bearing on Federal and State child-labor legislation.

The 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection was called by President Hoover "to study the present status of the health and well-being of the children of the United States and its possessions; to report what is being done; to recommend what ought to be done and how to do it." The conference chairman was Hon. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior. There were four sections, dealing with medical service, public-health service and administration; education and training; and the handicapped. Over 1,200 experts, working in nearly 150 different subcommittees, devoted 16 months to study, research, and fact-finding.

The conference met in November 1930, with 3,000 in attendance, and the medical section met in February 1931. A Children's Charter was adopted which has had wide influence. The findings of the conference were reported in 32 volumes.

Writing of this conference, Homer Folks, a leader in the 1940 as well as the

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Given at the first meeting of the National Committee, Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, held at the White House, Washington, September 8, 1949.

1930 and earlier conferences, said: "It was an era of detailed fact-finding and report-making, including the reports of the President's Committees on Recent Economic Changes and on Social Trends."

With the exception of the challenging statement of general goals toward which to strive in the form of the Children's Charter, it was impossible, in Mr. Folks' words, "to condense and coordinate the findings or recommendations into a composite whole, or to convert such material into a program of action for children."

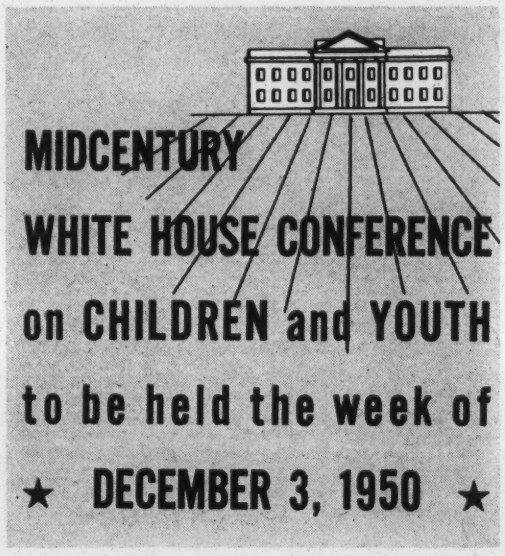
Results hard to measure

Truly to assess the results of the conference it would be necessary (1) to evaluate the stimulus given citizens' organizations throughout the country, such, for example, as the parent-teacher associations and women's clubs, whose concern for children was greatly augmented by the conference; (2) to trace the effect of the conference in enriching concepts basic to the further development of programs for children, such, for example, as understanding of the factors in growth and development of children; enhancing interest in preventive pediatrics and the training of pediatricians and other medical personnel; directing attention to family life, with particular reference to the need for further research, especially in relation to economic and social factors, and to parent education and family consultation service; and developing new insights into juvenile delinquency; and (3) to review the activities of State follow-up programs, which were organized in many States and which frequently represented the first State-wide attempt to bring together various professional groups and functional agencies, public and private, in reviewing children's needs and improving children's services. One of the outstanding results of the conference work was a great advance in the field of pediatrics and pediatric education.

Radio brings conference to parents

The 1930 conference was able for the first time to utilize the radio in bringing millions of mothers and fathers within range of the conference session. President Hoover in his address to the conference referred to these "unseen millions listening in their homes, who likewise are truly members of the conference." He said: "Let no one believe that these are questions which should not stir a Nation; that they are below the dignity of statesmen or governments. If we could have but one generation of properly born, trained, educated and healthy children, a thousand other problems of government would vanish."

The fourth White House Conference was held in 1940, with a preliminary session at the White House in April 1939 to plan the conference activities. President Franklin D. Roosevelt asked



the conference to consider two things: "How a democracy can best serve its children; and, the corollary, how children can best be helped to grow into the kind of citizens who will know how to preserve and protect our democracy." The Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, was chairman of this White House Conference on Children in a Democracy. The conference was organized and guided by a planning committee composed of some 70 persons, a committee on organization, and a report committee of 27 members, aided by a research staff, and a series of groups of experts. The subject matter was widely inclusive of the major factors affecting the children of America, including the characteristics of American family life, incomes of families, their dwellings, and their assistance in times of need; education, primarily the school system; child labor and youth employment; health and medical care; leisure-time services; social services; religion and children in a democracy; minority groups. The results of the conference work were published in a general report, which included 98 recommendations, and a more detailed final report.

The last session of the conference was devoted to consideration of follow-up activities. Nationally, the plan adopted proposed the creation of a nongovernmental National Citizens' Committee, to which responsibility would be given for leadership in the follow-up program, and a Federal Inter-Agency Committee. The latter, composed of representatives of 30 Federal agencies, was organized in March 1940 for the purpose of coordinating the work of Federal Departments in cooperation with the National Citizens' Committee and State and local follow-up programs. The organization of the National Citizens' Committee, comprising 25 members, was completed on June 17, 1940. Within a few months follow-up activities had been begun in a number of States. Both the National and the State committees, however, were almost at once engulfed in considerations of national defense and later in wartime activities, and gradually the White House Conference work for the most part lost its identity, as efforts were merged in defense and war work.

It can be said, however, that real leadership was given by the National Citizens' Committee in the first 2 years following the conference in keeping the needs of children before the Nation, and that the follow-up work in many States gave great impetus to State-wide and community planning for children which has persisted and gained recognition throughout the war years and to the present times.

We learn from experience

In reviewing briefly the experience of four decennial conferences, certain points emerge which should be of value in laying plans for the fifth, the Midcentury Conference.

First, as to scope: The first two conferences were probably too limited in scope, but the last two covered such a broad range of subjects as to make it difficult for a clear-cut, understandable program to emerge which could be the basis for action in behalf of children.

Reprinted from THE CHILD VOL. 14 NO. 4

Certainly there is need for recognition of the inclusiveness of concern for children, but there must be sharply defined focal points around which the conference program can be built, as well as careful selection of subjects that will receive major attention.

Second, adequate staff and financing are essential to maximum results. The 1930 conference had by far the greatest resources, and is generally held to have been the most successful.

Third, previous conferences tended to be overbalanced in membership by experts and in subject matter by program formulation, with insufficient representation of citizens and consideration of how programs can be translated into action.

Fourth, although the 1930 and 1940 conferences had definitely organized follow-up programs centered on State and community action, their membership was not sufficiently related to leadership for follow-up programs in States and local communities, nor was such leadership sufficiently involved in preconference activities. In other words, structure had to be improvised and leadership mobilized following the conference, instead of the National program growing out of a large amount of State and local inquiry, review, recommendation, and action.

TO FOCUS ON CHILD'S MENTAL, EMOTIONAL, AND SPIRITUAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

MELVIN A. GLASSER

Executive Director, Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth

WHEN PRESIDENT TRUMAN, on August 31, formally issued the call for the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, more than 2 years of preliminary work was brought to a head. Planning bodies in nearly all the States and Territories, leading citizens and representatives of diverse national organizations, and staff members of Federal departments concerned with children and youth had pooled their thinking and the resources of their organizations to build a foundation on which this fifth decennial conference could rise.

A new type of conference

The 1950 conference is a bold venture into new and uncharted realms. It is tackling the problems of child growth from a new direction; it is a conference that, in its *preparatory* phase, is enlisting participation from State-wide and community groups. Participation from individuals in all walks of life is being sought.

Immediately upon calling the conference, the President sent the following telegram to the Governors of each of the States and Territories and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia:

"I have called a Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth and have appointed a committee of distinguished citizens to give general direction to the undertaking, under the Chairmanship of Honorable Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator.

"The value of this conference will depend upon full participation of each State. Mr. Ewing will communicate to you a suggestion that you either designate an existing body broadly representative in your State or appoint a State committee to serve for this conference. I shall personally appreciate your cooperation in making the conference an outstanding contribution to child life in America."

The response at this writing indicates that the States are rapidly developing their committees to cooperate in the undertaking. State and local activities will be represented in the preparatory work by an advisory council on State and local action, which will report directly to the National Committee.

National organizations, through their programs, are expected to make significant contributions to the White House Conference projects. In many will be found resources of knowledge, experience, technical skill, and citizen leadership that will be invaluable to the conference activities. One of the ways through which this participation will be secured is through an advisory council of national organizations, lay and professional, which should provide a common meeting ground for cross-fertilization of experience and ideas.

Communications program established

The effective development of preliminary work requires that information concerning conference plans and objectives be brought directly to all who are concerned with children and with problems relating to child growth. Furthermore, it is essential that information made available to the National Committee from groups throughout the country should be carefully integrated and interpreted in usable form if follow-up programs are to be encouraged. Special attention therefore is being directed toward developing at the outset a communications program which provides not only for full publicity but also for carefully designed and directed program material.

The National Committee recognized that the knowledge, experience, and resources of the Federal agencies working with children would be an invaluable asset to the conference work in fact finding, in communications, in State and local action, and in all other aspects of the program. Accordingly, the committee recommended that an advisory council on Federal Government participation be set up as an integral part of the conference structure.

This Midcentury White House Conference is unique, too, in that it is not only a conference about and for children and young people; it is the first in which youth participation is an integral part of the planning. Not only are several young people actual members of the National Committee, but a special advisory council on youth participation is being organized to develop principles for, and methods of, partici-

pation by young people in all aspects of the conference activities, National, State, and local.

One of the major decisions made at the September 8–9 meeting of the National Committee of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth was to adopt a conference theme—a focus around which would be centered the conference emphasis, program, and activities. After vigorous discussion of the many problems of children and young people that require major study and action, the National Committee adopted the following conference theme:

The Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth bases its concern for children on the primacy of spiritual values, democratic practice, and the dignity and worth of every individual. Accordingly, the purpose of the conference shall be to consider how we can develop in children the mental, emotional, and spiritual qualities essential to individual happiness and to responsible citizenship.

To do this the conference shall—

(*a*) bring together in usable form pertinent knowledge related to the development of children, and indicate areas in which further knowledge is needed;

(*b*) examine the environment in which children are growing up, with a view to determining its influence upon them;

(*c*) study the ways in which the home, the school, the church, welfare agencies and other social institutions, individually and cooperatively, are serving the needs of children;

(*d*) formulate, through cooperative efforts of laymen and specialists, proposals for the improvement of parental, environmental, and institutional influences on children;

(*e*) suggest means whereby these proposals may be communicated to the people and put into action.

Committee adopts organization plan

The National Committee recognized that in order to make this a truly representative conference a plan of organization needed to be worked out that would provide an opportunity for the citizens of this country to participate fully. Accordingly the plan of organization charted on page 7 was adopted.

The members of the National Committee for the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, comprised of 52 educators, physicians, clergymen, businessmen, economists, and civic, labor, and farm leaders (appointed by President Truman August 29, 1949) are:

Dr. Raymond B. Allen
President, University of Washington
Seattle, Wash.

Francis Bacon
Professor of Secondary Education
University of California at Los Angeles
Los Angeles, Calif.

Charline Banks (youth representative)
236 Marion Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Harvie Branscomb
Chancellor, Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tenn.

A. J. Brumbaugh
Vice President, American Council on Education
744 Jackson Place NW.
Washington 6, D. C.

Lyman Bryson
Counsellor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. J. L. Blair Buck
President, General Federation of Women's Clubs
1734 N Street NW.
Washington 6, D. C.

James Carey
National Secretary-Treasurer, CIO
718 Jackson Place NW.
Washington 6, D. C.

Chris L. Christensen
Vice President, Director
Celotex Corporation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Jerome Evanson
Director of Education for the North Dakota Farmers Union
Jamestown, N. Dak.

Hon. Oscar R. Ewing (chairman)
Federal Security Administrator
Washington, D. C.

Katharine E. Faville
Dean of College of Nursing
Wayne University
Detroit, Mich.

Lawrence K. Frank
Director, Caroline Zachry Institute of Human Development
17 East Ninety-sixth Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Rabbi Solomon Goldman
3760 Pinegrove Avenue
Chicago 13, Ill.

Shelby M. Harrison
370 Riverside Drive
New York 25, N. Y.

Mrs. John E. Hayes
President, National Congress of Parents and Teachers
600 South Michigan Boulevard
Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Charles Janeway
Professor of Pediatrics, Harvard University Medical School
300 Longwood Avenue
Boston 15, Mass.

The Rev. Raymond B. Johnson
Minister, First Parish Church
40 Middle Street
Hingham, Mass.

Dr. T. Duckett Jones
Medical Director, Helen Hay Whitney Foundation
525 East Sixty-eighth Street
New York, N. Y.

Flemmie P. Kittrell
Head of the Department of Home Economics
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

The Rev. C. E. Krumbholz
Executive Secretary, Division of Welfare
National Lutheran Council
231 Madison Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Mary Leeper
Executive Secretary
Association for Childhood Education International
1200 Fifteenth Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. David M. Levy
Citizens' Committee on Children of New York City, Inc.
136 East Fifty-seventh Street
New York, N. Y.

Eduard C. Lindeman
235 East Twenty-second Street
New York, N. Y.

The Very Rev. Msgr. John J. McClafferty
Dean of the National Catholic School of Social Service
Catholic University
Washington, D. C.

Chauncey McCormick
Chairman of the Board, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society
410 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 11, Ill.

(Continued on page 8)

MIDCENTURY WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Organization adopted September 9, 1949

National Committee

(52 members, appointed by the President of the United States)

Honorary Chairman —President Harry S. Truman
Chairman —Hon. Oscar R. Ewing
Vice Chairmen —Leonard W. Mayo
George D. Stoddard
Benjamin Spock, M. D.
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Secretary —Katharine F. Lenroot

Executive Committee

(Elected by the National Committee)
Chairman—Leonard W. Mayo

A. J. Brumbaugh
Lyman Bryson
James Carey
Hon. Oscar R. Ewing, *ex officio*
Rabbi Solomon Goldman
Mrs. John E. Hayes
T. Duckett Jones, M. D.
Flemmie P. Kittrell
Mrs. David M. Levy
The Very Rev. Msgr. John J. McClafferty
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Boris Shishkin
Benjamin Spock, M. D.
George D. Stoddard
The Rev. Luther Weigle

One vacancy to be filled

Advisory councils

(Members to be appointed by the executive committee)

Advisory council on participation of national organizations: Four National Committee members *and* representatives of national organizations from outside the National Committee. Chairman to be elected by advisory council.

Advisory council on Federal Government participation: Four National Committee members *and* representatives of Federal agencies. Chairman to be elected by advisory council.

Advisory council on State and local action: Four National Committee members *and* representatives of State and Territorial White House Conference Committees. Chairman to be elected by advisory council.

Advisory council on youth participation: Four National Committee members *and* representatives of youth organizations. Chairman to be elected by advisory council.

Technical and special committees

(Members to be appointed by the executive committee)

Technical committee on fact finding: Four National Committee members *and* about 20 others. Chairman (elected by committee), Benjamin Youngdahl.

Technical committee on communications: Four National Committee members *and* about 20 others. Chairman (elected by committee), Lyman Bryson.

Committee on conference program: Twelve National Committee members. Chairman (elected by committee), A. J. Brumbaugh.

Committee on budget and finance: Seven National Committee members *and* others to be added to assist in fund raising. Chairman to be elected by committee.

Executive Director
Melvin A. Glasser

Chief Consultant,
Henry M. Helmholz, M. D.

and staff

(Continued from page 6)

Leonard W. Mayo
Chairman, National Commission on Children and Youth
Director of the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children of New York
580 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Benjamin E. Mays
President, Morehouse College
Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. William Menninger
Menninger Clinic
Member of Board of Directors and General Secretary
Menninger Foundation
Topeka, Kans.

Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer
The Washington Post
Washington, D. C.

Mabel Newcomer
Chairman, Department of Economics
Vassar College
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Herman Neusch (youth representative)
Senior, George Washington University
Home, Amarillo, Tex.

Pauline Newman
Educational Director
Union Health Center
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (A. F. of L.)
275 Seventh Avenue
New York 1, N. Y.

Emma C. Puschner
National Child Welfare Director
American Legion
777 Meridian Street
Indianapolis, Ind.

Walter Reuther
International President, United Automobile Workers of America (C. I. O.)
411 West Milwaukee Street
Detroit 2, Mich.

Max Rheinstein
Professor of Law
University of Chicago Law School
Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
United States Representative to UN General Assembly
Chairman, Commission on Human Rights UN ECOSOC
Hyde Park, Dutchess County, N. Y.

Helen Ross
Administrative Director
Institute for Psychoanalysis
664 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 11, Ill.

Ruth Schaffer (youth representative)
949 Berkeley Road
Columbus, Ohio

Dr. Edward B. Shaw
Chief, Department of Communicable Diseases, Children's Hospital
Associate Clinical Professor of Pediatrics
University of California Medical School
San Francisco, Calif.

G. Howland Shaw
2723 N Street NW.
Washington, D. C.

Boris Shishkin
Economist, American Federation of Labor
901 Massachusetts Avenue NW.
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Benjamin Spock
Pediatrician, Department of Psychiatry
Mayo Clinic
Rochester, Minn.

George D. Stoddard
President, University of Illinois
Urbana, Ill.

Donald F. Sullivan (youth representative)
1908 Irving Street NE.
Washington, D. C.

Gerard Swope
Honorary President
General Electric Co.
570 Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Phyllis Jones Tilley
Florida Normal College
St. Augustine, Fla.

Edward M. M. Warburg
Chairman, American Joint Distribution Committee
280 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Roy C. F. Weagly
R. R. 1
Hagerstown, Md.

The Rev. Luther Weigle
President, International Council of Religious Education
142 Cold Spring Street
New Haven, Conn.

John Wood (youth representative)
Junior, Union Theological Seminary
975 Walton Avenue
Bronx 25, N. Y.

Benjamin E. Youngdahl
Dean, School of Social Work
Washington University
Skinker and Lindell
St. Louis, Mo.

A limited number of copies available upon request

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1949

March 10, 1950

Mr. Reginald Mitchell
Cosmopolitan Club
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I should, of course, be delighted to be of any service to the forthcoming conclave of the Cosmopolitan Club.

It is only fair to tell you, however, that I am not equipped to give anything like the map speech for which George Mitchell is so justly famous. I am not heavily grounded in economics or history. My specialty, such as it is, is information work in the field of human relations. I am a native Georgian and have rubbed up against the problems and progress of the South during my two and a half years with the Council.

If you want somebody with these qualifications to make a talk, I shall be glad to do so. But if someone else would better suit your needs, please don't hesitate to let me know.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Cosmopolitan Club

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

Athens, Georgia

March 8, 1950

RECEIVED
MAR 10 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Perhaps you are aware that we have thirty-five foreign students now studying at the University of Georgia from twenty different countries. These students have an organization which they call the Cosmopolitan Club.

Last year, the Club sponsored a very successful conclave for all the foreign students studying in various institutions in the state. This was held on the University campus. The aims of this conclave were to enable all the foreign students in the state to become acquainted with each other, to exchange views and ideas, and to discuss common problems. Also, we wished the students here in Athens to become acquainted with the visitors and to participate in their forums, discussion groups, and other activities. The conclave was extremely successful, in the opinion of the President of the University, the Dean of Faculties, the Dean of Men, the Dean of Women, and the Administrative Counselor, and it was decided to make the occasion an annual affair.

We wrote to Mr. George Mitchell to ask if he could present his map speech at one of the sessions of the Conclave. This is exactly the type of talk we need to open our program for this year, which is a presentation of the South. Mr. Mitchell, however, has replied that he has a previous commitment on that date and that he will be in New Orleans that week-end. Mr. George Stoney suggested that you have access to the same information and that you could probably help us. We would be so grateful if you could do this for us. Our program will include the social, economic, and political aspects of the South today.

Unfortunately, we foreign students are extremely limited in funds, and, therefore, we cannot offer any honorarium. However, we would be very glad to pay your transportation expenses and any other expenses you might incur while you are here.

As we hope to present this conclave on April 14 and 15, and have set March 14 as the date by which we should know the scheduled program, we would greatly appreciate your letting us know whether you can participate on our program at 2:30 in the University Chapel on Friday, April 14.

We thank you for your consideration of this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Reginald Mitchell

Reginald Mitchell, England
Chairman, Conclave Committee

HCF

Cosmopolitan Club

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

Athens, Georgia

March 7, 1950

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of recent date. I am sorry that you cannot be present at our Conclave, as I think you would have enjoyed meeting some of the foreign students and I know that they would have enjoyed meeting you.

We still need a person to introduce the South to the foreign students, so I spoke to Mr. George Stoney about this matter. He suggested that I write to Mr. Harold Fleming of your office which I have done. I hope that this meets with your approval.

Thank you for your kind invitation to me to visit you and I shall do so the next time I am in Atlanta.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Reginald Mitchell

Reginald Mitchell

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1950
Southern Regional Council

MRS. ELIZABETH T. MEIJER
2721 WEST NORTH AVENUE
BALTIMORE 16, MD.

March 11 50

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Thanks so much for sending me another copy of Rose in the News I am passing it on to a person who needs it.

Yes I do am still pleased about the L. H J and every time I see Negro in there head I feel good. They leave never let me

know of their decision, they did not acknowledge my letter of thanks. I seem to be taboo. But the array of important people and organizations I could line up, surely must have impressed them enough to change their tactics.

It is a victory like this that keeps one from becoming too discouraged at failures or slow procedure.

Wishing you the best of luck,

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth T. Meyer

THE DIOCESE OF ARKANSAS

RT. REV. R. BLAND MITCHELL, D. D.
BISHOP

THE BISHOP'S OFFICE
1604 CENTER STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

March 15, 1950.

RECEIVED
MAR 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia,

Dear Dr. Mitchell:-

I have yours of the 9th and appreciate the spirit and thoughtfulness in which you write me. Naturally I have a predisposition in favor of the broad purpose which the Council seeks to serve. Hence my contributions a few years ago. I am not so well posted on the equilibrium you have kept in seeking to serve that purpose.

I am well acquainted with the Episcopalians mentioned in your letter and with some of the other people listed on your Board of Directors. Bishop Penick and Bishop Walker were college mates of mine at Sewanee and are very close friends. I have not yet received Bishop Walker's letter, but I think I know in advance what he will say, knowing as I do his interest and position in these matters.

What startled me -- and somewhat disturbed me -- was to find myself listed as a member of the Council when I knew I was not and felt that there was no warrant for so listing me. So many organizations, once they get a name, hang onto it as "window dressing" without any justification; and I am allergic to that sort of thing on the part of those who are pursuing "causes".

Then, too, I was not impressed by the names on the list of Arkansas members which Mrs. Tilley sent me. I do not consider it balanced or representative. That could be an argument for getting in and pitching to build up a more representative membership of our citizenry. But that does not fall to me who am not a member and am not at all sure that I want to be a member so far as the Arkansas scene is concerned. Bishop Penick can tell you that I have fought battles for justice and opportunity for the Negro. That isn't the question with me at all. The question with me is whether it is to the best interests of race relations in our State to form an Arkansas Division of your organization. It might be for Georgia or North Carolina -- and yet not for Arkansas, building on the personnel you have so far enlisted over here.

Perhaps the satisfactory answer to that question will come out of the meeting you are holding here on the 21st. Unfortunately, perhaps, for me your shift of dates from the 17th to the 21st prevents me from being on hand to see how the answer works out. A previous engagement takes me out of the city on the 21st. I hope I am always open to conviction; but so far my "sales resistance" to this proposal is up.

With best wishes, and thanking you again for writing me as you did, I am

Very faithfully yours,
R. Bland Mitchell

For your records: Mrs. William H. Williams died at Westbro years ago.

March 29, 1950

Mr. Munson
American Legion National Headquarters
"K" Street
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Munson:

This story in the New York Times of March 22 caught my eye.

I wonder if it is not the sort of effort that quite a number of veterans who spent months or years in Britain would wish to put small contributions into. I see, of course, that it is a thank you effort by Britishers themselves, but there would be a double kindness in contributions toward such a building from Americans who had enjoyed Britain's hospitality. And, of course, the leaverage of dollars is pretty high with the pound at $2.80.

Would it be possible for the appropriate officials to correspond with the Lord Mayor and, perhaps, carry some notice in the legion publication of the fund and the opportunity it presents? Such a notice ought to provide an easy way for contributors to get their money into the fund, which I take it would be a central collection point in this country.

I remember cordially our association on veterans' affairs some years ago and have always been grateful for your ready willingness to help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

M - Miss

CONFERENCES: LITTLE ROCK • LOUISIANA • NORTH ARKANSAS

ARKANSAS-LOUISIANA AREA
THE METHODIST CHURCH
PAUL E. MARTIN, Bishop
723 Center Street
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

RECEIVED
APR 5 1950
Southern Regional Council

March 31, 1950

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I arrived in San Francisco on March 17 after having been in the Far East and India for five months. I am just getting through my correspondence now. Thus I did not see your letter of March 7 until after the meeting in Little Rock.

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in inviting me to be present for the meeting.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Paul E. Martin.

PEM/mw

Dictated by Bishop Martin
Signed in his absence

Mis. M.

May 1, 1950

Mrs. John M. McGinnis
c/o First Baptist Church
Cedartown, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McGinnis:

Following receipt of your letter, I visited the Atlanta Journal and discussed the forthcoming event at the Sarah Murphy Home with Mr. George Goodwin. He was much impressed and promised to do two things: (1) Write an advance story to be published in tomorrow's Journal (Tuesday, May 2). (2) See that the actual event got full coverage and was played as an important story.

It was probably fortunate that the story was once again called to the Journal's attention, for I discovered that no one had been assigned to cover the actual event on Wednesday. Let us hope that Mr. Goodwin will be able to get that oversight remedied. He and I agreed that it was a story that should get national attention, not only because of the worthiness of the Home, but also because of the commendable interracial cooperation it demonstrates.

I have not as yet been able to reach any of our friends at the Atlanta Constitution. In view of their recent editorial notice of the event, however, I am sure they will follow up with news coverage.

Please accept my heartiest good wishes for your own part in this constructive work.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

M - Merck

May 2, 1950

Miss Marjorie Minkler
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss Minkler:

We are delighted with this good story about the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Enc.

Mis M

May 3, 1950

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

The place is "the Chapel," whatever or wherever that is. I assume it is the chapel of the University of Georgia.

Time is 2:30.

So glad you are coming.

Sincerely,

Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
April 27, 1950

APR 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

All things equal, I'll meet you in Athens at 2:30 on May 5. I have several small things that must be wiped off my desk before I make a junket of any kind. If I can't be there, I'll let you know, and will certainly want to come to Atlanta at a later date, but sometime before May 12.

Went last week to Florida and saw Malcolm (Mike) Ross who told me about your map speech and was very much impressed with it.

If you should discover locale of your speech in Athens, would you put it on a postcard for me?

I don't think my bride will be coming along this trip. Maybe later when school's out.

Best,

George

George McMillan

M-Misc
Maxwell

721 RUSSELL, N. E.

TELEPHONE 66

CASSANDRA E. MAXWELL
ATTORNEY AT LAW
ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

May 5, 1950

Mr. Harold C. Fleming;
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd instant, and the enclosures. I have mailed to Judge Waring the literature. In my letter to him, I leaned heavily upon the letter you sent me. I dared not try to improve upon your arguments, but took the liberty of making full quotes.

When I shall have heard from the Judge, I will pass it on to you.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Cassandra E. Maxwell

Cassandra E. Maxwell

Mis M.

May 8, 1950

Lady Mary Murray
Yatscombe
Boars Hill
Oxford, England

Dear Lady Mary:

You will appreciate this beautiful account about what our Southern Regional Council tries to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encl.

MS. M

May 8, 1950

Mr. Ernest Morgan
State Docks Board
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Ernest:

I read about you and was very happy.

Here is a chance to read about us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Encl.

Mis M

May 8, 1950

Mr. Morris R. Mitchell
Putney School
Putney, Vermont

Dear Morris:

Here is a grand story about the Council.

Sincerely,

GSM:er

Encls.

Misc. M

May 8, 1950

Mr. Terry Mitchell
Church Street
Waynesboro, Pennsylvania

Dear Anne and Terry:

Doesn't the SRC look nice in print?

Love,

GSM:er

Encl.

Mis. M

May 8, 1950

Mr. Frank McCallister
Roosevelt College
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Frank:

They really spread themselves on this one, didn't they?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSMier

Encls.

Mi 5 - 4

May 8, 1950

Mrs. Mary Bell McDonald
1107 James Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mary Bell:

Here is some very nice print about our Council.

My best to my cousin.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Encl.

MiscM

May 8, 1950

Miss Margaret McCulloch
858 Whitford Place
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Miss McCulloch:

See what a nice thing the

Herald-Tribune wrote about us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encl.

M. S. M.

May 12, 1950

Dr. Franz H. Mueller
2110 Wellesley Avenue
St. Paul 5, Minnesota

Dear Dr. Mueller:

I am happy to do what I can on your problem.

The most useful organizing principle that I have found is geography. The basic book is Rupert Vance's Human Geography of the South. If from it you will draw off for yourself a map that divides the Southeast into four main sub-regions, the thing begins to come clear. The areas: Mountains, Piedmont, Plantations, Piney Woods. Then characterize the population of each as to race and sources of income, and political, economic, and civic institutions.

The main Mountain problem is over-population. The best remedies: reorganization of land use, further industrialization, forest care, recreational industry, technical education.

On the Piedmont, the stout habit of political self-government, now with economic self-government (which include both races) show the way out. This area has, in any case, a neat balance between a democratic land-owning agriculture and a thriving, decentralized industrial economy.

On the Piney Woods, the two problems are to conserve the timber and distribute the income from it better. We know how to do the first, and trade unions and minimum wages are showing us the second.

On the Plantation part, the problem is to escape the dependence of the old big farm unit system and come over into more land ownership, less dependence among hired laborers, again technical education, and more industry, particularly more processing industry.

For pamphlets, I send you up a bundle. They are good, but not now quite recent enough.

On what is happening in Southern agriculture now, I send you a copy of a good new thing, The Place of the Negro Farmer in the Changing Economy of the Cotton South.

The library will have reports from something called The Committee of the South, published for it by the National Planning Association in Washington. Some of them are good.

I am only too happy to send you these things, some of which I hope will be of help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMter

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

College of St. Thomas
St. Paul 1, Minnesota

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

May 10, 1950

RECEIVED
MAY 11 1950
Southern Regional Counc.

Dear Dr.Mitchell:

May I ask your advice for a lecture I wish to give on recent social changes in the South? My alma mater, the University of Cologne, Germany, invited me to teach a summer course this year on Social Problems and Social Policies in the United States. I intend to include a lecture each on the Race Problem and on Social and Economic Developments in the South (The Sharecropper, New Crops, New Industries, etc.)

Unfortunately, I have only 3 weeks to prepare all my lectures for Cologne and any research is out of the question. I am forced to look for some reliable, yet very condensed material which I can use almost "as is." I am chairman of a department with 700 students. You know what this means towards the end of the school year. Frankly, I am almost frantic as regards the work still to be done. Unfortunately, Father O'Connell of New Orleans is making a six months second novitiate and, therefore, unable to come to my rescue. May I ask you to help me as best as you can - - and as soon as you can, sending me the pamphlets of the Council and the titles of a very few pertinent articles on the sharecropper and the socio-economic changes that are right now taking place in the south.

Please, do me the favor of giving me your advice and some "hints" as to how you think I should organize the talk on the South, keeping in mind that Europeans often know the South only as a place of Lynchings, Ku-Kux-Klan, Cotton and old-fashioned Mississippi steamers.

Thanking you in advance, I am

very sincerely yours

Franz H. Mueller

Dr. Franz H. Mueller

FRANZ H. MUELLER
2110 Wellesley Ave.
St. Paul 5, Minn.

P.s. Mr. P.S. Ogilvie suggested that I write you for advice and assistance. - The University of Cologne is not a Catholic Institution, but has many Cath. students.

Mt Musc

FRANZ H. MUELLER
2110 Wellesley Ave
St. Paul 5, Minn.

May 14, 50

Dear Dr. Mitchell

Sunday evening. Your "special delivery" letter just arrived. I am extremely grateful for your very useful advice. I presume that I may keep the two reprints, if not, please ask your secretary to drop me a card. Thank you also for the bundle that is still on its way. Please, pardon the informality of this "thank you" note: I am snowed under with work.

Sincerely Franz Mueller

Dr. F. H. Mueller
Coll. of St. Thomas
St. Paul 1, Minn

SAINT PAUL
MAY 15
11 30 AM
4 1950

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

MAY 17 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
Auburn Ave N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MISC M

May 18, 1950

Mrs. T. V. Moore
4514 N. E. 1st Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Mrs. Moore:

The enclosed recent editorial article from the Herald Tribune will give you a convenient summary of the Southern Regional Council.

We are a voluntary agency with some 3450 members scattered over the South. Our Florida membership is organized into a Florida Division of the Southern Regional Council, of which Mr. William W. Gibbs, Ingraham Building, Miami, is Chairman. Mrs. William C. White, Okeechobee, is Secretary-Treasurer. Mrs. Henry Havens, 2845 Corinthian Avenue, Jacksonville, has been particularly interested in the Council's work in Florida. Professor Gordon Lovejoy at the University of Miami also knows the Council well.

We have no direct affiliation from special women's groups, though various women's church groups have been particularly helpful to the Council in its local efforts.

We are most anxious to increase our membership and usefulness in Florida and would feel greatly strengthened if you would become a member of the Council and interest others in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS
COUNCIL OF INTERNATIONAL CLUBS
MRS. T. V. MOORE (EUROPE)
4514 N. E. 1ST AVENUE, MIAMI, FLORIDA

E E

What is this Southern Regional Council - I do not understand what group of clubs or groups of women are in it and what the Regional Council's connection is —

Respectfully — Mrs. T. V. Moore

George McMillan Box 299 Aiken, S.C. MISM-

Dear George: Thanks for the Oursler notes. I've not yet heard from LIFE except indirectly through my agent who says they ask for a few days to consider the synopsis since they are snowed under right now with The King's Story. I'll let you know what I hear. [redacted] Did Reader's Digest ever carry the piece Mr. Oursler was interested in writing? Has any national magazine carried ak piece about the Council? About you? Best to your family. All is joy here because my teen-age brother in law was accepted by Harvard. [redacted]

George

Wednesday
May 24 (1950)

McMisc
McMillan

Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
May 30, 1950

Dear George:

Two things prevented my getting to Atlanta Monday, and will probably keep me from arriving there until sometime Thursday, the day after tomorrow.

I got a quick request for a piece from The Reporter for a special issue they're running on The Postwar Generation, and in my greed I have tried to work it into my already overcrowded schedule. I hope to have it in the mails by tomorrow afternoon.

The second thing is that, when I received the telegram from my agent saying that LIFE had okayed the piece about you, she said that Jay Gold, the text editor, was writing me. I have not yet received his letter, and think it is wise to wait for it, simply to see how he wants the piece handled before I start work on it. But if I don't hear from him by Thursday morning, I'll come on up to Atlanta anyway.

Please don't close your mind on the usefulness of the piece I might write until you see the synopsis I sent LIFE, their letter to me, and hear me out on what I think such a piece might do for your Council.

Cordially,

George

George McMillan

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1950
Rockefeller Foundation

McM

June 10, 1950

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

The names and addresses of my brothers and sisters herewith:

Broadus Mitchell, 313 West 20th Street, New York. Assistant Professor of Economics, Rutgers University.
Morris Mitchell, Putney, Vermont. I don't know what his title is, but he is conducting at the Putney School a graduate school, training progressive-school teachers. I guess he is an educator.
Terry Mitchell, 30 South Church Street, Waynesboro, Pennsylvania. Mechanical engineer.
Mrs. George Orr Clifford, Pequot Road, Southport, Connecticut.

I have dictated the anecdotes, but they simply can't be transcribed and mailed to you until Monday.

I can't find a copy of my thesis. The one in the Carnegie Library in Atlanta is out or packed up. I'm just sunk on that. There should be a copy of it at Augusta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

M-Miscel

June 15, 1950

Mr. William Shands Meacham
1132 Graydon Avenue
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Bill:

Hi!

That was mighty kind of you to put such a good editorial into the New York Times. We are very grateful indeed.

The survey has had good play. We particularly liked an editorial in the Greenville News to the general effect that, as it was conducted by Greenvillians about Greenvillians, no complaint could be lodged against its critical findings.

I do wish you would pursue further your thought of a general article about the Council. Here is a good one that the Herald Tribune lately carried. We could supply you with any amount of material whenever you are of a mind to take it up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Encl.
GSM:er

WILLIAM SHANDS MEACHAM

HF

1132 Graydon Avenue,
Norfolk, Virginia,
June 10, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
906 Lullwater Road, N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George Mitchell;

I thought you might like to see this piece I did for The Times on your Greenville effort.

I contribute regularly to the Times page, and frequently on Southern themes. I should like to talk to you sometime, in connection with a more extended piece on the Council's South-wide program.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,
William Meacham
William S. Meacham

24 - McMisc

State of Arkansas
DEPARTMENT of EDUCATION
STATE CAPITOL LITTLE ROCK

June 19, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks for your prompt response with bulletin material dealing with many vital problems and resources of our Southern Region.

Yours truly,

Ed McCuistion

Ed McCuistion, Director
Division of Negro Education

EMcC:mh

JUN 21 1950

M-Miscel

July 6, 1950

Mr. G. W. McLaurin
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. McLaurin:

We thought you would be interested in a copy of the Council's reprint of the three decisions.

We are greatly pleased with the outcome.

We have mailed this out to four or five thousand members of the Council over the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encls.

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

M-Misc

July 12, 1950

Mr. Earl Mayhew
231 West Maxwell Street
Lexington 29, Kentucky

Dear Earl:

I knew when I picked up the phone to call you about that scholarship business that you were the kind of guy that would rise to the opportunity.

I am so glad it worked.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION
231 West Maxwell Street
Lexington 29, Kentucky
July 6, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
c/o Rosenwald Foundation
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Some time ago you called my attention to the John Hay Whitney Foundation aid to students. Then, a little later you sent me a clipping from the New York Times that indicated a man of our general area had won one of the scholarships. I am in receipt of a letter from President Hutchins of Berea College which lists the name of Milton B. Wise, Newland, North Carolina, as a winner of one of the scholarships. Mr. Wise is still in school at Berea and will study animal husbandry at North Carolina State beginning January 1951.

We appreciate your calling our attention to this scholarship fund, and President Hutchins and others are on the lookout for the opportunity to recommend other young men for scholarships at the appropriate time.

Sincerely yours,

Earl Mayhew

EARL MAYHEW
State Director

RECEIVED
JUL 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

M - Miscel

TRI-CITIES JEWISH CONGREGATION

FLORENCE, SHEFFIELD, TUSCUMBIA
ALABAMA

RABBI CHARLES MANTINBAND
206 NORTH WOOD AVE.
FLORENCE

TEMPLE B'NAI ISRAEL
ATLANTA AVE.
SHEFFIELD

July 24, 1950

Dr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Am just back from the University of Alabama ~~for~~ after some weeks of research and study. Met there a Mrs. White who is associated with a school for spastic children in Greensboro, N. C. She told me you two were friends of long standing. Incidentally it was amazing how little the SRC program was known in the circles that I covered, and I got in some good advance propaganda.

I shall put to good use the material you sent me, and see whether during the early part of August, if not sooner, I can enroll a reasonable number of members. I note that you have written to Dr. Norton and Professor Gilbert. It was my impression that the latter had already affiliated.

Art Levin of B'nai Brith can tell you of the recent Institute of Human Relations we managed at the local college this summer. You will hear from me further before long.

Cordial greetings,

C. Mantinband

Charles Mantinband

RECEIVED
JUL 26 1950
Southern Regional Council

August 1, 1950

AIR MAIL

Mr. George McMillan
Vacation Course
University of London
Canterbury Hall
Cartwright Gardens
London W.C. 1, England

Dear George:

I had figured out about what had happened. I know enough about writing to know the jams it gets one into. Also, as I told you, I spent three good years in England trying to revise a quite humdrum piece of writing. So I had had no expectation that you would put together the stuff until after you get back.

The thing to save out of the trip is bonny Scotland!

My best wishes to you both.

Sincerely,

GSM:er

M

Vacation Course
University of London
Canterbury Hall
Cartwright Gardens
London W. C. 1
England
July 26, 1950

Dear George:

Bad news first. I've not finished the article about you. I made a desperate effort to finish it before I left Aiken, but did not succeed. And since then I've been so engrossed with the problems of transportation and housing that I simply have nothad any interrupted time to do any writing. What I need is about two weeks solid at a desk, and I can see clearly now that I am not going to get it until I return to Aiken in ~~September~~ September.

I have just written my editor at LIFE to give him the sad news, and I added a note saying that I thought the piece would be as topical in September as it was in June, that my talks over here had more than ever convinced me that The South is Americans soft heel in theidological war, and that the piece about you would still get at the heart of the matter.

I'm crushingly disappointed in my course. The Arts Council has brought in a lot of distinguished people to talk with us but they say nothing. It's all too shallow and my Guggenheim is very much on my conscience.

We leave here August 15 for a time in Paris, sailing August 30 from Rotterdam for the U. S.

I hardly know what to make of the war in Korea. The news broke while I was at sea. We got only fragmentary reports aboard ship and the London papers aren't too much better.

Hope you and your family have had a pleasant summer.

Cordially,

George

George McMillan

JUL 31 1950
Southern Regional Council

23 M-Misc

Randolph-Macon College
Ashland, Virginia

August 15, 1950

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have your letter of August 11, 1950 advising that you are sending ten copies of "What Kind of South Do You Want?" to me. I shall be glad to see that they are properly distributed.

With cordial greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. Earl Moreland

J. Earl Moreland
President

JEM : k

RECEIVED
AUG 17 1950
LOUISVILLE
National

M-Miscel
Moron

August 18, 1950

Mr. Alonzo Moron, President
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Mr. Moron:

When you went up to your new dignities at Hampton and as a member of the Board of SRC, you left behind the pleasant status of Fellow of the Council, which under the by-laws is a paradise free of dues.

'Tis a measure of our need that we search out this little cranny and make note of the fact that you are now a mortal member like any other and accrue dues.

Fear not. 'Tis only $3.00 a year, and only a single year has gone by.

We hope that on some occasion when you are at your desk signing out bits of checks to this or that that you belong to, you will be so very kind as to include SRC's modest dues.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

NH:er

Maddoc

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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1950 SEP 8 PM 4 44

AA77

A=NB424 PD=RK NEW YORK NY 8 412P=

TU ATLANTA

=GEORGE S MITCHELL, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC=

=63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST OR RESIDENCE ATLA=

=HAVE PHIL HAMMER CALL ME COLLECT MONDAY MORNING PLAZA 7-3375=

JAMES G MADDOC=

RECEIVED
SEP 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Thanked for letter - said GSM out of town - BR
10/12/50 M - Miscl

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION
231 West Maxwell Street
Lexington 29, Kentucky
October 10, 1950

RECEIVED
OCT 12 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for calling my attention to the Opportunity Fellowships by the John Hay Whitney Foundation.

Several days before receiving your letter, I had some applications from the John Hay Whitney Foundation and immediately made contact with several of the institutions in Eastern Kentucky to get them interested in causing young men and young women to apply for one of the fellowships. Berea has promised me to do an even better job than last year in selecting applicants. Some of the other institutions hope to have applicants for these fellowships.

Sincerely yours,

Earl Mayhew

EARL MAYHEW
State Director

McMillan

October 25, 1950

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I am glad your project is still alive.

Here are some items:

1. At Chapel Hill you have Guy Johnson, who was the Council's first Director. You have also, of course, Odum, who was its first President, and who had perhaps most to do with getting it started.

2. As to money. Help has come in the last month from a good many sources, and we are in much better shape, though by no means out of the woods. An anonymous manufacturer with extensive Southern interests gave us a thousand dollars lately. A thousand that had been earlier promised by Cardinal Stritch came through. We applied to the Board of the John Hay Whitney Foundation. It so happened that Mr. Whitney himself read our lengthy memorandum about the Council (copy enclosed). While the Board turned us down, not wishing to create the precedent of helping a going organization (!) Mr. Whitney himself, I understand, said, "Very well, if you won't help them, Mrs. Whitney and I will," and sent us a check for $2,000.00. The United Automobile Workers-CIO sent us five hundred. Earlier in the summer the Textile Workers Union of America-CIO sent us five hundred and the United Steelworkers of America-CIO sent us a thousand. At the end of September, the American Friends Service Committee departed from an almost inviolate rule against giving their Quaker money to non-Quaker causes and handed us a check for a thousand dollars. With these sums and the usual dues and sale of literature, etc., we have been able to meet all our payrolls so far and reduce our current debt to a negligible five or six hundred dollars. I must admit we still owe on long time commitments, $7,500.00. Where next year's money comes from, I don't know. We are always sure of eight or ten thousand in income that is almost automatic. We have current requests before the William C. Whitney Foundation and two or three other smallish foundations. I rather think the Southern Presbyterians will make us a grant for next year, and

the Northern Presbyterians also. I am diligently studying up the Ford Foundation for a major assault.

Here are the more recent issues of New South, which should bring you up on program during the summer. I can lend you a manuscript report on the Home Town Self-Survey. Parts of it are very interesting, particularly the improvements at Greenville after the survey -- Exhibit IX, B -- and the banker's letter -- Exhibit IX, A. Note that it sits in a return envelope and does have to be returned, in just a few days, please.

On money, I forgot to say that the altogether Southern foundation which originally helped the Home Town Self-Survey project with $3,000.00 has promised us another thousand for next year if we can match it with $1,500.00 from other sources. We think we can.

Another enclosure is a statement which we are recommending to our Board for its adoption at its forthcoming meeting November 7, 1950. This is merely the staff's draft. The Board may or may not like the idea. They may alter it very severely, or they may throw it out, but you could seize upon sentences you might like. BUT I STRINGENTLY BIND YOU NOT TO SEND ON FOR PRINT ANY SUCH SENTENCES UNTIL YOU HAVE INFALLIBLY CHECKED WITH US TO SEE THAT THE LANGUAGE DID LIVE IN THE FINAL NOVEMBER 7 STATEMENT, IF ANY. You can find a copy of my thesis up there at Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press has got them, and there will be one in the library.

I don't see why you need come to Atlanta again, though you are warmly welcome at any time.

Best to you both.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

RECEIVED
OCT 25 1958
Atlanta Regional Council

CAROLINA INN — CHAPEL HILL
OWNED AND OPERATED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Tuesday

Dear George:

Have just heard from my agent that LIFE still wants the piece on you. Because it has taken a couple of weeks to hear from them, I conclude that they have again taken the idea through their editorial conferences and that they mean business. Further evidence lies in the fact that they are again pushing me to know exactly when I can deliver the piece.

I know you have put a good deal of time into it already, only to see me chase off to Europe with the piece unfinished. May I, nevertheless, ask you to write me a note giving me some idea of whether ~~or not there has~~ been a ~~minor~~ major change in your affairs? Did the Council pass its financial crisis? Can you let me know briefly what your major activities were during the summer? Your plans for the fall and winter? Did you issue statement when suit was entered for Negroes to attend Atlanta schools?

and send it to Aiken

I came up here (see letterhead) for some reasarch on my book, on which I have done a great deal of quiet work since I got home. I had planned to spend the we k here when I got the telegram about the piece last night. I still am loath to leave here until I do what I came to do, and that means I'll stay until Friday.

My intention is to write LIFE now, tell them I'll write them again middle of next week, and at that time give them firm estimate of when I can deliver piece. Thus I'll have time to finish my work here, get home, look over all the material on you again, and receive from you (I hope) some report which will let me know whether or not I must come to Atlanta again.

Best to all your family, and I hope your report will be as full as possible, covering George Mitchell since we last talked.

Cordially,

George McMillan

23 - M - Misc

MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON UNITY
OF NEW YORK CITY
MUNICIPAL BUILDING, ROOM 705, BROOKLYN 2, NEW YORK
TRIANGLE 5-7100, EXT. 290-295

COMMITTEE
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EXECUTIVE STAFF
EDITH M. ALEXANDER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SCHUYLER N. WARREN
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

October 27, 1950

RECEIVED
OCT 30 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mithcell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mithcell:

The Mayor's Committee on Unity has appointed a Subcommittee on Hospitality to assist in welcoming those persons who plan to attend the conference of the National Intergroup Relations Officials, which is scheduled to be held in New York City, November 15 - 17, 1950.

If you are interested in seeing plays or visiting points of interest in New York, we shall be happy to arrange for reservations for tickets and tours. If you will send your requests to me, at this office, we shall make every effort to meet them.

In the event that you plan to be in New York City on the evening of November 14, 1950, you are cordially invited to attend a symposium under the auspices of the United Negro College Fund, through the courtesy of Mrs. Chauncey L. Waddell, a member of the Mayor's Committee on Unity. If you are interested in attending, please so indicate on the enclosed card.

Sincerely yours,

Michael M. Nisselson

Michael M. Nisselson, Chairman
Subcommittee on Hospitality

Enc.

ADVANCE PROOF

"america from my vantage point"

A SYMPOSIUM

John Mason Brown, *Chairman*

SPEAKERS

Her Excellency V. L. Pandit
Ambassador of India to the United States

Hon. William H. Hastie
Judge, U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals

PANEL

William J. Trent, Jr., *Education*

Dorothy B. Ferebee, *Medicine*

William J. Knox, *Industrial Research*

Nell M. Cochrane, *Youth*

hunter college assembly hall
69th street and park avenue
tuesday evening, 8:30 p. m.
november 14th, 1950

about our speakers

John Mason Brown . . .

DRAMA CRITIC with New York newspapers since 1929; currently with *Saturday Review of Literature* . . . author . . . lecturer . . . teacher . . . conductor of radio's "Of Men and Books" and television's "Critic at Large." Born in Louisville, Ky., and graduate of Harvard with degrees from Williams, Montana and Clark Universities.

Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit . . .

LEADER, with Gandhi and her brother Jawaharlal Nehru, of the struggle for India's independence since her first imprisonment in 1932 . . . congresswoman and minister from her native Allahabad . . . president of the All-India Women's Conference (1942-4) . . . In 1945, chairman of the Indian delegation to the United Nations General Assembly . . . then Ambassador to Russia, and since 1949 first woman Ambassador to the United States.

William H. Hastie . . .

GOVERNOR of the Virgin Islands from 1946-9, then Federal Judge, 3d District, U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, first Negro in both positions . . . Born in Knoxville, Tenn., with degrees from Amherst and Harvard . . . lawyer . . . Dean of Howard University Law School . . . Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War (1940-2), resigning in protest against discriminatory treatment of Negroes in the armed forces.

Dorothy B. Ferebee . . .

PHYSICIAN, second president of the National Council of Negro Women, succeeding Mary McLeod Bethune . . . acting director of Howard University Health Service, Washington, D. C. . . . founder and president of Washington's Southeast Settlement House, and medical director of the Mississippi Health Project.

William J. Trent, Jr. . . .

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR of the United Negro College Fund since 1944 . . . graduate of Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C., of which his father is president . . . Dean of Bennett College . . . recipient of a General Education Board Fellowship . . . adviser on Negro affairs, PWA and Dept. of Interior, and director of race relations in the Office of Federal Works Administration from 1939-44.

William J. Knox . . .

RESEARCH CHEMIST with the Eastman-Kodak Company of Rochester, N. Y., headed a group of scientists working on the atomic bomb at Columbia University . . . teacher at Johnson C. Smith and Howard Universities, A. and T. College and Talladega, with degrees from Harvard University and M.I.T. (Ph.D., 1935).

Nell M. Cochrane . . .

STUDENT COUNCIL PRESIDENT at Smith College, Northampton, Mass., for 1950-51, first Negro so elected . . . Voted best all-around and most outstanding student at New York City's Hunter High School.

SYMPOSIUM COMMITTEE
22 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

I expect to attend the symposium on Tuesday, November 14,

"America From My Vantage Point"

at Hunter College Assembly Hall, 69th Street and Park Avenue.

Please reserve _____ seats and send the cards of admission to:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

Please print name in full and list guests on reverse side of this card

DATE _____

guests

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

SYMPOSIUM COMMITTEE

22 East 54th Street

New York 22, N. Y.

November 1, 1950

Mr. H. L. Mitchell, President
National Farm Labor Union
726 Ninth Street, N.W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear H. L.:

You were a good egg to send us five real dollars. And I am sure your hand was heavy in the kind purpose of the National Sharecroppers Fund to make us a grant of $1500. We will try to do something good about the pamphlet they want us to get out.

I will come and see you when I can get to Washington. I don't know anything I had rather see flourish than the Farm Labor Union.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

NATIONAL FARM LABOR UNION

AFFILIATED AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

825 Victor Building 726 9th Street, N. W.

WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

Phone: REpublic 6613

October 24, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Enclosed is my check for $5.00 NH as a contribution to the Council. I wish I had more to give. I am afraid I can't suggest any individuals who could contribute. I am in hopes that our National Sharecroppers Fund will raise some money and that there will be enough to make at least a small grant to you. I talked to Mrs. Biderman who tells me that the Board of NSF wanted to support some special project. I urged that she try to get them to give whatever they could for general purposes. I know what it is to operate on a limited budget and then try to carry on a special project when you don't have money to carry on your ordinary work.

Our financial situation is still bad, though I have had some help from the A.F. of L. Getting agricultural workers to pay dues regularly is perhaps worse than getting liberals to contribute.

Give me a call the next time you are in Washington.

Sincerely,

Mitch

H. L. Mitchell
President

HLM:bp
Enc.

RECEIVED
OCT 26 1950
Southern Regional Council

TRI-CITIES JEWISH CONGREGATION

FLORENCE, SHEFFIELD, TUSCUMBIA

ALABAMA

RABBI CHARLES MANTINBAND
206 NORTH WOOD AVE.
FLORENCE

TEMPLE B'NAI ISRAEL
ATLANTA AVE.
SHEFFIELD

Oct - Nov 1950

November 9, 1950

Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Attention: Dr. George Mitchell

Dear George:

Home again. Thanks for a stimulating two days in Atlanta, which we thoroughly enjoyed. It was good to renew old associations and make new contacts. It would interest me to know what if any resolutions were adopted, and what the financial prospect is for 1951. Maybe when the ex-Congressman is through with his labors in Virginia, he could be persuaded to travel for the Southern Regional Council in other parts of the area.

My total travel expenses amount to $35, which covers train fare, hotel, etc. I wish I were affluent enough to make a gift of this to the organization. I will do the next best thing, however, and try to raise its equivalent or better, in membership fees.

Yours sincerely,

C Mantinband

Charles Mantinband

Mallory

November 9, 1950

Miss Eva R. Archer
Saints Industrial and Literary School
Lexington, Mississippi

Dear Miss Archer:

Here is the letter for the book to go to Miss Mallory. I am delighted that you are doing it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

November 9, 1950

Dr. Arenia C. Mallory
President
Saints Industrial and Literary School
Lexington, Mississippi

Dear Miss Mallory:

It is a boon to the life of the South that you have put twenty five years into helping to educate its people. Thousands of homes and hundreds of communities are the richer and finer now for the character and high standards which your personality and Saints Industrial and Literary School have set forth.

My own organization is particularly grateful to you for your steady help in advancing interracial understanding.

In cordial admiration,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

SAINTS INDUSTRIAL AND LITERARY SCHOOL
Lexington, Mississippi

October 20, 1950

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

The Saints Industrial and Literary School is proud to announce the celebration this year of the 25th Anniversary of Dr. Arenia C. Mallory as President. The principal celebration will be held December 4th.

The Committee would appreciate felicitations reaching us on or before November 28th, as a Book of Memories will be presented to Dr. Mallory on December 4th. Knowing her high regard for you and your accomplishments we would like your message to appear in this presentation.

Respectfully yours,

The Committee on Celebration

Eva R. Archer

Eva R. Archer, Chairman.
Saints Industrial School,
Lexington, Mississippi

Anna Mae Brey Crocket
General Secretary,
Saints Industrial School Alumni
Chicago, Illinois

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1950
Southern Regional Council

McC - [illegible]

December 6, 1950

Mr. Archie Robertson
1731 New Hampshire Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Robertson:

At your kind suggestion some time ago Dr. Mitchell wrote to Mr. McClellan and invited him to become a member of the Council.

Dr. Mitchell suggested that I send Mr. McClellan's letter in reply on to you; it became lost in the shuffle and I have just come across it again.

I suppose we should have the letter for our files, so would you be kind enough to return it at your convenience?

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Rogers
Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

Mays
miss

December 26, 1950

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

The copy of the letter from Gordon Allport was not enclosed with your letter of December 20.

I know Emory Via pretty well and would be glad to tell you all about him. He is a good egg.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
DEC 21 1950
Southern Regional Council

December 20, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta,
Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am sending you a copy of this letter from Gordon W. Allport of Harvard University. Please give me information on Mr. Emery Via.

Appreciating this, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:dem

M-Morehouse
Mays

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 29, 1950

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing a copy of the letter from Gordon W. Allport which I should have sent in Dr. Mays' letter to you on the date of December 20.

Yours truly,

Dora E. McDonald

Secretary

DEMcD
enc

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta,
Georgia

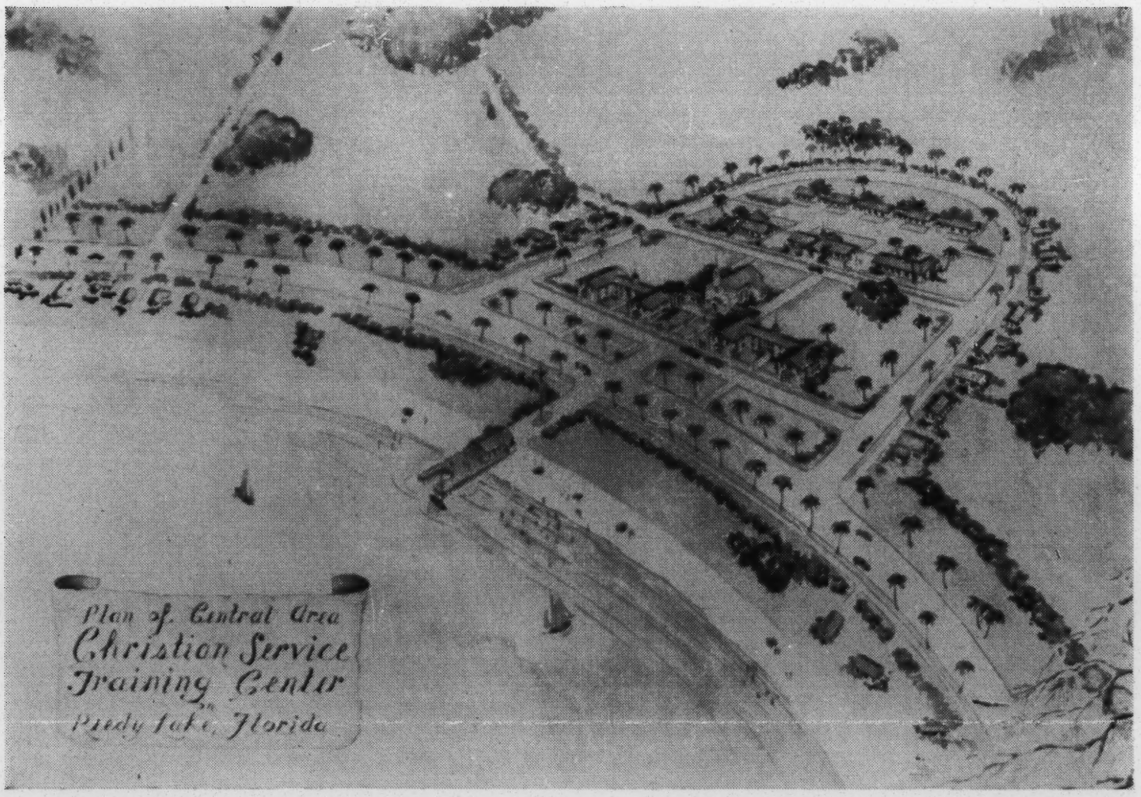
RECEIVED
JAN 2 1951
Southern Regional Council

OLD DEPARTMENTAL COPY

CHRISTIAN SERVICE TRAINING CENTER

A Demonstration Community For Training
Church and Mission Workers — Youth Volunteers —
Community Leaders — Foreign Leaders

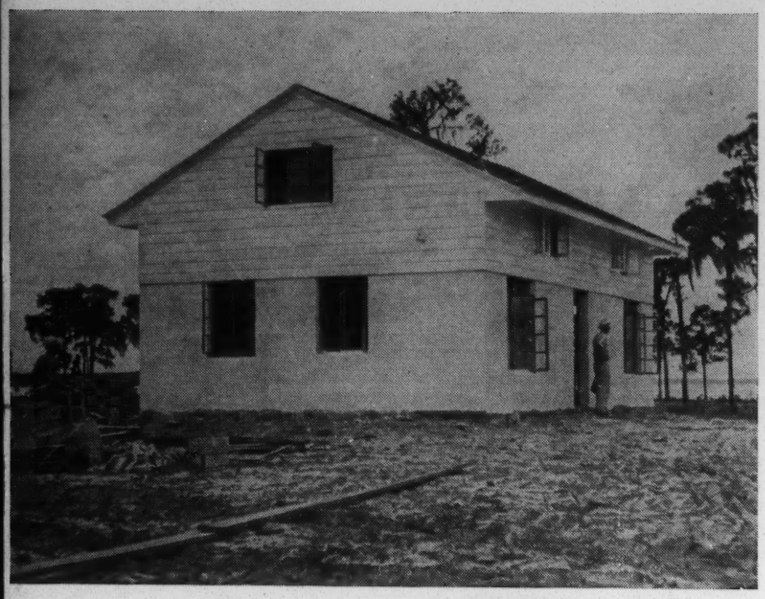
A Direct and Practical Program For Helping Needy People to Help Themselves



As a philanthropic foundation helping Church and Community programs, we have found in Christian Service Training Center the most promising project we have ever known. We know of no other center in America where the man or woman who wants to serve humanity will find, in a natural setting, such facilities and equipment for a practical internship in helping people to help themselves.

As a contribution to this cause we present this Center's progress report. We believe you will be glad to know how much can be done by so few earnest and devoted people. We have helped them to the limit of our resources and believe you also will find here an unusual opportunity to serve.

CHRISTIAN SERVICE FOUNDATION



The First Low-Cost Family Built House

The First Rural Industries Workshop

THE CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIAN SERVICE

Church and Mission Organizations have led in helping needy people to raise their standards of living. However, few of the Christian workers in this great program have had the opportunity to learn the practical methods necessary to help people to help themselves. They have long needed a center in which they can "learn-by-doing" how to help their people develop productive rural industries, food production, and other practical concerns of everyday living.

A PRACTICAL ANSWER TO AN URGENT NEED

To meet these needs, John R. Mott, Sam and Ethel Higginbottom, and other church and mission leaders have led in establishing Christian Service Training Center. This center aims to provide practical training in:

Church Devotion and Christian Fellowship	Land Clearing and Development
Christian Home Projects	Food Production and Conservation
Health and Nutrition	Development of Rural Industries
Cottage Home Industries	Better Family-built Homes

This Training Center is located in central Florida on beautiful Lake Reedy, five miles long and four miles wide. It aims to give Christian workers an opportunity to apply knowledge acquired in schools and colleges. They will learn how to live among, and improve primitive conditions of, needy people. This training supplements, does not duplicate, the academic, technical, or theological education of any college or seminary. This "learning-by-doing" is a practical internship.

The climate and soil conditions of this sub-tropical area are comparable to many of the world's mission fields. It offers a year-round growing and outdoor work season and a healthful and attractive environment. This region has good schools, churches, colleges, and hospitals.

The leaders of this Training Center are making every effort to develop this program in conformity with the Christian Service Programs of the various Church and Mission Groups. They are earnestly seeking the advice and active assistance of Christian leaders.

Among the advisers are: Dr. Mark Dawber, Dr. Ralph Diffendorfer, Dr. Stanley Rycroft, Miss Ruth Morton, Dr. Ralph Felton, Dr. Herman Morse, Dr. Luther Gotwald, Miss Elizabeth Lee, and Dr. Clyde Lynch.

DR. JOHN R. MOTT SAYS: "I look upon this as one of the most appealing projects that has come to my attention in sixty years of ceaseless travel. There is no more worthy project for individuals and our important Mission Boards to support."

PROGRESS REPORT

We present this report of progress with pride because we believe it justifies the faith of our trustees in this unique Christian Service Program. We believe people like to help projects whose leaders make every effort to help themselves.

BASIC ORGANIZATION AND FACILITIES

The Center now includes 850 acres of good land with 1½ miles of paved road, 1¼ miles of Beach Front Home Sites, and 2 miles of access roads.

35 Home Sites on Lake Beach are cleared and ready for building.

The foundation and first floor of the Chapel are completed.

The first Staff and Trainee Home is completed.

A high voltage electric line has been extended to the Center.

A substantial provisional gift of an annuity for scholarships is available.

A considerable acreage has been set aside as a subsistence farm for Displaced Persons.

About fifty agricultural and technical experts have donated extensive time in selecting the land, developing the master plan, and designing low-cost buildings.

A competent Building Superintendent is advancing the building program. Three competent staff members have been active in the past year's development.

Negotiations are in progress for a ninety-nine year free lease of land and the building of a home for staff and trainees of a leading college, the pattern for cooperation of Mission and Church groups.

LAND CLEARING AND DEVELOPMENT

The purpose of this program is to demonstrate the economical clearing, draining, irrigating, and soil building of land necessary for food production in sub-tropical areas.

75 acres have been bulldozed, raked, and plowed.

A trained Equipment Operator for land clearing and landscaping is at work.

Several thousand pine trees, citrus trees, and ornamentals have been planted.

A Diesel tractor using vegetable or petroleum fuel, with palmetto blade, disc, plow, rake, scoop, blade and ditching equipment is in hand.

A trenching machine, so widely needed for soil building, is being developed to be added to the large amount of demonstrational equipment now in hand.

A program of development of pasture land is being inaugurated this fall, using the types of equipment needed by mission workers in backward areas.

FOOD PRODUCTION AND CONSERVATION

The aim of this program is to demonstrate methods and equipment needed by the hungry half of the world's people to feed themselves.

G. W. Groff, Lingnan Plant Exchange, Penn State in China, and Sam Higginbottom, "The Gospel and The Plow" Missionary of India, are directing the development of the World Mission Plant and Animal Exchange.

Funds have been donated for a competent horticulturist for a 10-year period.

Considerable acreage of good land will be put into fruits and vegetables this year.

The Instruction Building and Storehouse of the Plant Exchange is under way.

A medium duty tractor with considerable food production equipment is in hand.

A garden tractor and complete accessories have been donated.

A heavy duty irrigation pumping unit with pipe has been obtained.

A nursery for the Plant Exchange is planted. All fruit trees needed are donated.

THE FAMILY-BUILT HOMESTEAD PROGRAM

This project aims at enabling trainees to "learn-by-doing" how to help backward people build their own homes and farm facilities at the lowest possible cost. Emphasis is on the use of local materials. The Center has the assistance of competent leaders of long experience in building good homes at low cost.

BASIC RURAL INDUSTRIES

The basic village, or rural, industries will constitute this program. Special attention will be given to the development of local materials, methods, and equipment available in mission fields.

The first rural industries workshop and storage building, with dormitory for 12 trainees, is completed. Funds for the second workshop are in hand for early completion.

Several types of concrete block and brick-making machines are donated.

A complete sawmill with planing mill equipment is now being set up.

Auto mechanic, metal working, machine shop tools and equipment for building and repairing farm tools has been secured.

HEALTH PROJECTS

A trailer, equipped for demonstrating good health practices in nearby local communities, has been promised. This trailer will serve the additional purpose of a clinic for the Center.

COTTAGE HANDICRAFTS

Cottage handicrafts such as weaving and home improvement work for women will be a valuable feature of the training.

Looms, sewing machines, and the other necessary equipment have been donated. A model home is planned as a natural setting for this work.

CHRISTIAN HOME PROJECT CONFERENCES

Along with the practical internship in the major concerns of rural living outlined above, strong emphasis will be given to making all these economic activities lead toward a higher type of Christian home life.

CHURCH DEVOTION AND CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP

Funds are being sought for a Christian Service Director. The Chapel (foundation and first floor now complete) will serve as the center of this activity.

AN UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR SERVICE TO HUMANITY

Your Gift Will Go a Long Way in This Practical Program

With all that the leaders of Christian Service Training Center have done, many needs must still be met. The following are some of the more immediate needs:

Dining Hall and Kitchen	$20,000	A Dairy and Beef Herd	$10,000
3 Additional Rural Workshops	$ 4,000 each	Farm Buildings	$10,000
Additional Dormitory Units	$ 4,000 each	Annual Scholarships for Trainees to Help Meet Staff Expenses	$12,000
Land Clearing	$ 5,000		

Donations Are Income Tax Deductible

Federal tax laws permit deduction of a gift from taxable income. The table below shows how you can save on income tax in giving to this Center.

If your Surtax Net Income Is	Approximate % Cost to Donor of Gift	Consequently A Gift of	Has a Net Cost of Approximately
3,000	80%	25	20.00
5,000	77%	50	38.50
10,000	70%	100	70.00
15,000	59%	500	295.00
20,000	53%	1,500	795.00
50,000	37%	2,500	925.00

The above figures are for a married couple with no dependents and is true up to the legal contribution limit of 15%. All figures are subject to slight adjustment.

Please send contributions to Sam Higginbottom, President
Babson Park, Florida

Maddox

x

Collect

DAY LETTER - COLLECT

Mr. J. G. Maddox
American International Association
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Occasion for testimonial dinner Tuesday June 20 is conference on Changing Status of Negro in Southern Agriculture. Patterson suggests as key themes Dr. Will's thirty years work in South to improve race relations and status of Negro, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, religious interests, agricultural reform. Address Mr. F. D. Patterson, President Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Elizabeth Rogers
Southern Regional Council

December fifteen, 1953

Miss Marks
Bureau of Vital Statistics
1227 W Broad Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Miss Marks:

I was in your office some ten days or more ago with my friends Houston and Ada Johnson of Gum Tree, Hanover County.

Belated though very warm thanks to you and to all those in your office for the kindest and most attentive care. I am a connoisseur of Government services and give my praises sparingly. But to you and to the Bureau of Vital Statistics in Richmond generously and appreciatively.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

Bureau of Vital Statistics

1227 W. Broad St.

Nurses
Month

TICKER;

February 1, 1954

GSM thinks early in 1954 he should ask Mr May for contribution.

SINCE 1900

Feb. 1954

AMERICAN ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

INCORPORATED

Principal Subsidiary and Associated Operating Companies

AMERICAN MILLS COMPANY
KLENZALL MANUFACTURING COMPANY
THE STERLING TEXTILE COMPANY
ASSOCIATED FABRICS COMPANY
ASSOCIATED THREAD COMPANY

GENERAL OFFICES AND PLANT
STEPHENS-McDANIEL STS.
AND SOUTHERN R. R.
★ PHONE: WALNUT 7060

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA · U·S·A·

ADDRESS REPLY TO
P. O. BOX 4056
CABLE ADDRESS "ARMAND"

November 13, 1953

RECEIVED
NOV 14
Southern Regional

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The decision of the membership of the Council I feel is wise. After all, you should have directors who have the time to give it more attention than I did. So I approve the decision and regret that circumstances beyond my control did not permit me to be as active as I should have been.

In any event, I hope that under the new ~~arrangement~~ DIRECTORSHIP the Southern Regional Council will go forward and meet the problems that lie ahead and I feel quite confident that under your guidance it will reach its goal.

With assurance of my high regard and all good wishes, believe me,

Sincerely,

Armand May/TG

Bdm (5-20-54)
Armand

October 25, 1955

Mr. Armand May
American Associated Companies
P. O. Box 4056
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. May:

Here is the list of the current members of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. By my count it adds up to 74.

These people are the Southern Regional Council. Except for these, we have only associate members who live outside the South, pay modest dues, and have no vote.

Those marked with the symbol for ex-officio are in almost all instances chairmen of affiliated state organizations. Those marked with the symbol for state representatives are elected to the Board of SRC by the state organizations. The other members were either elected at the last meeting of the general membership, or (under altered by-laws) have been elected by the Board itself.

We always welcome your interest in the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

SINCE 1900

AMERICAN ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

INCORPORATED

Principal Subsidiary and Associated Operating Companies

AMERICAN MILLS COMPANY
KLENZALL MANUFACTURING COMPANY
THE STERLING TEXTILE COMPANY
ASSOCIATED FABRICS COMPANY
ASSOCIATED THREAD COMPANY

GENERAL OFFICES AND PLANT
STEPHENS-McDANIEL STS.
AND SOUTHERN R. R.
★ PHONE: WALNUT 7060

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA · U·S·A·

ADDRESS REPLY TO
P. O. BOX 4056
CABLE ADDRESS "ARMAND"

October 24, 1955

OCT 25 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue , N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would you mind giving me a list of the eighty members of the Board of Directors?

Thank you.

Faithfully yours,

Armand May/TG

October 31, 1955

Mr. James A. Mackay
1245 Ridgewood Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jamie:

Here is a more extended treatment of the business about Cook.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

November 10, 1955

Mr. Armand May
American Associated Companies
P. O. Box 4056
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. May:

You were kind enough to write us at the time of Mr. Eugene Cook's outburst.

We have since then prepared a manuscript on the history of the Southern Regional Council, and I want to make sure that a copy reaches you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

February ~~22~~ 27, 1956

Miss Betty Maselli, Executive Secretary
The Cancer Institute at Miami
1155 N.W. 14th Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Miss Maselli:

Here is a list of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council and of the Executive Committee of the Council. The Board of Directors, which is all of the Southern Regional Council there is, meets once a year and the Executive Committee meets four times a year. Officers are:

Marion A. Wright, President
Gordon B. Hancock, Vice-President
Albert W. Dent, Vice-President
Carter Wesley, Vice-President
Leonard Haas, Counsel

I put in a leaflet about the Council although it is most inadequate. Herewith also the 1951 Statement of Policy.

The Council inherits the friends and work of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation. When in 1944 the name Southern Regional Council was taken, the local members of the State organizations which had worked with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation were asked to become members of SRC. Most of them did and within each State they set up a division of SRC - Alabama Division of SRC, Kentucky Division of SRC, etc. Three or four years ago we changed the organization into merely a Board of Directors and we undertook to help twelve (we-hope-will-be-strong) State organizations. The State organizations take in their own members, and charge dues which they fix themselves. Each State member is also a subscriber to SRC's magazine, New South.

Your Florida group is called Florida Council on Human Relations. Its Executive Director is Mr. William K. Williams (sometime of Miami). The Associate Director is Mr. Howard D. Roberts. Their office is at 324 South Beach Street, Daytona Beach, Florida.

We have a similar group in each of the Southern States except Oklahoma where we have not attempted an organization.

The Council gets a little money from selling its publications, raises considerable sums from Churches and unions, is constantly anxious to get some from business sources, and has been aided most through contributions in the last couple of years from The Fund for the Republic.

We would welcome any of your people as friends to the Council itself or to the Florida group.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl. (3)

The CANCER INSTITUTE at Miami
Cancer Research and Cytology Center
1155 N. W. 14TH STREET
MIAMI, FLORIDA

HONORARY PAST PRESIDENTS
WILLIAM C. HILL
J. GERALD LEWIS
LEONARD A. WIEN
CHAS. D. THARP, PH.D.

HONORARY TRUSTEES
LEONARD L. ABESS
DON ALLEN
MRS. JANE FISHER
SAM FRIEDLAND
JUDGE CLARENCE HAND
DR. CHARLES KETTERING
WM. C. LANTAFF
GEORGE W. MEAD
MAX OROVITZ
DR. GEORGE N. PAPANICOLAOU
JAMES H. RAND
GEORGE SMATHERS
DR. JOSEPH S. STEWART
CARL WEINKLE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
CHARLES L. SYKES, *President*
CHAS. D. THARP, PH.D., *Vice-President*
MRS. FRED RAVLIN, *Vice-President*
LEONARD G. EGERT, *Secretary*
JAMES M. ALBERT, *Treasurer*
DR. HOMER L. PEARSON, *Medical Chairman*
DR. CARLOS LAMAR *Medical Co-Chairman*

LEO ACKERMAN
MRS. BEN AKIN
DR. RALPH F. ALLEN
WILLIAM BAGGS
HERMAN A. BINDER
DR. JUDD R. BREAKSTONE
DR. JACK Q. CLEVELAND
DR. DEWITT C. DAUGHTRY
MRS. ALLEN H. DAWSON
DR. RICHARD FLEMING
MRS. CHARLES GERTLER
MRS. LOUIS GLASSER
J. AVERY GUYTON
ALBERT E. HARUM
JEROME C. HOFMAYER
DR. SPENCER HOWELL
DR. RALPH JACK
DR. ALFRED G. LEVIN
J. GERALD LEWIS
DR. LEON H. MANHEIMER
J. N. MCARTHUR
HANK MEYER
ROBERT MORGAN
DR. BENJAMIN OREN
W. L. PHILBRICK
W. KEITH PHILLIPS
EDWIN T. REEDER
JAMES A. RYDER
GEORGE E. SCHULZ
MURRAY B. SHELDON
GLENN B. SMITH, JR.
DR. PARKE G. SMITH
DR. FRANZ H. STEWART
DR. RICHARD F. STOVER
TIMOTHY SULLIVAN
S. E. THATCHER
DR. FRANKLYN E. VERDON
LEONARD A. WIEN
COL. J. R. YOUNGER
DR. NELSON ZIVITZ
DR. LEO A. ZUCKERMAN

LADIES AUXILIARY
MRS. ALLEN H. DAWSON, *President*
MRS. M. B. SCHUYLER, *Vice-President*
MRS. C. HUBBARD DAVIS, *Vice-President*
MRS. CHARLES GERTLER, *Vice-President*
MRS. TED MEARES, *Vice-President*
MRS. E. MILNER IRVIN, *Recording Secretary*
MRS. ROBERT GEORGE, *Corresponding Secretary*
MRS. WM. R. PITTS, *Treasurer*
MRS. JOE FARRINGTON, *Financial Secretary*
MRS. GUS JACKSON, *Parliamentarian*
MRS. I. R. BOOTHBY, *Auditor*

February 15, 1956

J. ERNEST AYRE, M. D.
Director

RECEIVED FEB 17 1956

Southern Regional Conference
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentleman:

Would you kindly send me a summary of the Directors of your organization and how the organization operates.

Thank you for your time and trouble.

Sincerely yours,

B Maselli

Betty Maselli
Executive Secretary

BM:jn

September 21, 1956

JC:

The tick-marked Mangum book is one of which SRC once had a copy, but alas the copy is lost. It was a much consulted book when we had it and I have known two or three occasions since when we pined to have it, or have even sent over to the Carnegie Library to consult theirs.

If you agree that we might afford a new one at $1.50, please so notify Mrs. Alexander.

GSM/eab
Encl.

file

"Re Mangum, The Legal Status of the Negro

November 20, 1956

Robert H. Mast, Chairman
Social Action Committee
354 Craft Avenue
Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Mast:

Thank you for your letter of November 12, 1956, concerning publications. Please excuse the delay in answering but the majority of the staff was out of town the major portion of last week.

We are sending you, under separate cover, 100 copies each of "The South of the Future" and "The Southern Regional Council, Its Origin and Aims." We also are sending you sample copies of "New South" for 1956.

We have quantities of "New South" issues and also of "Three Views on the Segregation Decision" and "What the Supreme Court Said." However, we find that we must charge for any large quantities of the three publications. We would like to be able to provide this material free; but since we are a non-profit organization, we must charge a slight fee in order to continue publishing material.

"Three Views" and "What the Supreme Court Said" sell for ten cents (10¢) per copy and "New South" sells for twenty cents (20¢) per copy or fifteen (15¢) per copy for fifty or more. Your order for "Three Views" and "What the Supreme Court Said" will amount to $14.00. If you still wish the order filled, please let me know.

Again, thank you for the letter.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Managing Editor, New South

354 Craft Avenue
Pittsburgh 13, Pa.
November 12, 1956

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Some time ago I wrote to your organization introducing the Student Organization's Social Action Committee at the University of Pittsburgh School of Social Work. I included a description of the Committee's purpose and requested samples of your literature. We intend to use this social action information in a brochure for student edification as to your organization's purpose, goals and activities.

We wish to assemble 100 copies of this brochure and hope that you may be able to send to me the following publications in the suggested quantities.

100 - "The Southern Regional Council" account of its origin & aims
100 - "Toward the South of the Future"
75 - "Three Views on the Segregation Decision"
75 - "What the Supreme Court Said"
"The New South" - in any available quantity.

We greatly appreciate your cooperation and hope that this material may be sent at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Robert H. Mast pd

Robert H. Mast, Chairman
Social Action Committee

RHM:pd

Encl: South of Promise
History of SRC
South of the Future
Tax-exemption ltr

Under separate cover:
3 copies South of Promise
Changing Patterns
3 copies History of SRC
3 copies South of the Future
Koinonia release
21 cities report in N.S.
3 views of the segregation decision
Integration North and South
What's Happening in School Integration
Pro-Segregation groups special report

March 6, 1957

Mr. Richard Maas
Room 1512
285 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Maas:

You were very kind to give me such a helpful interview on such short notice last week. I only wish our conversation could have been longer. The next time I am to be in New York, I will write ahead with the hope of arranging another appointment with you.

Meanwhile, I am enclosing some material descriptive of the Southern Regional Council's work and a copy of our letter of tax-exemption. Separately I am sending additional copies of the enclosed, as well as some other publications. Any immediate assistance to the Council that you may be able to arrange will be crucially important just now and will be deeply appreciated.

I am grateful too for the advice and suggestions you gave me. I have already begun to explore one of the questions we discussed with the Presbyterian Church. The persons I have talked to so far were receptive to the idea of a cooperative arrangement, and I feel sure that through this or other religious bodies we will be able to facilitate corporate contributions in this field. I am particularly eager to get more of your thinking along these lines.

With appreciation and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

Voice of the new west

Frontier

527 North La Cienega Blvd., Los Angeles 48, California

September 26, 1957

Dear Hal:

This is an off chance, but we are hoping that you have an address for this guy and will be so kind as to forward this letter to him. We can't find him anywhere and yet he wrote us. If you cannot, will you kindly return it to us -- not me as I won't be here. As of Monday, the Martins will be residents of San Francisco. George is already there doing great things on KRON-TV, the San Francisco Chronicle station and we are joining him next week.

I hope things are well with you and that paratroopers won't be necessary in Atlanta.

Best Regards,

Pat

Pat Martin

RECEIVED OCT 28 1957

COME TO THE

OPEN HOUSE

at the

SOCIETY OF BROTHERS MACEDONIA COMMUNITY, CLARKESVILLE

Sunday afternoon, November 3, 1957

Dear Friends and Neighbors:

Many of you will remember that in 1954, four members left Macedonia Co-operative Community to become a part of the Society of Brothers, as they felt a need to have a Christian basis for the life of community and brotherly love. These families are well known to most of you: Dave and Virginia Newton, Delf and Katie Fransham, Chuck and Carmen Stanaway, and Mark and Peggy Kurtz. Since then, the Society of Brothers and Macedonia have made a joint effort in promotion and sales of play equipment for kindergartens and nurseries under the name of Community Playthings. But the hope remained that we could one day be reunited and the two communities come together as one people.

In September of this year it was the joyful decision of the Macedonia Community to unite with the Society of Brothers, and they have left Macedonia to become part of either of the two American Society of Brothers Communities - Oak Lake Community in Farmington, Pa. or Woodcrest community at Rifton, New York. Some members of these two communities have moved to Macedonia in exchange for the families leaving. One of these families you will know as former members of Macedonia: Mark and Peggy Kurtz. Peggy you will remember as a nurse visiting many of you when you were ill.

There are seven other communities of the Society of Brothers, five in South America and two in Europe. We try to live a life of sharing according to the Sermon on the Mount as did the early Church of Jerusalem. We believe that all men should live as brothers, having love for one another and, as Jesus said, loving one's neighbor as oneself. In a poverty stricken area in Paraguay we operate a hospital that provides medical care for some 10,000 persons a year. In England, war orphans have been taken in and given a home and loving care. All our places have what we call the "open door" which means that all seeking people or people in need can come and share our life with us.

We want to be real neighbors with you and want to become acquainted, so on Sunday, November 3rd, from 2PM to 5 PM we are having Open House and warmly invite you to come see us, our woodworking shop, new dairy barn, new apartment building, etc. Since we do not have the names and addresses of all our neighbors, we hope you will pass the word around.

Do come see us !

Warm Greetings,

The members of Macedonia

1659 Cole St.
Columbus, Ohio
May 25, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Routh:

I greatly appreciated the interesting and informative talk you gave to the Columbus Branch N.A.A.C.P. meeting last Sunday. And I especially appreciated the opportunity to speak to you for a few minutes after the meeting.

As I told you we are coming to Florida to live on account of my husband's health. He is retired, was formerly Executive Secretary of the Ohio-Michigan region of the A.F.S.C. You said you would send me the names and addresses of some people in St. Petersburg who are working for integration.

Can you tell me something of the School situation in Ft. Myers, Lee County. The Supt. is Ray A. Tipton and the Director of Instruction is E. J. Prymas. I have been offered a job there. I have not yet heard from St. Petersburg.

Certainly good to meet you and we'll want to keep in touch with the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Ruth MacLennan

Ruth MacLennan

note send 4 June 58
☆ Write - June 9th FBR.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
AND
AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE
COLLEGE OF COMMERCE
BATON ROUGE 3, LOUISIANA

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

October 16, 1958

Mr. Emory Via
Labor Relations Advisor
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

I am planning a study on racial practices of trade unions in the United States for the Fund for the Republic and have been advised by many people, including Mr. Wade Mackie of the American Friends Service Committee and Mr. Charles Patterson and others with the Fund for the Republic's trade union project, that you would be a valuable source of information on this subject. I would therefore greatly appreciate an opportunity to discuss our project with you on November 20 or 21 when I plan to be in Atlanta. I would particularly like to have your views on the kind of study that needs to be made and the most fruitful procedures that I might use to get original information on this subject.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

F. Ray Marshall

F. Ray Marshall
Associate Professor
of Economics

FRM:rjs

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
AND
AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE
COLLEGE OF COMMERCE
BATON ROUGE 3, LOUISIANA

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

December 2, 1958

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Thank you very much for the kindness and consideration extended me on my recent visit to Atlanta. I can't possibly tell you and your wife how much I appreciate the way you took time from your very busy schedule to help me. It was extremely beneficial for me to discuss my project with you.

Good luck to you in your new job. Please let me have your new address; I would like to keep in touch with you, though I promise never again to be as much trouble as I was in Atlanta. Please give my regards to Margaret, and tell her to let me know if she wants the Gense Stainless steel from Sweden.

Thank you again for your kindness and consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Ray

Ray Marshall

P. S. Thanks also for the Oberdorfer clippings.

December 5, 1958

Mr. Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge 3, Louisiana

Dear Ray:

It was good to get to meet you and have you in town for a few days. I am most interested in your project and would like to be kept up with it as it continues to develop.

$15.00
Cash
RHA
12/5/58

The fifteen dollars has been turned over to the Southern Regional Council, which will reimburse me for any legitimate expenses I may have incurred. Although we do not operate on a fee basis, you can rest assured that you have a backlog to cover the expenses of getting other materials to you. So feel free to call on the Council for further assistance.

Best personal wishes, and I hope it will not be too long before we see you again.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
P. S. I'm asking Margaret to let you know what we want in the way of Gense ware.

EFV

January 9, 1959

Mr. Arthur B. Mackie, Agricultural Economist
Agricultural Economics Branch
Division of Agricultural Relations
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mackie:

Thank you for your inquiry concerning the film, "The Face of the South." We do have two copies of this film but they are distributed by the Anti-Defamation League, 41 Exchange Place, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. The rental on the film is one dollar and a half per session.

I suggest you write directly to the Anti-Defamation League at the above address for confirmation on a date when one of the films will be available.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

January 7, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

I would like to inquire about the possibility of obtaining a copy of the film narrated by Dr. George Mitchell, titled "The Face of the South." I understand that you have copies that are loaned out on a rental basis.

If possible, I would like to get a copy of this film for the latter part of this month or next month. In the event the film has already been booked that far in advance, please let me know the earliest possible open date that is available. I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur B Mackie

Arthur B. Mackie, Agricultural Economist
Agricultural Economics Branch
Division of Agricultural Relations, TVA

April 16, 1959

Mr. L. John Martin
School of Journalism and Communications
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr. Martin:

Your letter to Mr. James McBride Dabbs has been referred to me to answer.

You are correct in saying that "Race in the News" is about ten years old, and I am sorry but we do not have a recent version of this publication.

We are considering several things along this line in the way of publications, but they will not come in time to help you in your project if you have an early deadline.

I am sending you a copy of New South which contains an article concerning how the West Virginia press handled the desegregation issue and also I am sending you an assortment of clippings which may be of some aid. I would also suggest that you write Editor and Publisher of Quill magazines. They have done something in this area. The only charge is twenty cents for the New South.

and corrected or original

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
AND COMMUNICATIONS

April 9, 1959

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I am making a study of the press and race relations and have in my possession a brochure published by the Council on "Race in the News." Unfortunately it is undated and my guess is that it is about ten years old.

Quite a bit of progress has been made in the past ten years and I am wondering whether you might not have some more recent literature on the subject. I am especially anxious to find examples of news stories and editorials that have tended either to improve or to harm race relations.

I should be very happy to pay for any materials you could send or to borrow them and return them within a week if you prefer it that way. This is not to say that I am averse to any free literature you may have.

Since I have a deadline to meet, I wonder if you could mail me whatever you have to reach me by the weekend of April 18. I would appreciate materials reaching me after that date, too. But it would be most useful to me if it arrived by that time.

Sincerely yours,

L. John Martin

L. John Martin
Professor

February 12, 1960

Mrs. Tina Mayberry
606 Travis Street
Richmond, Texas

Dear Mrs. Mayberry:

Enclosed is a list of publications distributed by the Southern Regional Council as you requested. We are sorry but "America's Tenth Man," published by SRC, is now out of print. If anything else on the list will be of help to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lec
Enclosure

606 Travis street
Richmond, Texas
Feb. 5 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn avenue N. E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen

I am advised I can get a price list on Negro Literature, we hope to establish a reading group. If you have any tracts you can send, we would be glad to receive them.

Do you publish the Book on "America's Tenth Man"? if you do please send price list.

In fact if you have pamplets & tract please send them

Yours Very Truly

Tina Mayberry

MRS. TINA MAYBERRY
606 Travis Street
Richmond, Texas

Dear John:

Would you please send at your earliest convenience about 25 copies of Report L-22, from the Florida Commission.

GALEN MARTIN
Box 887, Knoxville, Tenn.

Mailed 12/16/60

April 24, 1962

Mr. Michael Banton
Political Science Section
Department of Economics and Social Science
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Banton:

I trust by now you have received Paul Anthony's reply to your letter of March 29. I have recently had some back trouble and had to be out of the office for an extended period. Consequently, I asked Mr. Anthony to reply to your letter after discussing it with him over the phone. We are sorry that we were not more prompt.

I hope you will let me know of any ways you think we can be of service to you. I shall especially look forward to meeting you when you do come South.

I am enclosing a police manual put out a couple of years ago by the Anti-Defamation League which is a nice job, as well as an old pamphlet of ours entitled, Race and Law Enforcement. The latter is out of print and

we have only a few copies still in stock so I would appreciate your taking it on loan and returning to us at your convenience; I thought you might find it of interest.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

POLITICAL SCIENCE SECTION

CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

April 20, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I hope you will excuse my writing again but I am rather anxious lest my letter of March 29 should have failed to reach you. You will remember having written to the head of my Department at Edinburgh, Dr. Kenneth Little, to say that you might be able to help with my plans for research in the South.

As he may have mentioned, I have for the last two years been working on questions of police public relations and on police work as an occupation and have left my interests in race relations temporarily on one side. While I am here I am hoping to continue my police research and though I have been delayed by changes in the Boston police department I am still optimistic.

Earlier this month I discussed with Mr. Pettigrew of Harvard my ideas for making a brief study of the place of the policeman in this country on similar lines to my Edinburgh work and I thought this plan very well worth pursuing. I thought that for an Englishman there might be advantages in doing such research in somewhere like Richmond or Charleston, but I have been wondering whether it might be better to go for a town nearer the size of Edinburgh. It would also be important to choose somewhere fairly congenial for my wife and four small children to stay - though how easy it might be to rent furnished accommodation is another matter. Unfortunately my wife finds a humid climate enervating though this does not worry me.

If you could let me know what you think of these ideas I should be most obliged.

Yours sincerely,

Michael Banton

April 18, 1962

Mr. Michael Banton
Political Science Section
Department of Economics and
Social Science
Massachusetts Institute of
Technology
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Banton:

Mr. Dunbar, who is away from the office, has asked me to respond to your inquiry.

It seems to us also that your needs can best be met by concentrating on one community. Among the major southern cities which should be considered are Atlanta, Charlotte, Dallas, and Richmond. All of these have substantial Negro populations and relatively enlightened police departments. I doubt that Charleston would be suitable.

The city of Lexington, Kentucky, might be considered if you want a smaller city somewhat removed from the Deep South atmosphere and climate. Among the items we are sending you is an article in New South prepared by the chief of police of that city.

Of all the cities I personally lean toward Atlanta though you might find (air conditioned) living quarters slightly more expensive here than in most of the other areas. Certainly you should plan to visit Atlanta and talk with Chief Herbert Jenkins and his staff.

Under separate cover we are sending you materials prepared by the Council which may be of interest to you.

Please call on us again if we can be of help. If you visit Atlanta or choose it as the city for your stay we will be happy to be of any possible assistance.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA.
will you pls
reply? Atlanta, Charlotte, Dallas, Richmond, Lexington
might be possibilities. [illegible]
all are police publications.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
POLITICAL SCIENCE SECTION
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

March 29, 1962

Leslie W. Dunbar, Esq.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The head of my department at Edinburgh, Dr. Kenneth Little, wrote to you before Christmas to say that I would be spending twelve months at M.I.T. and you very kindly offered to advise me about the possibilities of my conducting research in the South.

Dr. Little may have mentioned to you that for the past two years I have been working on a study of police work as an occupation. Here in Massachusetts I have started pursuing some comparable enquiries which will, I hope, give me a new perspective on my Scottish material. During the summer vacation I would like to come south for two months or more and look at another American force. The main object of doing so would be to study the policeman's role in the community by - if possible - accompanying police officers in the course of their normal duties, but I should hope indirectly to learn about patterns of race relations. (Dr. Little may have mentioned that I have worked on race relations questions in both Africa and Britain.) It seems to me that in this way I might see a truer picture of the situation than coming round as a tourist and meeting the sorts of spokesman to whom an overseas visitor would normally be sent.

As you know, the coloured population in Britain has been growing and there has been a lot of discussion about employing coloured policemen. I have been told unofficially by one of the senior Scottish police officers that a memorandum from me on American experience would be most welcome and as this fits my own plans I would like to visit a number of forces to hear what they have to say.

I understand that the Southern Regional Council has shown much interest in the role of the police and I have seen in

New South some figures of the number of Negro police in various states. I wonder therefore whether you could suggest any especially suitable force for me to approach in this connection? I have been told that in Richmond and Charleston my English background might be an advantage. On the other hand a larger town might be preferable. It would also be important to choose somewhere fairly congenial for my wife and four small children to stay - though how easy it might be to rent furnished accommodation is another matter. Unfortunately my wife finds a humid climate enervating though this does not worry me.

If you could let me know what you think of these ideas I should be most obliged.

Yours sincerely,

Michael Banton

Michael Banton

October 14, 1963

MEMO:

To: NM

From: MMJ

Nobbie,

Please put the following person on our mailing list (Category #9-1):

Mr. George L. Massey
News Director
Radio Station WTGA
Thomaston, Georgia

thanx, mmj

October 14, 1963

Mr. George L. Massey
News Director
Radio Station WTGA
Thomaston, Georgia

Dear Mr. Massey:

It was good to receive your letter of October 12, and delighted to know that you are handling the news for WTGA. We enjoyed very much meeting you, and I hope that you will drop in our office on your trips to Atlanta.

You are now on our press list.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

YOU'RE ALWAYS ON TARGET

RADIO GEORGIA, INC.

wtga

1590 KC 500 WATTS

WITH THOMASTON'S GOLDEN ARROW

THOMASTON, GEORGIA

UCO-8

Recd 10/14/63

October 12, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Last month when I was in Atlanta looking around for a job opportunity, one of the highlights of my trip was my visit to your office and my talk with you and Paul Anthony.

On my way back to Albany I stopped here to follow up the lead I received while in Atlanta and landed the job as News Director and time salesman for WTGA which celebrated a first birthday last week.

Here, I have the opportunity of taking advantage of my journalism background in gathering and reporting the news, particularly since I have had full backing in free and honest reporting...a subject I know you are interested in. When I see you next, I'll go further into the reasons for my pride in this.

When you or Paul get to this area, come by to see me.

Sincerely,

George

George L. Massey
News Director

P.S. How about putting me on your mailing list.

Cr. ref. M.J.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Marshall, Mr. Ray
University of Texas

REGARDING

Article: "Racial Factors Influencing Entry into the Skilled Trades"

DATE

LWD's ltr dtd. Dec. 3, 1963

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

University - Texas

√MA-f y
M.J. file
file "MA" Gen. Corresp.

March 16, 1964

Mr. Leonard Turk
Publisher
Management and Minority Manpower Research
210 East 47th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Turk:

Thank you for your letter of March 13. We are very sorry that you have not been, at this time, able to get the newsletter going. I wish you all success at a later date.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MANAGEMENT AND MINORITY MANPOWER RESEARCH, INC.
210 EAST 47 STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 · PL 5-3685

March 13, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

You may recall that we have been in touch with you from time to time during the last few months while developing a newsletter--MANAGEMENT AND MINORITY MANPOWER REPORT. The Newsletter was intended to inform key executives about the effect of sensitive civil rights issues on business.

Much as we regret it, we have had to suspend plans, for the time being, to publish the Newsletter.

Insufficient response to a sizeable test mailing makes it impractical for us to sustain the costly research, writing, and production facilities needed to turn out the kind of comprehensive job essential to this type of project and which we would insist on doing.

We have acquired a good deal of insight into the problems of this area during the months of preparing our project. And we will continue to search for a way to provide the business community with the information needed to cope professionally with minority manpower problems.

Sincerely,

Leonard Turk

Leonard Turk
Publisher

LT/gp

To Inform Decision-Making Executives on Sensitive Manpower Issues

50.

THE A

C

YALE UNI

Southern Regional Council

63 Auburn Ave., N.E.

Atlanta,

Georgia

SAYBROOK COLLEGE DINING HALL, FROM BRANFORD COURT
COPYRIGHT BY SAMUEL CHAMBERLAIN

THE AMERICAN SCENE, 143 ELM ST., NEW HAVEN, CO
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ALL RIGHTS RES

24-8-1964

CARD Dear Friend:

Please send a good assortment of your material on race relations to Jeannette Smith, Chairman, Committee on Peace and Social Concerns, New England Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers), 23 Appian Way, West Barrington, R.I. They are considering race relations this year & I am sure they would be interested in your material. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Edward A. Manice

Edward A. Manice, Recording Clerk, New England Y.M.
367 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.

October 14, 1964

Mr. Lawrence J. MacGregor
Ard Coille
Chatham, New Jersey

Dear Mr. MacGregor:

We are deeply appreciative of your contribution to the Council, but just as much, if not more, for your accompanying letter of September 28. Preparation of that issue was a long considered matter here. After removal from the Birmingham police of Mr. Connor we, along with everyone else, hoped for the best, and there was, in fact, definite improvement. An issue which started out to be just about Birmingham became redirected to the whole state; but even so, it was late developments in Birmingham itself which decided us to bring out the issue.

Again, thank you, and with very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)
Bc: R. E. Clement w/copy of MacGregor ltr. of Sept. 28

LAWRENCE J. MACGREGOR
ARD COILLE
CHATHAM, NEW JERSEY

Sept 28th

Dear Sirs:-

The article on Police Practice in Alabama in the June issue of New South was a very impressive piece of reporting. The implications are dreadful.

I am enclosing my check in support of the Council's activities.

Yours sincerely,
Lawrence MacGregor

$100.00 CR
RHA 9/30/64

Rec'd 1/4/65

PA

DV

3011 College Avenue
Berkeley, California
20 December 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

It is time again to jote out a Christmas note.

Last year I spent most of Christmas vacation in the Holy Land--Jericho, the Red Sea and Jerusalem. I remember writing home about the bitterness which devides that land. That bitterness, always present, was particularly impressed on me at Christmas time as it seemed so out of place there where the greatest example of love and peace had lived and taught. As my thoughts go back to a year ago, I am reminded of Pope Paul's visit to the Holy Land. That trip was apparently successful in much the same manner as his recent trip to Bombay, India--a country frequently torn by tremendous strife between Moslem, Christian and Hindu. I wonder now why I seemed to think it more important that the Holy Land find peace to replace the present hatred--why was it more important there than throughout the world. Is not peace and love as valuable, as needed in South Africa, the Congo, in Viet Nam, in Mississippi and in California as well as along the Israeli-Syrian Border; between white and black as wellas between Moslem and Jew. The selection of Reverend Marin Luther King as the winner of the N obel Peace Prize does not mean there is love and peace between the negro and white man in America. To the contrary, it signifies the honor to Reverend King for his efforts to replace bitterness, indifference and violence with deeply needed love, concern and peace.

One year ago as I wrote my first Christmas letter, I was excited with the newness of my life on the Mediterranean. Much has happened since then. The rest of my year of graduate study in Middle East Politics at the American University of Beirut in Lebanon was exciting and rewarding. Beirut is an exciting place to live, Lebanon a beautiful country, the Arab people hospitable and friendly. I visited Ciro, the Gaza Strip, Jordan, Syria and Turkey. There was no lack of intense discussions of politics and economics with Africans and Arabs as well as others. There was much to see and do--too much for eight and a half months. I was lucky to be able to spend many days and hours with the Owen Broughs from Washington State University and with Mr. Brough's colleagaues in the Ford Foundation Middle East Overseas Development Project. I was fortunate, too, to have have excellent professors at the University to assist in my academic work. Nor can I deny the pleasure of many hours on the warm sands of the beautiful Mediterranean Sea.

This summer was sp ent travelling with three friends in a Volkswagon through part of Europe. We visited Turkey, Greece, Italy, Austria, Czechoslavakia (staying with a Czech Family in Tabor, a small town 80 km. south of Prague), Berlin, Sweeden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Paris before leaving for the United States. Each city or twon seemed more interesting than the last; each new experience more valuable. The summer was so packed it is impossible to even pick out the highlights.

It was, I think, a fruitful year. Still it was good to glide past the Statue of Liberty just in time to see the sun come up behind the City outlining huge skyscrap ers--far different than anything in Europe of the Middle East. After spending three days in New York I headed west with a stop at the National Student Congress in Minneapolis.

After two weeks at home relaxing I hopped onto a Greyhound Bus for Berkeley, California and Boalt Hall Law School at the University of California. Boalt is far more interesting than I had dared to hope. The difficulties arise not from the material being dull, but from there being too many ideas and issues to assimulate. There is little time for reflection. The faculty is active in research and University and public affairs as well as being deeply committed to the students. Although spare time must be sought, there was time forparticipation in the Presidential and Congressional Campaign.

Let me close now wishing you a good Holiday Season--a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Best Wishes

Sincerely,

Tim Maneely

December 22, 1964

Mr. Leonard W. Mayo
Conference Chairman
National Conference on Day Care Services
330 Independence Avenue. S. W.
Washington, D. C. 20201

Dear Mr. Mayo:

Pursuant to your request of Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, our Executive Director, we are enclosing a list of the State Directors of Councils on Human Relations throughout the South as our suggestions for persons to be invited to the National Conference on Day Care, to be held in Washington, D. C. May 13-15, 1965.

We suggest that you may want to contact each of these state directors for additional suggestions of persons to invite.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

Rec'd 12/7/64

NATIONAL CONFERENCE on DAY CARE SERVICES

MAY 13 - 15, 1965 • • WASHINGTON, D.C.

Conference Chairman: LEONARD W. MAYO

Sponsors . . . National Committee for Day Care of Children, Inc., and Child Welfare League of America, Inc., in cooperation with Children's Bureau of the Welfare Administration, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

√ / pls reply

December 4, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

A National Conference on Day Care Services will be held in Washington, D.C. May 13, 14, and 15, 1965. The Conference is sponsored by the Child Welfare League of America and the National Committee on Day Care for Children in cooperation with the Children's Bureau.

Since the last National Conference on Day Care, held in 1960, Congressional action has made Federal funds available to State public welfare agencies for providing day care services for children. However, there is still a tremendous gap between the available day care services and the need for such services. The 1965 Conference is designed to focus on interpretation of day care services as an essential service in each community which strengthens family life and to assist in the development of these critically needed services. It is anticipated that the participants in the Conference will return to their communities with a commitment to implement the recommendations which are made.

It is important, therefore, that community leadership is well represented at the Conference. Attendance of representatives from business, industry, labor and professional groups will be important to the success of the Conference. You were recommended to us as a key person in your community to help develop an invitation list for this Conference. We shall appreciate your sending us the names of individuals who should receive an invitation.

It will be helpful if you can send us these names on 3 x 5 white cards. Please type in the upper lefthand corner the capitalized last name, followed by the first name, and the person's title. On the next line,

REPLY TO: DHEW • 330 INDEPENDENCE AVE., S.W. • NORTH BLDG., ROOM 4047 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

please show the agency or organization he represents and on the next two lines the street address, city and state, using a total of four lines. If the individual is not representing an agency, business or organization, please indicate on the bottom of the card your reason for nominating him. As example: "interested citizen."

Your cooperation in sending these cards to us by December 18 will greatly facilitate our meeting mail deadlines for invitations to the Conference. Please send your cards to the National Conference on Day Care Services, Room 1528-A, North Building, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20201.

Thank you very much for your assistance in helping us develop this master file for the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard W. Mayo

Leonard W. Mayo
Conference Chairman

See Ima - give contact to Mr. May for reply to this ltr.

June 7, 1966

Mr. Armand May
2161 Ponce deLeon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. May:

Please allow me to congratulate you on the most deserving award presented to you by the American Jewish Committee last Saturday evening. All of us are deeply grateful for your innumerable contributions to the causes of decency.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file
"Ma" gen

June 7, 1966

Mrs. Marshall J. Mantler
3790 Paces Ferry Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Mantler:

Please allow me to congratulate you on your election as chairman of the Atlanta Chapter, American Jewish Committee, and to thank you for giving me the opportunity of taking part in your lovely dinner last Saturday evening.

If we can be of any possible help to you during the coming year, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Bc: Chas. Wittenstein

ARMAND MAY
P. O. Box 4056
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

file "Ma" gen/
MJ

June 9th
19 66

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Attention: Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Anthony:

May I acknowledge with appreciation your letter of June 7th?

The record of The American Jewish Committee in its forward thinking and expert handling of public relations in building good will among all men is a slow process but it is making progress.

From a personal standpoint, I deserve no congratulations for I feel what I have done is more or less selfish for in protecting the interest of all groups I am protecting the interest of the individual.

This doesn't change the fact that I appreciate the spirit of your letter and with kindest regards, believe me,

Sincerely,

AM:tg

LES
PA
file

See
Mr. Gen

P. O. Box 67
Lake Junaluska, North Carolina 28745
April 10, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul Anthony:

I thank you for this splendidly helpful list of leaders South Of God; for the time and the hearing you gave to me; and, most of all, for the understanding you bring to my purposes; we air to put some responsible people in a new stance (for them) vis a vis this present human situation. I am vastly encouraged. Your materials are of highest order.

We want you here at any opportunity--for any kind of meeting--and if I can give anything to your work, call on me.

Best,

Carlyle Marney

Marney

CM:am
cc: Martin England
Enc:

September 5, 1968

Dr. & Mrs. B. L. MacKinnon
79 Linnmore Street
Hartford, Connecticut

Dear Dr. & Mrs. MacKinnon:

Some time ago Dr. Herbert Hampshire requested that I share with you some of our publications. A collection of them is being sent to you under separate cover. I hope you find them of interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

October 17, 1968

Mr. David G. Gale
Field Representative
North Georgia Area
National Foundation - March of Dimes
Room 204, 443 E. Paces Ferry Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30305

Dear Mr. Gale:

Thank you for your letter of invitation to Mr. Anthony of October 11th. I am sorry to report that Mr. Anthony will be unable to attend your meeting on October 31st, since he will be out of the city fulfilling a long-time commitment. In his behalf, may I extend to you best wishes for a successful meeting.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION—MARCH OF DIMES

Medical Scientific Research, Professional Education and Medical Care

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, FOUNDER

ROOM 204
443 E. PACES FERRY ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30305
TELEPHONE 261-5633

BASIL O'CONNOR
PRESIDENT

October 11, 1968

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The National Foundation-March of Dimes will hold an important Program Orientation Meeting at the Marriott Motor Hotel in Atlanta on October 31-November 1. Volunteers and organizational leaders from Georgia and the Southeast will attend.

Since the problems of birth defects are so immense, 6,000 to 7,000 new cases in Georgia alone this year, 250,000 in the United States every year, we feel that you would like to attend as the Foundation's guest. You and your club's proven abilities as leaders in our state make me think you will be especially interested in the opening session of the Conference - 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., Thursday, October 31.

During this period Mrs. Anita Perlman and Dr. Theodore Pfundt, Medical Director, Children's Memorial Hospital, Omaha, Nebraska will speak. They are but two of the excellent speakers who will be talking on the scope of this problem.

The program brings to mind an old prayer:

> "God grant me the grace to accept the things I cannot change,
> Courage to change the things I can,
> and the wisdom to know the difference".

Because of the time element you will find an enclosed self addressed envelope that should be mailed immediately upon receipt so that we may reserve the proper space for you. Please let us know if we may expect you for Wednesday night or just for Thursday.

Looking forward to hearing from you soon, I am

Sincerely yours,

David G. Gale

David G. Gale
Field Representative
North Georgia Area

DDG/1

JAMES A. MACKAY
203 MASONIC TEMPLE BUILDING
DECATUR, GEORGIA

Harald —

Call me about this at your convenience.

Yours,
Jamie

What Abraham Lincoln Said About Us!

Superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

—//—

☆ From Abraham Lincoln's speech at Charleston, Illinois — September 18th, 1858.

—//—

"I will say then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races — that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, — nor to intermarry with white people, — and I will say in addition to this that there is a difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality, — and inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

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NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

COPY

COPY

(WIRED BY TELEPHONE BY PA) 6/9/55

MR, BORDEN MACE
LOUIS De ROCHEMONT ASSOCIATES
380 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

HAVE ASKED MY FRIEND ADAM YARMOLINSKY, LAWYER AND FOUNDATION CONSULTANT, TO CALL YOU THIS WEEK. HOPE YOU AND IF POSSIBLE LARKIN CAN SEE HIM. REGARDS.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

November 10, 1958

Mr. Harry C. Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Harry:

Thanks for your letter of November 3. I have heard from Mr. Mace and gladly agreed to read the script. I don't know how we can help him get it produced, but we can at least look into it.

It shouldn't be long before I'm in New York again. I'll be looking forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

November 3, 1958

Dear Harold:

Some weeks ago I read with considerable interest a script of a movie based upon the experience of Clinton, Tennessee. This movie is in the hands of Louis de Rochemont Associates, Inc., 380 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York, and came to me through Mr. Borden Mace who is associated with them. The problem with this script is that none of the regular commercial producers will consider taking it on since it is too controversial. I fully realize that the Southern Regional Council is in no position to go into movie production business but I think you would be interested in reading the script and in talking with Mr. Mace, and perhaps you would have some useful suggestions for him. This is simply to let you know that you may be hearing from him in the near future.

I hope all goes well with you and your work. We will be interested to hear further reports on conditions in the South. Incidentally, Nat Griswold has sent me a copy of his quarterly report to the Southern Regional Council which I have read with great interest. Let us know when you are next in New York.

Sincerely yours,

Harry

Harry C. Meserve

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 10, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. F. Borden Mace
Louis deRochemont Associates, Inc.
380 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Mace:

I shall be glad to read the script of your proposed film on Clinton and to discuss it with you as soon as convenient.

Although I have no New York trip scheduled, it is probable that I will be there again in the near future.

In any case, you will hear from me again as soon as I have had a chance to give the script a careful reading.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

LOUIS DE ROCHEMONT ASSOCIATES, INC.

380 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

November 4, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mr. Harry C. Meserve of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund was kind enough to write you about our desire to make and distribute a feature length motion picture documenting the Clinton (Tennessee) story of a Southern community dealing with the problems of integrated schools.

We believe that honest publicity regarding the true facts in this situation can be a major step forward in pointing the way to at least a partial solution to some of the complex problems facing Southern communities today. In support of this belief, we have developed what we consider to be a good preliminary shooting script. In view of the importance of the possible results of the wide exhibition of such a film, we would greatly appreciate an opportunity to discuss the project with you. With your permission we would send you a copy of the script for study at your leisure, in the hope that the first opportunity in New York or Atlanta, you would be able to meet with the writer and myself to give us the benefit of your advice and suggestions. We would be happy to fly to Atlanta to confer at your convenience.

With all good wishes for continued success in your work,

Sincerely,

F. Borden Mace

s

VIA AIR MAIL

December 29, 1958

Mr. Borden Mace
Louis DeRochemont Associates, Inc.
380 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Mace:

Following our conversation, I looked up the Saturday Review editorial. I thought you would like to see the letter to Norman Cousins, enclosed, which it provoked.

I'll be writing you again soon about the script.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Ltr. to Mr. Cousins)

LOUIS DE ROCHEMONT ASSOCIATES, INC.

380 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

December 17, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am aware of your busy schedule but if you have read our script WEALTH OF VIOLENCE, I would appreciate your calling me collect to advise me of your reaction.

Best wishes for the holiday.

Sincerely,

Borden Mace

s

LOUIS DE ROCHEMONT ASSOCIATES, INC.

380 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

November 13, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your prompt reply to our letter regarding the script of the Clinton story "WEALTH OF VIOLENCE"; which we are herewith enclosing.

While you are reading this screenplay please bear in mind that this is a fictional attempt to dramatize the Clinton situation without involving legal entanglements with real people. The ideas and attitudes are of primary importance. The story was written before the actual blowing up of the school. Our next rewrite will include this.

We would appreciate having your reaction to the script along with suggestions for improvement.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Borden Mace

Borden Mace

s

Enc.

RECEIVED JAN 6 1958

LOUIS DE ROCHEMONT ASSOCIATES, INC.

380 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

January 5, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for letting me see your letter to Norman Cousins after reading his editorial in the Saturday Review. Just as you were prompted immediately to sit down and write the letter, I have been moved to ask our screen-writer to incorporate the two points of view (the Alabama liberals and your own) into our script "WEALTH OF VIOLENCE." It is out of just such true incidences -- even though we take the liberty of changing the setting -- that meaningful and realistic screenplays can be derived. We hope that if and when audiences ever hear one of our characters say "In our best moments we are just people uncomfortably addicted to American ideas," that tears will come to your eyes as well as to the eyes of those who may seem to have, at least temporarily, forgotten their heritage.

With all good wishes for 1959.

Sincerely,

Borden Mace

s

March 20, 1959

Mr. Borden Mace
Louis DeRochemont Associates, Inc.
380 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Mace:

I am happy to learn that Mr. Foehl is coming to Atlanta and will look forward to seeing him. The prospect is particularly welcome, since I have felt frustrated at not being able to discuss the Clinton project personally with you and your associates.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LOUIS DE ROCHEMONT ASSOCIATES, INC.

380 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

Phone: off. 7-0350

March 18, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Rm. 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

One of my closest associate on the distribution of the MARTIN LUTHER film, Mr. Edmund Foehl, will be in Atlanta during the month of April and I have taken the liberty of asking him to call you regarding our proposed film project telling the Clinton story. He will call you to determine a convenient time when you might be able to see him.

With all good wishes for continued success in your work,

Sincerely,

Borden Mace

s

Borden Mace

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

27 April 59

HCF -

Mr. Foehl of De Rochemont Associates was by - I talked with him. He and Mace are anxious to move ahead on their film, "Wealth of Violence"

They want three things from us:

1.) SRC's imprimatur on the film;
2) Technical assistance on script and casting
3) assistance in distribution.

Please write MACE

FBR

LOUIS DE ROCHEMONT ASSOCIATES, INC.

380 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

OX 7.0350

RECEIVED MAY 21 1959

May 19, 1959

Mr. Harold G. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Today I had a long talk with Jim Larkin, the author of WEALTH OF VIOLENCE. In discussing the need for immediate production of the motion picture telling the success story of Clinton, Tennessee, we both thought of you and the work you are doing.

It appears to us that the climate is now ripe for the commercial reception of a well-told and dramatic story concerning school integration in the South. While the major companies in our industry still do not appear disposed to underwrite this project, we have reason to believe that foundation support can be obtained. With full recognition of the work that the Southern Regional Council is doing, we are prepared, if complete foundation support is obtained, to turn over all net profits from the exhibition of WEALTH OF VIOLENCE to the Southern Regional Council. So our motion picture audience would be, in a manner of speaking, making a direct financial contribution towards solving this dilemma by simply buying a ticket to see our film.

Before asking for your cooperation in this project, it would be essential that we reach complete agreement on the script in order that there can be no question of objective, or the means and details of obtaining same. From our telephone conversations, I personally am sure that there are no major obstacles.

While we had hoped that you would soon be in New York City, we propose now that Mr. Larkin meet with you in Atlanta (with of course no prior commitment on your part) to go over our proposed screenplay in detail. When we reach agreement on the revisions to our story, we would then be in a position to ask support from foundations which we know are vitally concerned with the subject matter of our story. May I hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Borden Mace

Borden Mace

s

(1) — Fund raising —

(2) — Reputation + pub rels. + money-making

(3) — Script —

1 —

2 —

1. —

2. —

3. —

RECEIVED MAY 28 1959

LOUIS DE ROCHEMONT ASSOCIATES, INC.

380 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

May 27, 1959

Mr. Harold G. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is a script of WEALTH OF VIOLENCE. Many contemplated changes will be discussed with you by Mr. Larkin on his visit with you Tuesday, June 2nd.

As background information for you, Jim Larkin lived in Clinton, Tennessee as an observer and reporter for about one month and was even called as a minor witness in the Kasper trial. Our Clinton story is a free adaptation but we hope with integrity. Unless it rings true to people like yourself, we do not have the story we want to tell. While certain liberties have been taken, our basic objective is an honest and dramatically true story which we hope will be accepted as exciting entertainment. We believe the social impact of such a presentation can tangibly point the way to constructive thinking and action in the thorny problem of school integration. Please keep this in mind as you read the rough draft photoplay enclosed.

The mandate of the people of Little Rock in electing the moderates and defeating the out-and-out segregationists on their school board has given added impetus in pushing for the immediate production and distribution of the filmed Clinton story.

Sincerely,

Borden Mace

s

Borden Mace

Enclosure

"WEALTH OF VIOLENCE"

By

Z. MODINE

CAST OF CHARACTERS

BEDFORD F. UNDERHILL, CityCouncil Member...Factory Owner..age 68
BILL DOBBS, Newspaper Editor ... Age 31
FLOYD T. HOPKINS, Mayor and Chairman of City Council...
Appliance Store Owner .. Age 54
FRED DOBBS, City Council Member, Lawyer and Father of
Editor...Age 53
NANCY UNDERHILL, Teacher and niece Factory Owner...Age 23
DON FRANKLIN, School Principal .. Age 38
RALPH V. FETTYPLACE, City Council Member..Insurance Man..Age 47
J. T. McWOOD, Town Sheriff ... Age 59
BUD SAUNDERS, City Council Member..Used Car Dealer...Age 42
KYLE FOREMAN, White Peoples Club Executive...Age 33
REVEREND PARKER, Baptist Minister...Age 35
RED MILLER....Football Coach...Age 36
ROBERT COE (NEGRO), Truck Dispatcher...Age 40
ANNIE COE (NEGRO) , Housekeeper....Age 39
MARY ANNE COE (NEGRO), Student....Age 17
JACKIE COE (NEGRO), Student ...Age 16
MR. HARDY, Shoe Store Proprietor...Age 50
SHEILA SAUNDERS, Housewife and wife of City Council Member..Age 37
BOBBY SAUNDERS, Student and son of City Council Member..Age 17
DICK SHIPLEY, Football Captain and Student Leader..Age 17
CAROL FETTYPLACE, Student Leader, Daughter of City Council Member
Age 17
MARIAN FRANKLIN, School Teacher and wife of Principal...Age 35
RUDY DUNCAN...Laborer..Age 28
PHIL NOYES...Recording Clerk..Age 71

OTHERS INCLUDE

A COUNTY JUDGE
A FEDERAL JUDGE
MR. BERNARD, A lawyer
REVEREND BULLARD, County Preacher
JESSE COLE, White Peoples Club Executive
TOM, A reporter
CHIEF CLARK-HIGHWAY POLICE
THE GOVERNOR
THE GOVERNOR'S AIDE
BEN FOSTER (NEGRO)
A T.V. ANNOUNCER
FEDERAL MARSHALL
TELEPHONE COMPANY OPERATOR
MRS. HARPER
REVEREND CALHOUN (NEGRO)..Preacher
BROTHER THOMAS (NEGRO)
SISTER REED (NEGRO)
MRS. CUMMINGS, A Segregationist
MR. CUMMINGS
And Many other citizens of Henderson County

1 EXT DAY - AN UNKEMPT SUBURBAN ROAD

The camera looks up the road and we see a bicycle approaching being ridden by a tall, thin negro adolescent, Jackie Coe. As he passes us, the name plate on his large basket flashes, "Clayton Springs Courier-Journal". He pulls over, stops at the bottom of the road and turns into the "Cummins General Store". Parked in front of the building is a brand new Cadillac convertible wearing all the latest attachments. He eyes it enviously for a minute, and then grabbing an armful of papers, proceeds into the store.

2 INT. CUMMINS GENERAL STORE

This is the usual type establishment for a lower class semi-rural neighborhood in the Middle South. There are two men present. One, the proprietor a pleasant looking dried-out man of about fifty, MR. CUMMINS and the other is BUD SAUNDERS, who though well fed, wears a disgruntled look on his fleshy face. Saunders mouthes a soft drink while sprawling his form at a white, imitation-marble top table. Jackie comes in and approaches Mr. Cummins.

JACKIE
How many this week Mr. Cummins?

CUMMINS
Give me twelve Jackie.
(Pointing)
And you can take those by the stand.

SAUNDERS
(Waking up)
Hey whats that? Courier-Journal? I've been wanting to have a look at this issue. Here boy, give me one.

JACKIE
Yes sir Mr. Saunders.
(He does)

Saunders looks at the front page. One of the leading articles is headlined "High School to Integrate This Week". He folds it to get a better perspective. He reads a moment.

SAUNDERS
(To Cummins)
Right on page one. Now lets just see what friend Dobbs' editorial has to <u>say</u> about it.

He turns the pages as Cummins walks over to join him. He stops and after a quick glance.

SAUNDERS (Cont'd)
Wouldn't you know. Not a damn word. Writing about the blame County Fair. You know what this paper is good for?
(To both Jackie and Cummins)
I'll tell you Sam.

Gets up and jams it into the pot-bellied stove.

To start your first fire with next winter, that's all.

JACKIE
(Having finished and waiting for the proper moment)
Well. Goodbye Mr. Cummins. Mr. Saunders.

He exits and they look at one another hard.

THE TITLES ARE SUPERIMPOSED OVER THE FOLLOWING SCENES: JACKIE RIDES HIS BICYCLE TO THE END OF THE DIRT ROAD, AND APPROACHES THE MAIN HIGHWAY. WHEN HE SPEEDS ON TO THE HIGHWAY, WE SEE A SIGN AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE ROAD HE JUST LEFT MARKED "DEEP HOLLOW". HE IS NOW ON THE MAIN ROAD INTO TOWN AND BEING PASSED BY THE USUAL TRAFFIC; TRAILER TRUCKS, FARM VEHICLES AND ASSORTED PASSENGER CARS. HE PASSES AN IMPOSING LOOKING FACTORY, THE UNDERHILL CANNING COMPANY, JUST AS BUD SAUNDERS SPEEDS BY HIM IN HIS CADILLAC.

3 EXT. DAY. THE STREET IN FRONT OF THE OFFICE OF THE "CLAYTON SPRINGS COURIER-JOURNAL AND PRINTING COMPANY".

Jackie brings his bicycle over the sidewalk and balances it against the building.

4 INT. THE OFFICE OF THE COURIER JOURNAL

Jackie opens the door, his arms loaded with old papers. He sets them down gently. Marie, a dark and husky looking girl sitting at the front desk, gives a surprised look.

MARIE
From Deep Hollow?

JACKIE
Yes Mam.

JACKIE (Cont)
(She shakes her head, gets up and walks over and into an office marked "Bill Dobbs-Editor")

5 INT. BILL DOBBS OFFICE

It is an extremely small room with most of the space being occupied by two desks; one piled high with out-of-town newspapers and the other at which Bill Dobbs sits. He is a young man in his early thirties, quite handsome and with a continuously pre-occupied air about him. Marie stands at the door speaking while he pours over the mock-up of a handbill mentioning a shoe sale.

MARIE
Will, I don't know why we keep on sending papers to Deep Hollow. None of the stores ever sell any.
(He doesn't look up)
It's a waste of time.

BILL
(Still not looking up)
I know what you mean.

MARIE
I think we should stop sending them any.

BILL
(Looking up)
Now we can't do that.
(Suddenly)
Jackie.
(Jackie's head comes to the door)

JACKIE
Sir?

BILL
Your mother called from home. She wants you to meet Mary Anne at the school at two.

JACKIE
(Looking at the wall clock)
I think I'd better go then. Provide you don't need me.

BILL
If you wait a minute, I'll drive you over.

JACKIE
Yes sir.

Jackie turns from the door.

6 INT. OUTER OFFICE AGAIN

Jackie saunters out and over to an unoccupied chair. He dawdles a minute and then picks up a copy of the newspaper and starts to read the article about school integration. The door to the printing room suddenly opens and Jackie puts the paper down. Through the door comes Ben Foster, a light faced negro with a build like Joe Louis. He smiles at Jackie.

BEN
You all set Jackie?

JACKIE
(Somberly)
I guess so.

BEN
You sure don't look it. Way that face of yours is, folks will think you're on the way to a funeral.

7 EXT. DAY. FRONT OF SCHOOL.

The school bell rings and the front door is pushed open by DonFranklin, the Principal of the school, and an elderly negro, the Janitor. Outside the door we see a line of white students interspersed with an occasional negro. Franklin comes down the steps, smiling to the students and walks to a group of men on the sidewalk, which includes Bud Saunders.

8 EXT. DAY SIDEWALK

The group of men with Franklin, walk past the line of students and into the school. At that moment Bill Dobbs station wagon pulls into the parking lot. He and Jackie Coe get out and walk over towards the students. Bill carries a camera.

9 INT. A CORNER OF THE SCHOOL GYMNASIUM

The group observes students presenting their program cards to a teacher sitting at a table marked, "JUNIORS". When one of the negroes approaches, the group watches with great interest. Matter-of-factly, the teacher registers the negro student. Except for Saunders, they all seem to register satisfaction.

10 INT. OUTSIDE IN THE HALLWAY

Franklin guides the group to a classroom.

11 EXT. DAY - OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL

A thin and elderly man Bedford Underhill approaches followed by an ancient dog. Reaching the line of students, they nod respectfully. As he proceeds up the walk he passes Bill Dobbs taking a picture of Jackie Coe and his sister Mary Anne. Underhill avoids looking at the negro children and glares at Bill. He mounts the steps and goes into the school.

12 INT. A CLASSROOM

Members of the group are seated here and there among the objects that make up a High School Classroom; forty well-used desks; faded pictures of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Robert E. Lee; an American flag is in one corner near the teacher's desk; the freshly-washed blackboards denote the start of a school term. One of the group, Mayor Floyd Hopkins, stands next to the teacher's desk, addressing the others - Fred W. Dobbs, Bud Saunders (the disgruntled man), Ralph V. Fettyplace, Reverend Parker, Court Clerk Phil Noyes, Sheriff J.T. McWood, and the Football Coach Red Miller. At the teacher's desk, is Don Franklin.

HOPKINS
You've seen for yourselves how well this thing has gone here today and for that I think we can all give a vote of thanks to our --

The door to the classroom opens and Underhill enters, his dog following. Everyone rises instinctively.

Mr. Underhill, this is a pleasure.

UNDERHILL
(Taking his hat off and putting it on the top of a front desk)
Don't let me interrupt what you're saying Mayor.

12 (CONTINUED)

The others sit and then he does. His dog takes up position beneath the desk.

HOPKINS
(To Underhill)
I was just complimenting Don Franklin -

Hand on Franklin's shoulder.

-- on behalf of the City Council for the smooth way the whole operation has gone here today.

Underhill's face shows nothing.

How many is the count now?

FRANKLIN
Over nine hundred Mayor.

HOPKINS
(Gingerly)
And negroes?

FRANKLIN
Eighteen.

HOPKINS
You hear that gentlemen, the first school in this part of the State to accept so much as one negro and it all goes as smooth as glass.

Franklin catches his attention and nods to the young Minister.

Oh yes and I also want to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to our new Minister, Reverend Parker, for the fine work he's done in this same field.

He nods automatically to the Minister.

REV. PARKER
(Standing up)
Mr. Mayor -- I was only too glad to help.

12 (CONTINUED)

HOPKINS
(Wishing he'd sit)
All the same, we thank you.

REV. PARKER
Everyone I talked to was not exactly enthusiastic, but willing to go along with the law.

SAUNDERS
(Pinky in teeth and not looking at the Minister)
You might wait till you been here a bit longer preacher, before you go and make up your mind how folks feel.

Bill Dobbs comes quietly in the back door.

REV. PARKER
(Flatly)
Mr. Mayor, I was only trying to tell the Council what I heard.

HOPKINS
Certainly Reverend.

REV. PARKER
Everyone here knows how new I am in Clayton Springs.

He sits. Underhill gets the Mayor's attention.

UNDERHILL
(Serious tone)
Might I say a word Mr. Mayor?

HOPKINS
The Council is always pleased to hear anything you have to say Mr. Underhill.

Underhill rises slowly.

UNDERHILL
Thank you. As some of you might know I've been ill, but despite that fact - as a member of the Council, I've felt it my duty to follow this school matter very closely. And I am deeply upset about the way this integration thing has been handled; and I don't think I'm the only one, because for this Council to compound

12 (CONTINUED)

UNDERHILL (Cont'd)
what we all agreed was the injustice of a Supreme Court decision with the sin of hypocrisy only doubles the shame of the crime.
(Looking directly at Mayor Hopkins, Fred Dobbs and Fettyplace)
For you gentlemen to have conducted a sales campaign on this County to accept something that none of you believe in yourselves, is beyond my comprehension.

HOPKINS
(Shocked)
Why we've only been trying to avoid trouble.

UNDERHILL
By lying?

The Mayor looks dumbfounded.

DOBBS
(Firmly)
No one here has lied, we've given people the facts.

UNDERHILL
(Turning to Dobbs)
Of what? I ask you Fred Dobbs of what? Has this Council - or even your son's paper --

Waving a finger at the young man who just walked in.

-- issued so much as one word expressing our traditional Southern point of view?

DOBBS
(Controlling his anger)
Sir you mean to tell me we have an obligation to tell people what we <u>know</u> they feel?

UNDERHILL
No -- but we have to tell the people the way we feel. Now is there one man here who sincerely <u>believes</u> in integration?

He looks about to be met by complete silence. The Minister stirs and seems wanting to get up but doesn't.

12 (CONTINUED)

UNDERHILL (Cont'd)
There's your answer gentlemen, you may not like it - but there it is. Now to get to the point I'm trying to make. I believe in order to clear up any misunderstanding that might exist in peoples' minds about where the Council stands, we should show them for once and for all.

DOBBS
(Interrupting him boiling)
You're talking like this community doesn't know one thing we've done to keep segretation. This case was fought three years in the Courts and I've worked the last year on it for nothing.

UNDERHILL
(Dismissing it)
Be that as it may, we should be proud to demonstrate to everyone now where we all stand --
(Pause)
--by voting as a body,
(Solemnly and with effect)
that we, the members of the City Council of Clayton Springs, completely and without any reservation condemn the forced integration of our High School.

He sits.

SAUNDERS
(Strongly)
I'm all for that -- right down the line.

DOBBS
(Direct to Underhill)
What is that supposed to do?

UNDERHILL
It sets the record straight.

DOBBS
And it would probably undo all the work that's been going on the past six months.

HOPKINS
(Mediating)
And frankly much as I might personally sympathize with a good deal of what

12 (CONTINUED)

HOPKINS (Cont'd)
you've said, anything we do to make the school's job more difficult....well I'd take a pretty dim view of.

Saunders springs to his feet.

SAUNDERS
Before those fine words of yours just die off Mr. Underhill I'd like to say something.

They all look at him in disgust except Underhill who doesn't look at all.

-- because for some time now I was beginning to think I had lost my mind, that here in the South we know and love, they could put niggers in our schools and not only do we do nothing to stop them, we even help them. Well I'm agin it; I've got a boy in that school and I think he and his mother would stone me if'n I wasn't for your proposition, sir.
(He looks the room over and smiles furtively)
But now we're all from Alabama, we know how to treat a smart alecky nigger down there.

UNDERHILL
(Firmly)
That is not what I'm talking about.

HOPKINS
(To Underhill, ignoring Saunders)
You want the Council to vote on your proposition now?

Saunders sits embarrassed.

UNDERHILL
If you have no objection.

HOPKINS
(Turns to the Court Clerk)
Would you be sure and record this Mr. Noyes?

The man nods.

12 (CONTINUED)

HOPKINS (Cont'd)
We are voting on a motion to publically condemn the integration of Clayton Springs High School, all those in favor please raise their hands.

The Judge and Saunders do.

Opposed.

The Mayor and Dobbs raise their hands. The Mayor looks at the silent member of the Council.

Ralph?

He slowly raises his hand not looking at Underhill.

The vote is three to two against the motion.

There is an embarrassing silence.

Do you wish to propose another sir?

UNDERHILL
(Looking at the Mayor and speaking with great emotion)
No I don't,

He rises slowly.

but -- I do wish to resign from the City Council.

They are stunned and stare open mouthed. He exits, followed by his dog.

DISSOLVE TO:

13 EXT. DAY - OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL

Most of the students have disappeared. Fred Dobbs, his son Bill, Don Franklin and Coach Miller come out the front door.

FRANKLIN
Give my best to Nancy.

13 (CONTINUED)

FRANKLIN (Cont'd)
(Smiles)
Tell her how we missed her at registration.

Bill heads for the parking lot.

14 EXT. DAY - THE TEACHERS PARKING LOT

Saunders is seated in his car with the Sheriff alongside. Bill waves to them as he walks to his station wagon.

SAUNDERS
(Friendly demand)
Come on over here Bill.

BILL
But I'm late now.

Waits a second to be excused and then walks over painfully.

SAUNDERS
I just want to give you some friendly advice.
(Pause)
It's about what old man Underhill said, I've heard the same sort of thing out in my district lotta times. And being downright truthful there ain't too much in that paper of yours folks can bite into.

BILL
I try to run all the news I get.

SAUNDERS
I'm not saying you don't, and I know how having your dad so set on the law can push you into a corner.

BILL
No Bud - if you want to blame somebody - blame me.

SAUNDERS
All right, defend your daddy. I respect you for it. But a lot of your subscribers and even advertisers like me would like to see something in print.
(Excitedly)
About how wrong this thing is. Know what I mean?

14 (CONTINUED)

BILL
I think so, but look, let's make this some other time.

SAUNDERS
(As Bill starts to move off)
Be a pity if somebody went and started up another paper over something like this.

Bill gets in his station wagon and starts the engine.

You think about it Bill.

Bill backs up to drive off.

15 EXT. DAY - THE COUNTRYSIDE

The slow train chugs over the river bridge and passes a sign saying "Clayton Springs - A Nice Place to Live" - then travels an additional three hundred yards to stop at an ancient Railway Station. It is an ugly building with the usual signs on it. A weather-beaten sun bleached sign yawns out "CLAYTON SPRINGS - HENDERSON COUNTY - 236 FEET". As the train stops, a tall and very pretty brunette Nancy Underhill gets off followed by a dozen teen-age girls - most of them seem to be met by one or more parents. One of the girls, Carol, hangs back and stands with Nancy as she is met by Bill. Nancy seems happy to see Bill and he smiles easily. After a moment he takes their bags down the platform as Nancy's arm trails across his back. They pass a dark thin stranger, Kyle Foreman, as he talks to another man, Jesse Cole who keeps one hand on the rail. The Conductor calls "All Aboard" and Cole gets back on the train.

16 EXT. - DAY - THE TRAIN STATION PARKING STAND

Nancy is speaking into the window of a car driven by Mr. Fettyplace of the City Council. His daughter, Carol, is seated alongside. His face is tense.

NANCY
I don't know what I would have done without Carol, Mr. Fettyplace.
(He doesn't seem to want to comment)
She was no end of help.

16 (CONTINUED)

FETTYPLACE
(Nervously)
I'm pleased to hear you say that.

He starts up the car.

NANCY
See you on Monday, Carol.

The car backs off and Nancy moves to Bill's station wagon a bit further away. Foreman stands on the platform watching Nancy get into the car and drive off.

17 INT. THE FRONT SEAT OF BILL'S CAR MOVING THROUGH LATE AFTERNOON TRAFFIC.

Nancy sits next to him looking troubled.

NANCY
No wonder he didn't come to meet me.
(Pause)
You'd better take me to the factory.

BILL
(Automatically)
OK.
(Pause)
He sure was upset. Then again, maybe he didn't want to run into me so soon after the crack he made about the paper.

NANCY
Come on, don't take a casual remark so seriously.

BILL
Nancy, with anything like this, Uncle Bedford is never casual.
(Pause)
Oh the pleasures of running a newspaper in a small town. Everyone's mad at the Editor when his own particular point of view isn't reported in <u>absolute</u> detail. I somehow hoped my Uncle-in-Law would be an exception.

NANCY
Bill, you know he's never been happy with the way the paper has been run since your Grandfather died.

17 (CONTINUED)

BILL
(Smiling)
And I understand he fought with him the whole time.

DISSOLVE TO:

18 EXT. DAY - THE UNDERHILL CANNING COMPANY

It is old like most of the substantial buildings in town; but unlike most of them, its buildings and grounds are well kept up. An American flag flies from a tall flagpole in the center of the courtyard at the plant's entrance. Bill's station wagon pulls up and he and Nancy get out. As they reach the front door, Bill puts her bag down but Nancy takes him firmly by the arm and guides him into the factory.

19 INT. THE FACTORY

Nancy opens a door to large office space and heads for a glass enclosed office on the far side. Bill follows carrying her bag. Some of those in the office smile recognition. When we get closer to the office we see Mr. Underhill talking to a negro, Robert Coe, who wears a shirt and tie. Underhill spots Nancy and breaks into a smile. She opens the door and Duke, the dog, is forced to move. She walks directly over and kisses her uncle on the cheek.

NANCY
(Turns to Coe)
Hello, Robert.

Coe smiles back while Bill closes the door and puts down the suitcase.

UNDERHILL
I'll leave it to you then, Robert.

Bill pets the dog as he comes over to him.

COE
You can forget about it right now, sir.
(To all)
Excuse me.

Coe exits.

UNDERHILL
(Ignoring Bill)
Well Nancy, did you have a nice time?

19 (CONTINUED)

NANCY
All right. I think the girls enjoyed it. Some of the Shakespeare might even have rubbed off,
(Pause)
but to tell the truth, I was very glad to get home to my two men.

UNDERHILL
(Annoyed at her inferred reference to Bill)
You planning on going home now?

NANCY
I thought I'd wait for you.

BILL
(Slightly uncomfortable)
Well, I've got to be getting back to the office.

NANCY
(Hopefully)
Will I see you tonight?

BILL
I'm going over to the office now. I'll call you later.

He turns to Underhill.

By the way, sir, do you want to give me a statement to run in next week's paper? I'll run it as you give it to me.

UNDERHILL
You were were - print what you like.

BILL
(Politely)
All right. Goodbye, sir. Nancy.

He exits and Nancy looks after him painfully.

20 EXT. DAY - FRONT OF FACTORY

Bill walks out the front door and over to his station wagon. As he opens the door a thought comes to him and he reaches into his glove compartment for a writing pad. He then closes the door, pad in hand, and walks around to the side of the plant.

21 EXT. DAY - A TRUCK DRIVEWAY

A large truck roars down the driveway past Bill. On it is written, "UNDERHILL CANNING COMPANY - FINE PRODUCTS FOR THE HOME SINCE 1852". Bill walks the full length of it and to the raised platform at the far end.

22 EXT. DAY - THE PLATFORM

There on a high stool sits Robert Coe writing at his desk. Behind him are three husky negroes loading a truck. His desk has a placard which reads "Robert Coe - Dispatcher".

BILL
Have a minute?

COE
Still got this other truck to get out.

BILL
I won't hold you up long, here give me a hand.

Coe does so semi-reluctantly and lifts him on to the platform. At that moment one of the loaders brings over a box and Coe tears a slip off of it.

COE
All those in the back pile too.

The man gives him a wry look.

Go on now Teddy, I told Mr. Underhill we'dget them out tonight.

The man walks off. Bill lights a smoke and offers Coe one which he refuses.

BILL
Was with the children at registration today,
(No reaction)
going to put their pictures in next week's paper?
(Still no reaction)
Tell me now Robert, off the record, how do you think most everybody on the Hill feels about this school business.

COE
I wouldn't know.

22 (CONTINUED)

BILL
How about you?

COE
Me?
(Nervous smile)
Why's it you want to know?

BILL
May want to do a story, I won't use your name or anything.

Coe takes a step or two away from the other men doing the loading.

COE
I don't guess too many people on the hill feel like I do
(Then looking away from Bill)
'cause I'd just as soon they go back to school in the city.

BILL
Why's that?

COE
It's a good school -- Mary Anne's been there for three years, then I don't know -- maybe just a feeling I have.

BILL
But the Supreme Court says we have to integrate.

COE
(Smiles)
Supreme Court don't live in Clayton Springs.

A white truck driver comes out the door and Coe goes easily over to him and smiles a greeting. The man returns it and puts his hand on his shoulder to ask him a question.

23 EXT. DAY - BUD SAUNDERS CAR LOT

Bud Saunders is showing a young farmer wearing overalls a used car. A sign swinging in the breeze proclaims for all to see "HIGH-LIFE USED CARS AND METAL EMPORIUM - BUD SAUNDERS - OWNER-MANAGER". Bud hits a fender with his fist.

23 (CONTINUED)

SAUNDERS
Sound as a dollar.

FARMER
Looks all right.

SAUNDERS
Wouldn't sell it to you if'n it wasn't, sell it to one of these smart fellows in town.

He digs the farmer in the ribs good-naturedly. The farmer opens the car door and looks in.

FARMER
Guess maybe I'd better bring my wife in to have a look.

SAUNDERS
You do that - she's got a whole lot more sense than you have anyway - and prettier to look at to.
(The man smiles easily)

Saunders bangs the farmer on the back goodbye and walks towards the office shack. He passes a young man with Sandy hair, Rudy Duncan, who is wiping off the windshields of cars. He stops and speaks to him and he nods to the shack. Saunders walks towards it.

24 INT. INSIDE THE SHACK

Kyle Foreman sits. Saunders comes through the door and hangs up his tote board.

SAUNDERS
And what can I do for you mister?

FOREMAN
You Bud Saunders?

Bud notices his Northern accent and sits. He wipes off his hands with a towel and eyes him suspiciously.

SAUNDERS
That's what they tell me.

FOREMAN
(Taking the bull by the horns)
I'm Kyle Foreman.

24 (CONTINUED)

SAUNDERS
(Still suspicious)
Pleased to meet you.

They shake hands.

FOREMAN
You are the same Bud Saunders that wrote to Jesse Cole at the White Peoples Clubs?

Saunders is caught off guard.

SAUNDERS
What's that to you?

FOREMAN
(Slightly annoyed)
I happen to be one of their officials.

Saunders doesn't seem to believe him.

I just left Jesse on the train.

SAUNDERS
You don't say -- and where you from?

FOREMAN
Chicago originally. But I haven't been there in years --

Saunders looks puzzled.

I'm working this territory now, and very interested in your local situation.

SAUNDERS
Well mister you're a little late - school finished registering today.
(Semi-sarcastically)
Took the clubs long enough to take notice, I wrote that letter last spring.

FOREMAN
Well yours wasn't the only one we received, we're very busy.

SAUNDERS
Anyway now I don't sees there anything you can do. Mayor, school, people, most of the preachers been working on people to swallow this thing ever since I wrote.

24 (CONTINUED)

FOREMAN
(Confidentially)
That makes no difference.

SAUNDERS
Look Mr. Foreman - I'm a practical man and I can't see how you or --

FOREMAN
(Standing up)
I'm wasting my time here. Why you've already accepted it.

SAUNDERS
(Immediately)
That's something I'll never do.

FOREMAN
(Quickly)
Why won't you work with me now to keep them out?

SAUNDERS
(Cornered)
Well I would - if there was something I could do.

FOREMAN
You would help?
(Saunders nods)
Well - we can't do this alone. What about other people?

SAUNDERS
(Fumbling)
I don't know. Folks are all against it.

At that moment Rudy Duncan comes through the door and goes over to the Water Cooler.

From Rudy here - right on up to the richest man in town - Mr. Underhill.

Duncan turns away from the cooler - water cup in hand.

Rudy - this here is Mr. Foreman from the White Peoples Clubs.

DUNCAN
(Dully)
Going to do anything about the school?

24 (CONTINUED)

FOREMAN
I'd sure like to, Rudy.

SAUNDERS
(Warming to the moment)
Rudy here's like most the mountain people, a real hot segregationist.

FOREMAN
Well, we'll need everyone.
(Getting back to things important)
Do you think you could arrange for me to meet this other fellow --
(Then casually)
this Mr. Underhill?

SAUNDERS
Gee, I don't know. He's a --
(Sees Foreman's look, then quickly)
Well heck - why not -- Rudy, hand me that 'phone book.

RUDY does.

DISSOLVE TO:

25 INT. THE LOBBY OF AN OLD HOTEL

In leather seats in the far corner sit Mr. Underhill (his dog beneath) Kyle Foreman and Bud Saunders. On the other side of the room sitting and watching them as he reads a magazine, is Rudy Duncan. Foreman is speaking earnestly.

FOREMAN
It will give every white person in the County a chance to come to a central place and get all the facts.

UNDERHILL
Then your plan is to resegregate the school?

FOREMAN
(Idealistically)
Exactly. Doing it by education - by telling people of their rights.

25 (CONTINUED)

SAUNDERS
(Trying to break in)
I told you this young fellow was full of ideas.

FOREMAN
Another thing your State and local laws say that children here can't go to a mixed school.

UNDERHILL
What about the Supreme Court?

FOREMAN
Sir - don't you agree that it is impossible to enforce a law that the people of a community will not accept.
(Underhill just stares)
Now we should give people the courage to stand up and challenge this immoral law,
(Knowing he must get some sort of commitment)
but look, tonight there is only one thing I want to get across to you sir, how we need you .. your leadership.

UNDERHILL
I'm not sure I could help at all.

SAUNDERS
(Jumping in)
Not to push you one way or the other but it's as I said to Mr. Foreman early on, it's reached a point where people that feel deeply like we do, have to take a stand.

FOREMAN
Today it's the High School, tomorrow you can't tell.

SAUNDERS
Sure - the next thing you might catch is some big buck nigger student asking your Nancy for a date.
(The two other men are open mouthed)

UNDERHILL
(Coldly)
Mr. Saunders - I'd prefer we keep my family out of this discussion.

25 (CONTINUED)

FOREMAN
(Attempting to heal the breach)
I'm sure Bud meant no offense Mr. Underhill. And to be completely prepared, we have to look at this thing from all sides.
(There is a long silence)

UNDERHILL
(Ignoring Saunders)
I'd like to think about it Mr. Foreman.

Starts to get up.

I'll let you know.

Nods.

Mr. Saunders.

He exits with his dog trailing after him.

SAUNDERS
Why that miserable old bastard;

Rudy crosses the lobby and takes Underhill's old seat.

just like the rest of them down deep, looks down his nose at plain spoken people.
(He looks to Rudy for solace, Foreman seems lost in thought)

FADE OUT

FADE IN

26 EXT. DAY - MAIN STREET.

The street is full of people from both town and country. Over this view we first hear Kyle Foreman's voice, then a close-up of his hands and finally the open trusting face of a ten year old girl now holding one of the handbills he's passing out.

FOREMAN
Young lady give it to your Daddy and Mommy, tell them we'll be looking for them at the Meeting tomorrow,

26 (CONTINUED)

The child moves off speechless clutching the handbill. He then stops an unshaven mountain man in overalls and speaks in a cheerful tone.

FOREMAN (Cont'd)
and you my good sir.
(The man's eyes narrow)
How do you feel about integration?

MOUNTAIN MAN
(Barely comprehending)
What?

FOREMAN
(Slightly louder as a small group gathers)
Integration --

MOUNTAIN MAN
I'm agin it.
(Swiftly)
and don't want to hear anymore about it.

He moves off to Foreman's disappointment. He then fairly lunges at a passing girl of High school age. We see it's Carol from the car at the train station the day before.

FOREMAN
(Please some success)
You going to High School this year?

CAROL
Yes sir.

FOREMAN
(As she stops)
How do you feel about all those negroes going there?

CAROL
I guess it's the law.

From across the street we see Bud Saunders getting a hold of Bill Dobbs as he walks down the street.

FOREMAN
But you don't like it;

The girl just looks embarrassed. He has another try.

sitting next to all those black boys.
(She blushes)
Having them talk fresh to you.

26 (CONTINUED)

We see Saunders start to bring Bill towards Foreman.

CAROL
Mister - I'm going to school to get myself an education, not waste my time talking to boys.

She exits, the crowd snickers and Foreman seems about at wits end. By this time Bill and Saunders have reached this side of the street and are coming up on Bobby Saunders, a husky teenager who is over on the side from Foreman, passing out handbills. He shoves one in Bill's hand.

BILL
Bobby - I see they got you working.

SAUNDERS
(To his son)
And you keep right on.

They push through the crowd and Bill tries to steal a glance at the handbill.

Kyle I want you to meet Bill Dobbs, he has the newspaper.

They shake hands.

FOREMAN
Oh yes I think I saw you at the Station yesterday with a very lovely girl.

SAUNDERS
Oh Bill's a ladies man all right.
(Foreman smiles)

FOREMAN
I hope you won't mind if we come around to see you from time to time with press releases.

SAUNDERS
Hand on Bill's shoulder.

Bill here's a fair man, I know we can count on him.

FOREMAN
(Seeing Bill's full concentration on the handbill)
Will we have the pleasure of your company tomorrow?

26 (CONTINUED)

BILL
(Noncomittal)
I was just reading about it here.

For the first time we see the handbill up close. It is a picture of three negro soldiers and two white girls with their arms around each other. One of the negro soldiers is in the process of soul kissing one of the white girls. On the bottom is scrawled in longhand, "If you don't want this to happen at Clayton Springs High School this term - Come to your White Peoples Club Meeting on the Court House Lawn - One P.M. Sunday - Signed W.P.C. - Henderson County Chapter - B. Saunders, Exec. Secretary".

27 INT. RALPH FETTYPLACE'S OFFICE

The window lettering says "RALPH V. FETTYPLACE - Real Estate-Insurance & Accounting". He leans against a desk and reads the same handbill being watched by his daughter and Fred Dobbs.

FETTYPLACE
Somebody's got to stop them.

DOBBS
You can't stop people from giving out handbills.

Carol stands there engrossed in the adult conversation.

FETTYPLACE
(Noticing her)
Carol - go on in the back.

She does reluctantly and he speaks softly.

You should just see the way some of these country people have been acting -
(Whispers)
about an hour ago -- This couple came in, the man works in the mines. Why, Fred, he was almost purple staring at that picture coming in the door. So damn excited - he could barely sign his own name.

DOBBS
Too bad the Mayor's away - but I guess one of us is going to have to look in at the Meeting.

27 (CONTINUED)

FETTYPLACE
(Quickly)
Well you're the Deputy Mayor. You're welcome to that crowd. They'll have every redneck in the County there.

DOBBS
(Semi-smile)
I'll bring along the Sheriff.

FETTYPLACE
Him - he's no better than the rest of them.
(He glances back to the handbill)

28 EXT. DAY - STREET CORNER NEAR THE SCHOOL

Sheriff McWood stands with Don Franklin and his wife. He looks at the handbill.

MCWOOD
Just says there's going to be a Meeting.

FRANKLIN
I've never seen <u>this</u> kind of handbill before.

MCWOOD
(Looking at it carefully again)
Heck Mr. Franklin you know Bud - wants to get up there and try to holler his fool head off, I personally can't see him meaning any harm by it. His own boy is one of your students.

FRANKLIN
Still I'd feel a lot safer if you only sent one man. Just to keep an eye on things.

MCWOOD
Be truthful I had hoped to have my spare man out flushing stills, --
(Franklin's face falls)
but if it'll make you feel any better I'll tell one of them to stand here on the corner Monday morning. But you're worrying over nothing.

29 EXT. DAY - A HANDBILL RESTS IN THE HAND OF SHEILA SAUNDERS, A COMMON LOOKING BUT ATTRACTIVE WOMAN IN HER MIDDLE THIRTIES WHO IS RINGING A DOORBELL.

Nancy comes to the door.

NANCY
(Politely)
Hello there Mrs. Saunders.

SHEILA
I'll only take a minute of your time Miss Underhill. My husband and I would like you and your Uncle to come to a Meeting on the Court House Lawn tomorrow.

NANCY
(Looking strained)
We'll be in Church.

SHEILA
I mean afterwards, naturally.

NANCY
(Still no change of expression)
What kind of meeting?

SHEILA
Here this will show you.

Gives her the handbill.

NANCY
(After only a glance)
Why this is disgusting.

SHEILA
(Pleased)
I know what you mean.

NANCY
No, I mean that anyone should have something like this printed up.

SHEILA
(Hurt)
It's for alerting the people.

NANCY
We wouldn't be interested in attending this <u>kind</u> of Meeting.

29 (CONTINUED)

SHEILA
(Surprised)
You're a teacher, you want to keep the school all white don't you?

NANCY
You'd better excuse me.

SHEILA
(As she retreats from the screen door)
Well then maybe you don't. I just wanted to give you a chance to prove what kind of red blooded American you really are.

DISSOLVE TO:

30 INT. A LARGE GREENHOUSE

Mr. Underhill is there with his dog nearby, reading the handbill. Nancy is only a few feet from him.

UNDERHILL
I don't think you realize how strongly some people around here feel on this question.

NANCY
A handful of negro children are going to the High School.

UNDERHILL
And I know - this is supposed to be progress. At least that's the theory of your University socialogists.

NANCY
You don't have to be a University sociologist, Uncle Bedford to realize that children shouldn't have to ride 20 miles when there is a good school within walking distance. It's only common sense like I was taught right here at home.

UNDERHILL
(Quickly)
There are other factors involved which you're choosing to ignore. For one thing -

30 (CONTINUED)

UNDERHILL (Cont'd)
This is the South. Unlike most of this country, we have traditions and customs, they're part of our culture, people here are used to them and want to keep them.

NANCY
Well whites aren't the whole South.

UNDERHILL
No - the Negro is the South too - and just as much a part of this culture as we are. Nevertheless jointly we have established a pattern of living that's been evolving for generations - it isn't a static thing - and it's given both races a chance to develop naturally - in their own way - and what's going on here now disrupts this pattern.

NANCY
A pattern in which two groups spend their whole lives next to each other - as total strangers.

UNDERHILL
And you think by forcing these children to sit alongside of one another that they won't be strangers. Well you're wrong. High School is the foundation of their adult social life - to give them a false picture of that life is unfair, and mind you you're talking now as a teacher. When you were a student up at that same High School you wouldn't have wanted them there either.

NANCY
(Maybe he's right)
I don't think I would have minded.

UNDERHILL
You can say that now - you're twenty-three, not sixteen.

31 EXT. DAY - COURT HOUSE LAWN

Kyle Foreman speaks to a small crowd by the War Memorial. A Confederate flag on one side, a U.S. stars-and-stripes on the other. The group is composed of earnest rural types. Bill Dobbs is on one side taking notes, a camera over his shoulder. At the base of the memorial stand Bud Saunders, Rudy Duncan and Bobby Saunders. Sheila Saunders sits at a table to the right of the Confederate flag.

31 (CONTINUED)

FOREMAN

We no longer have government by law in the United States but government by men, men who are out of sympathy with the Constitution of this great land.

Foreman looks anxious. The crowd gets restless.

The Constitution is the foundation for law in our country, and law is the priceless gift of our white man's society.

A few ears perk up at the sound of "White man's.

Now you take the Magna Carta, another great legal document. You can thank that for not having to get down on your knees when you meet a rich man.

A few "Amen's". Foreman reacts and speaks more quickly.

So I say, if they want government by men, fine; but why not real men! Not a bunch of weaklings. As the patriot Thomas Jefferson said, the greater law is the will of the people.

Amens.

and you are the people! And you have only one thing to ask yourselves here - whether or not you want your children to go to school with niggers!

"Hell no!" "Not me!" etc.

That's all; because no law on earth can force you to do things you don't want to.
(Pause)
And furthermore, your town's officials could stop this thing in five minutes if they wanted to.

Somebody yells, "They can't; they stink! Foreman and crowd laugh.

Now I'm here just to help you good people organize your own Club - because this school integration is only the first step for the NAACP. They've got much bigger plans for Henderson County, much bigger. And their final goal is 'mongrelization'!

31 (CONTINUED)

FOREMAN (Cont'd)
(Pause)
And you know what that means!

Cries of "You bet!" "We know all right!", etc.

So, if you want to join a Club to fight this thing, now's your chance!

He steps down to a fine ovation and an old toothless woman goes up to him beaming.

OLDER WOMAN
I just thought your speech was so inspiring Mr. Foreman,
(Bites)
right to the point.

FOREMAN
(Fairly drawling)
Thank you Mam.

OLDER WOMAN
I didn't think people from up North could understand.

FOREMAN
Oh a few of us do, particularly those that believe in the Bible.

OLDER WOMAN
(Flying)
Amen, I just knew you were a Christian gentleman, God bless you.

We notice Dobbs and McWood coming up from the rear.

FOREMAN
(Acting genuinely touched)
I'll be needing all your prayers.

SAUNDERS
(Going strong)
Any more of you fine people got that three dollars with you today?

The man in overalls who cut Foreman dead the day before on Main Street comes forward.

Lem Hicks I knew we could count on you, come on right up here and join your fellow white citizens boy.

31 (CONTINUED) SAUNDERS (Cont'd)

Belts him on the back.

(Swiftly)
Here Rudy take his money.
(Three crumpled one dollar bills in the man's hand)
and Sheila give him a new membership card and remember folks we're just starting, you'll be hearing from us real soon; we'll let the fancy Dans know the working people of this County are demanding more say.

Dobbs and McWood push their way through to Foreman and Saunders. Bill follows close on their heels. A few of the crowd who have left return.

DOBBS
Bud - you want to introduce us to your friend?

SAUNDERS
(Slightly embarrassed but proud)
Why sure, this here is Kyle Foreman .. Fred Dobbs,

Turns to the Sheriff and beams.

and my old buddy Sheriff J. T. McWood.

He digs McWood in the ribs and the Sheriff smiles nervously.

FOREMAN
(Completely at home)
Mr. Dobbs.

They shake hands.

Sheriff any friend of Bud's is a friend of mine.

DOBBS
Mr. Foreman - I'm not too certain whether or not Bud here has explained our local situation to you.

FOREMAN
I think he has.

31 (CONTINUED)

DOBBS
Then you know we have a Federal Court Order?

FOREMAN
(Uneasily)
Yes.

DOBBS
(Taken aback by Foreman's directness)
Have you figured out some new legal way around it?

FOREMAN
(Ever so slightly amused)
No.

DOBBS
(Bit annoyed)
Then would you mind telling me why you told these people we could keep the negro students out?

FOREMAN
Because you can.
(Quickly)
Mr. Dobbs do you believe in integration?

Bill comes in a bit closer.

DOBBS
That's not the point here.

FOREMAN
Oh but it is.

DOBBS
(Starting to burn)
I don't think I've made it quite clear to you <u>young man</u>.

FOREMAN
(Resenting the older man's inference about his age and intelligence)
I think you have - but the people here are all against integration - why are <u>you</u> for this Communist inspired decision?

31 (CONTINUED)

DOBBS
(Getting his number)
I happen to be a public official - and I've sworn to uphold all the laws. With our Mayor away - I'm here in his behalf.
(Slowly and deliberately)
Now, in that capacity I'm going to have to ask you to make no more speeches - like this one - in Clayton Springs.

The crowd rumbles.

FOREMAN
(Matter-of-factly)
Oh I could never do that, that's what I'm down here for.

DOBBS
Then I have no other recourse but to ask you to leave town.

FOREMAN
Doesn't free speech exist here anymore?

DOBBS
(Looking him in the eye)
If you don't abide by what I say you'll give me no other choice -
(Threateningly)
but to place you in jail.

The crowd starts to make a few rude remarks.

SAUNDERS
(Lost at the thought of having to go it alone)
Why don't you go ahead and lock us all up?

DOBBS
(Still looking only in Foreman's face)
Well Mr. Foreman?

FOREMAN
(Not quite aware)
If I have to go to jail for my beliefs - I am prepared.

31 (CONTINUED)

DOBBS

Turning to the Sheriff, slightly stunned by his attitude.

Put this man under arrest.

SAUNDERS

Dobbs - you done lost your mind?

MCWOOD
(Hesitating)
You want me to take him now?

DOBBS
(Firmly)
Now.

MCWOOD
Come on Mr. Foreman.
(Apologetically as they walk away)
It's only a short walk.

McWood leads Foreman off and the majority of the crowd follow him in the direction of the jail; including Bill Dobbs who keeps looking over his shoulder at his father who has stayed behind.

SAUNDERS
(Vehemently to Dobbs)
You'll regret this to the longest day you live.

Saunders turns to assist his wife and boy with the cleaning up. Dobbs turns and walks away through the few of the crowd remaining. The older woman who had spoken kindly to Foreman previously, takes a long look at Dobbs and then spits at his feet as he walks past.

OLDER WOMAN
Nigger lover.
(Her face goes ashen white)

32 EXT. DAY - SIDE STREET BY COURT HOUSE

Annie Coe, an attractive middle aged negro woman, has been watching the entire proceedings from the front seat of her car. When the woman spits at Dobbs, she almost gets out. But he soon walks away and she stays where she is.

DISSOLVE TO:

33 INT. THE COE DINING ROOM

Later that afternoon the family are sitting down to Sunday dinner. We see again the boy and girl that Bill Dobbs has photographed at the school. Robert Coe together with Annie Coe come out of the kitchen with plates full of cake and ice cream. A fan cools them all and we see the table has been beautifully set with a half finished roast in full view.

COE
Man in Church had that handbill.

Puts out his hand for his dessert.

Mark my words woman that Saunders is out to cause trouble.

ANNIE
Decent people don't pay attention to white trash like that.

COE
Oh like your Mr. Dobbs that went and made hisself a grea t big pile of money fighting this case in the courts? But if I so much as say one thing about this school business - you tell me I'm a traitor to my race. You and that damn NAACP.

ANNIE
You watch what you say about them, Robert Coe, thanks to the NAACP we can hold up our heads as tall as any white man or woman in Henderson County.

COE
Now I may be a bit peculiar but you know I felt just fine before that Supreme Court decision;
(Still he draws no fire)
Just fine - I had a good job...

ANNIE
(Interrupting)
Money, that's all you ever think of.

COE
I never see you pushing away that new furniture.
(Gesturing)
27 inch T.V. set and if you'll recall

33 (CONTINUED)

COE (Cont'd)

Jerks his thumb

that Bud Saunders car outside was your idea.

He pushes away from the table to get his pipe and tobacco from the sideboard.

When I was a boy - my daddy who never went past the third grade - was a gardner, his mother and daddy were slaves and this daddy of mine got hisself twenty dollars a month and all the old clothes he could carry for his wife to sit down and sew up for his nine children. But he was a free man. Now I finished High School, was made a Sergeant in the United States Army and now I make seventy-five dollars a week; every week. Got four men who work for me. And my children wear clothes as good as any in town; my wife don't even have to work at all - course she does have the honour of tending house for the great Dobbs family.

ANNIE

What's this long speech got to do with them going down the Hill to school?

COE

(Annoyed)

I'm getting to that. So these children of mine's education was well taken care of in their own school. And I was happy...like the dumb darkie you always tell me I am. And why children?

(This is the first time he has spoken to them directly)

Because in only three generations my family had moved up from slavery....

ANNIE

(Interrupting)

You're arguing with yourself Robert --

(He looks furious)

and if you really want to know, why don't you ask the children?

33 (CONTINUED)

COE
(Not taking his eyes off of her)
Because they're so full up with your ideas, they don't know what they think.

ANNIE
Know what's wrong with you Robert? Same as what's bothering a lot of white people. They're used to things the way they are and they're not fixing to let anybody change them. It's like the woman the preacher tells about. Her husband beat her every morning for thirty years -
(Pregnant pause)
then one morning he just forgot. And she got taken to the hospital for a nervous breakdown.

The children chuckle and Robert Coe smiles in spite of himself.

34 EXT. LATE AFTERNOON. NEARBY LAKE

The usual Sunday crowd are there. Near the shore people are swimming and picnicking. A speedboat threads its way through the other boats, pulling a pretty girl on water skis behind. In the middle of the lake further out we notice a fair sized raft.

35 EXT. LATE AFTERNOON. THE RAFT

Bill and Nancy swim up behind it. He holds her face for a minute and then kisses her.

NANCY
(Playfully)
You see what you were missing staying around that jail?

BILL
I want you to appreciate I lost my chance to interview the great Mr. Foreman.

Starts to climb up the ladder.

NANCY

She follows him.

35 (CONTINUED)

NANCY (Cont'd)
From what I hear about him, you should thank me.

She pulls off her bathing cap.

Couple of the teachers saw him on Main yesterday. Said they thought he looked a little -

She twirls her finger next to her temple in a knowing way.

BILL
(Looking at the girl on water skis)
You don't say. Well I wouldn't expect them to realize that he's only the best news item to ever come here. At least since I've been running the paper.

NANCY
Now Mr. Reporter, you're showing your true colors, and stop eyeing that girl.

BILL
(Ignoring her)
First time I've ever called a story into the city that they took down <u>everything</u>.

NANCY
(Semi-sarcastically)
I hope for your sake, he doesn't decide to leave town.

BILL
I'm afraid after his trial tomorrow, he won't have any choice, and away will go my chance to win the Pulitzer Prize.

NANCY
Then you're sure he's going to be convicted?

BILL
(Looking directly at her)
Nancy, this will be my father's word against Bud Saunders. The judge won't have any choice.

35 (CONTINUED)

NANCY
What if it doesn't go that way?

BILL
Then for the first time in his life, my father will have guessed wrong.

36 INT. LIVING ROOM IN SAUNDERS HOME.

He stands talking on the 'phone, while his wife huddles nearby.

SAUNDERS
That's right sir, without so much as a warrant...
(Definite)
they're starting the trial tomorrow morning...
(Full smile)
meet you at the Court House. Well I'd be glad to. All right bye-bye.

He turns to his wife with his eyes shining, not yet able to believe it.

It worked - Underhill's coming.

SHEILA
(Proudly)
You sure talked right up to him.

SAUNDERS
Think so?

Gives her a bear hug and a kiss.

37 INT. THE SECOND FLOOR OF THE COUNTY JAIL

The Sheriff and Saunders sit on a C.I. cot as Foreman paces excitedly.

FOREMAN
Sheriff you don't understand I just have to be there when that school opens. If only for a half an hour.

SAUNDERS
J.T. Isn't there anything you can do?

37 (CONTINUED)

MCWOOD
Hell Bud he shouldn't even be out of his cell up here talkin' to us.

FOREMAN
Can't you see this is a matter for the future,
(Pause for emphasis)
for the whole White Civilization.

MCWOOD
Mr. Foreman right now I'm only thinking of one white man,

Points to himself.

so simmer down - there aint nothing can be done until Court opens at ten o'clock tomorrow.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

38 EXT. DAY - THE COLE BACK YARD

Early Monday morning Annie Coe is spreading out feed for the dozen or so fowl that roam around freely. She empties the pan by turning it over and returns to the confines of the house.

39 INT. THE KITCHEN OF THE COE HOME

Mary Anne is seated at the breakfast table drinking a large glass of milk. Her father munches aimlessly on a piece of toast. Jackie comes through the door leading from the living room pulling a sports shirt over his head. His mother takes a hard look at him.

ANNIE
Jackie what you got that shirt on for?

JACKIE
(Looking down at it)
Mam?

ANNIE
Go put a clean one on.

JACKIE
(Protesting)
I only wore it yesterday.

39 (CONTINUED)

ANNIE
Don't you talk back to me.

He hesitates and then gets up snorting and leaves the room.

Mary Anne I can't see the way you're sitting. What skirt you got on with that blouse?

MARY ANNE
My brown one.

ANNIE
I suppose that matches.

MARY ANNE
I wouldn't have put it on if it didn't.

Annie pours her husband's coffee and then departs for her bedroom. He whispers in his daughter's ear.

COE
She's kind of upset this morning.
(Mary Anne shakes her head)
We both want you to do real well now. Show all the folks what you can do.
(Pause)
But don't go doing too much talking to those white boys and girls.

MARY ANNE
(Shocked again)
They'll be sitting all around me.

COE
(Embarrassed)
I mean any unnecessary talking.

Annie and Jackie return again and he sits holding his eyes low.

ANNIE
(Looking at Jackie)
That's better - and young man --
(He looks up)
no rough-housing at school today. Mind what your teachers tell you.

39 (CONTINUED)

JACKIE
(Paws at his cereal)
Yes Mam.

40 EXT. DAY - THE ENTRANCE OF THE HIGH SCHOOL FACING THE HILL.

Don Franklin stands at the door saying a word or two greeting to each student, but his eye is on the Hill. Cars pull up and discharge their adolescent cargoes, while a few driven by students find parking space on the far side of the street.

FRANKLIN
(To a chunky sandy-haired boy)
Good summer Gus?
(The boy shyly nods)
Heard you and your Dad practically emptied all the Bass out of the lake.

He then places his hand on the arm of a chubby girl.

Well Gwen you're looking mighty happy this morning.
(She smiles)

He then speaks to a tall good looking boy wearing a school sweater with three arm stripes, a big 'C', and a football in the center of it.

Dick, the Coach tells me the teams in pretty good shape.

SHIPLEY
Yes sir.

Franklin pats him on the back, then down the Hill come the negroes and Franklin and the students freeze self-consciously.

41 EXT. DAY - THE HILL.

The negroes come down almost matter-of-factly. They reach the curb, Franklin walks down to greet them but they ignore him in their efforts to get inside the school quickly. The white students look at them out of the corner of their eyes.

42 EXT. DAY - ANOTHER ENTRANCE OF THE SCHOOL

The buses of the Henderson County School System discharge

42 (CONTINUED)

students from the country districts. The last one to park has three negro girl students get off. They are greeted by ten adults and three boys; the boys who are carrying sandwich signs on which are written, "WE WON'T GO TO SCHOOL WITH NEGROES".."GO HOME COONS"..."GOD BELIEVES IN SEGREGATION". Bud Saunders is there with his wife and his son Bobby, who carries one of the signs. Bill Dobbs is endeavoring to get the three boys to stand together for a picture. A young woman carrying an infant stares in disbelief as the negroes walk into the school.

YOUNG WOMAN
(To the others)
Just look at them, so damn bold.

A pretty girl student goes up to Bobby who looks uncomfortable.

GIRL STUDENT
You fixing to wear that sign to school Bobby?

BOBBY
Aw shut up will you.

All the students standing around start to laugh. The small band of segregationists look from one to the other for comfort. The school bell rings and the three boys carrying signs look pleadingly at their parents.

43 INT. THE COUNTY COURT ROOM

Mr. Underhill is addressing his remarks to a wizened man in faded black robes sitting on the Judges Bench.

UNDERHILL
I believe we're still supposed to have free speech in Henderson County, no matter how many schools we're told to integrate.

Loud cheers from the court room. He is momentarily thrown but continues.

Your honor Mr. Foreman, a stranger to our town, was insulted and then arrested for nothing more than saying out loud what's in the hearts of most of our citizens.

More cheers.

DISSOLVE TO:

44 INT. THE COUNTY COURT ROOM

Fred Dobbs stands before the same Judge. His face is flushed and he seems slightly nervous.

DOBBS
Unlike Mr. Underhill, I was there; I heard, as I'm certain Sheriff McWood will verify,

Points to Foreman.

this man invite and indeed encourage people to wilfully disobey the law.

Loud boos.

DISSOLVE TO:

45 INT. THE COUNTY COURT ROOM

Sheriff McWood sits in the Witness Stand. The Judge is cross-examining him.

MCWOOD
I didn't hear it all Judge, Mr. Foreman has a soft voice and was talking a mile a minute.

COUNTY JUDGE
Would you say that the people were -
(Pause)
close to rioting?

MCWOOD
(Looking away from Dobbs)
No sir I wouldn't.

DISSOLVE TO:

46 INT. THE HALLWAY OUTSIDE THE COURT

Loud cheers are heard from behind the closed doors. Finally both the doors come flying open and Rudy Duncan and Bud Saunders are the first ones out. Duncan grabs Saunders and whirls him around in a playful fashion. The crowd pours out after them and finally we see Foreman and Mr. Underhill. All continue in a direct line to the steps in a highly buoyant frame of mind. The last ones out of the Court are Fred Dobbs and Phil Noyes, the Court Clerk; Dobbs looks the beaten man as he hears the cheers for Foreman and Underhill out front.

47 EXT. DAY - OUTSIDE THE COURT HOUSE

Bill is taking pictures. Saunders has joined the triumphant two. He and Foreman each are holding one of Underhill's hands over their head. Fred Dobbs comes out the front door and Bill almost goes to him but can't when Foreman starts to speak. He watches his Father disappear as he takes out his notebook.

FOREMAN
Good ladies and gentlemen of Henderson County, let it be noted that Bedford Forrest Underhill - named for that greatest of Confederate Generals - on this day - stood up to the dictators that think they run this County.
(Cheers)
In so doing he gives decent people a source from which to draw their spiritual support for the long fight ahead,
(More cheers)
and now sir, before this august body of the areas leading citizens,

Pan to the faces of the so-called leading citizens.

may I humbly ask you to accept the Honorary Chairmanship of our local White Peoples' Club?

The crowd goes wild and Underhill seems surprised. He then steps forward solemnly and waits for silence.

UNDERHILL
Mr. Foreman, ladies and gentlemen - when the very right of free speech is threatened, I find it my duty to join with you.

They cheer loud and long with a couple of women coming up to kiss his hand, making him vastly uncomfortable.

48 EXT. DAY - TRAVEL SHOTS OF CLASSROOMS AS SEEN THROUGH WINDOWS

In first classroom, the teacher is writing on the board and the class gives her their full attention; except for two boys in the rear who throw paper clips at one another. There are no negro students present.

The second classroom has Nancy for their teacher. We see also Mary Anne Coe, Carol Fettyplace, Dick Shipley and Bobby Saunders. Nancy is sitting down reading to them from a book. She and the others turn their heads towards the speaker on the wall which says in a soft voice, "Bobby Saunders, to the Principal's office". He gets up, looking guilty and walks to the back door.

48 (CONTINUED)

The Third Classroom is in the process of writing something seated at their desks while the teacher walks around the room. It is very warm, and one of the three negro students wipes his forehead with a handkerchief.

The Fourth set of windows is the Principal's Office.

49 INT. DON FRANKLIN'S OFFICE

Bobby stands.

FRANKLIN
Those colored students are going to be with us this term Bobby.

BOBBY
(Weakly)
That aint what my dad says.

FRANKLIN
Your dad doesn't run the school. And I must say I'm more than a little hurt that one of our seniors had to be out there this morning - after all the time we took to explain this to you last year.

Bobby's head sinks even further down.

But that isn't what I called you in for this morning:
(Seriously)
from now on regardless of your other activities, I want you in your classroom by eight-thirty...sharp.

BOBBY
Yes sir.

The lunch bell rings and activity starts in the hall behind.

FRANKLIN
Getting up and walking over to Bobby.

And Bobby, I advise you to do a little thinking of your own on this thing. Those boys and girls haven't done anything to you. They're obeying the law like the rest of us, and you're making it pretty tough on them.

Bobby almost speaks but doesn't.

49 (CONTINUED)

FRANKLIN (Cont'd)
Now you go on to lunch.

Bobby bolts for the door.

And remember what I told you about being on time.

50 INT. A BUSY PRINTING PRESS ROOM

Ben operates a machine turning out handbills saying, "HARDY'S SHOE SALE - FOR THE ENTIRE FAMILY - STARTING AT $3.49". Through a glass partition we see Bill in his office busily typing away. Foreman sits across the room in a comfortable chair reading a copy of last week's paper. We can see the trial photos on Bill's desk, still slightly damp.

51 INT. BILL'S OFFICE

He pulls the sheet out of the typewriter and looks it over quickly.

BILL
Marie --

She enters.

take these pictures.

Grabs them off his desk.

Put them in an envelope with this copy and make sure they get right into the City.

She takes it all from him and exits.

Sorry to hold you up this way.

FOREMAN
(Friendly)
That's all right. Lot of interest in the trial story in the City?

BILL
They want a full report with pictures but I don't think they've used anything yet.

FOREMAN
(Bitter)
That's the press for you.

51 (CONTINUED)

BILL
(After a moment)
You wanted to see me about something.

FOREMAN
Oh yes...yes I did --

He takes a brown paper envelope, opens it and extracts a picture. In the center of it is a bed inhabited by a pretty washed out blonde wearing a ruffled slip and a handsome young negro with a mustache. It has an obviously posed quality. Bill takes a long look at it.

I want that put in the middle....

Reaches in his coat pocket for a slip of paper....

with this copy all around it.

BILL
(Studying the copy)
I just don't see how we can swing it...
(Looks up)
...we're two weeks behind on orders now.

FOREMAN
(Destrought)
Oh but I need this in a couple of days ....
(Pleadingly)
....couldn't you do something <u>special</u> for us?...
(Guilty look)
...I'd be glad to pay.

BILL
That sort of thing can't be done in a small town Mr. Foreman.

FOREMAN
(Thinking of the elder Dobbs)
I see.

BILL
Now you could take this in the City... get it done in twenty-four hours...
(Sees Foreman's expression)
...price would be about the same...

A friendly looking dark haired man sticks his head in the door.

51 (CONTINUED)

HARDY
Oh I'm sorry Bill...
(Friendly)
...Well as long as I've butted in....
you got my handbills ready yet?...
The sale starts tomorrow.

BILL
I think Ben's finishing them up right
now...
(Gets up)
...Mr. Foreman you met Mr. Hardy here?
...he's got the best shoe store in the
County.

FOREMAN
No I don't believe I have.

BILL
Going into the press room
He can tell you how long I keep my
customers waiting for their printing.
(He exits)

HARDY
(Friendly)
Mr. Foreman...you may have to wait
a bit longer...but Ben....his printer....
does a real good job...

Foreman nods automatically and we see in the background Bill in the press room walk over with Ben to an open light globe to examine the handbill. When Foreman sees the same thing, his expression changes.

FOREMAN
Tell him I had to go.

Foreman exits.

DISSOLVE TO:

52 EXT. DAY - THE FRONT OF THE SCHOOL

Saunders, Duncan, Sheila, [redacted] and many of the others, mostly women. Are there A few of the[redacted] carry placards reading, "FRANKLIN MUST GO". Sheila is leading the women in chorused shouts of "FRANKLIN MUST GO"...."THE STUDENTS DON'T WANT HIM"...Rudy finally joins them by cupping his hand to his mouth.

52 (CONTINUED)

DUNCAN
Come on out here you yellow belly...

Everyone laughs at Rudy's inventive phrasing. Then they go back to the chorus, "FRANKLIN MUST GO". Suddenly the front door of the school opens and Don Franklin comes directly down the path towards them. The crowd are momentarily taken aback and stop yelling. He walks right up to Saunders.

FRANKLIN
(Nervously)
Why can't you leave us alone?

SAUNDERS
Get the niggers out of school and we will.

FRANKLIN
I can't and you know it.... Mr. Saunders - we can't teach anybody with all this yelling going on out here...

In the background we see some students watching the proceedings.

Won't you please go away?

SAUNDERS

The women almost seem to soften in their looks at the desperate Franklin.

We ain't going to desert our children.

FRANKLIN
...There aren't fifty children in school who object to this.

SAUNDERS
That aint the way I hear it....hear you got them all so scared...they're afraid to talk to anybody.

FRANKLIN
Scared?....Your boy is still in school.

SAUNDERS
(Proudly)
Well now - he don't scare so easy.

52 (CONTINUED)

FRANKLIN
Then you really think the student body wants me to resign?

(Saunders nods)

Would you accept a student vote?

SAUNDERS
(Caught off guard)
I don't know....who'd take the count?

FRANKLIN
Their own officers....

(Pause as Saunders vainly tries to think of something)

If anything like a majority....feel as you say...I'll resign this afternoon.

DUNCAN
(Confidential)
Four eyes...you're doing yourself out of a job.

DISSOLVE TO:

53 INT. THE SPEAKERS ROSTRUM IN THE SCHOOL AUDITORIUM

As Franklin speaks the camera pans different student faces in the audience. Bobby Saunders with his cohorts, Mary Anne Coe by herself and Jackie with his friends.

FRANKLIN
There are a number of people standing out in front...who object to the way the school is being run...and they seem to think you don't want me to continue as your Principal -
(Pause)
now I want to run our school according to the law....and I'm not going to let any group of people...however well intentioned ....force me to do the opposite...your vote alone will be the deciding factor...
(Pause)

53 (CONTINUED)

FRANKLIN (Cont'd)
Dick Shipley and Carol Fettyplace....as the President and Vice-President of the Student Council will come out on stage now and take your vote.

He strides off the other side of the stage.

DISSOLVE TO:

54 INT. SCHOOL PASSAGEWAY

Don Franklin stands in the passageway adjoining the Auditorium and gets his breath. He then walks down it to the door leading out into the main hallway. At the door he catches Bill standing outside the main doors to the Auditorium, talking to Nancy.

FRANKLIN
News travels fast.

BILL
Rudy Duncan called and said they got you to resign.

FRANKLIN
(Weak smile)
...he might just be right.

BILL
You don't really think the students will vote against you?

FRANKLIN
Bill - I wouldn't have thought so...but I've been surprised more than once recently.

The doors bang open and the students come pouring out. Carol walks up to Franklin, Bill and Nancy.

CAROL
Dick asked for a show of hands....and it wasn't even close - practically everyone voted for you.

Don feels strangely unsatisfied as he goes off down the hall with students trailing after him. Bill has gotten a hold of Dick Shipley on the side. Nancy talks to two girl students and then goes off with them back to her class. As the Auditorium empties out further, Jackie Coe

54 (CONTINUED)

and his two friends appear. Suddenly from out of nowhere a hand pushes Jackie, sending him sprawling against a wall; his books going every which way. White students look at him; some in absolute horror but none go near him. Even his two friends disappear down the hall. Jackie picks himself up and quickly dusts off his trousers. A couple of boys begin to kick his books around as he tries to retrieve them. Dick and Bill, who have been engrossed in conversation, suddenly realize what is going on and Dick moves to stop it.

SHIPLEY
Hey knock that off...

One of the two boys doing it runs off a safe distance and sticks his five fingers to his nose. The other, a much smaller boy, stands there and stares boldly at them. A moment passes and Bill hands Jackie one of his books. Jackie takes the book without comment and goes stoicly off down the hall.

55 EXT. DAY - OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL

Bobby Saunders stands at his father's car window. Inside are Saunders, Foreman and Rudy Duncan.

SAUNDERS
(Disgruntled)
O.K. Bobby....you go on back.

Bobby exits as Saunders looks embarrassed. Foreman looks ahead without comment.

Well what could we expect....that Franklin has his spies and stooges all over the place.

FOREMAN
(Firmly)
I do know one thing....from now on we're going to <u>have to get organized</u>.

56 EXT. DAY - MAIN STREET

Hopkins Furniture Store and Appliance Center.

57 INT. HOPKINS OFFICE

He talks to Bill who has pad and pencil in hand.

57 (CONTINUED)

BILL
Mayor - have you <u>any</u> further action planned at this time?

HOPKINS
(Unconcernedly)
I'll ask the Sheriff to keep one man permanent at the school for a while...
(He rises)
course being 100% truthful...and this is off the record, Bill...I have to blame your Dad some....arresting that crazy fool for talking to a small bunch of people - making a damn martyr out of him -
(Pause)
Now why do you suppose he did that?

BILL
I think Dad was genuinely afraid of violence.

HOPKINS
(Surprised)
Violence? .. because of a little good old country yelling?....heck in a couple of days those people will start to quiet down...and in a month's time they'll be acting as though the school's always had negroes...
(With emphasis)
but you've <u>got to give them time</u>.

DISSOLVE TO:

58 INT. - DOBBS LIVING ROOM

The clocks read 4:45. Fred Dobbs sits talking to Nancy while Annie Coe puts down a tray with milk and sandwiches next to him.

DOBBS
Stop fussing over me Annie. I told you, I feel fine.

ANNIE
(To Nancy in the corner)
He hasn't even had his lunch yet.

Annie exits.

58 (CONTINUED)

NANCY
You really should eat something.

DOBBS
(Wry smile)
Somehow after Court this morning, I lost my appetite.

He reaches over and picks up the nearest sandwich and begins to nibble.

NANCY
I think it was absolutely disgusting the way that Judge treated you. Not even taking your word.

DOBBS
I have to admit it was a novel experience.
(More bites on sandwich)
I guess I've been spoiled.

Bill comes through the front door and heads for the Living Room.

Well Hi Bill.

Bill goes over and pecks Nancy on the cheek.

Nancy and I were just talking about the grandstand fool your old man made of himself this morning.

BILL
How are you feeling now?

DOBBS
I'm fine.

BILL
I called you from Hopkins place. Annie didn't want to disturb you.

DOBBS
What?

Shakes his head to Nancy.

By the way, did Floyd tell you why he didn't show up in Court this morning?

58(CONTINUED)

BILL
Said he was busy with some salesmen.

NANCY
Just like Floyd Hopkins to hide himself away the minute there's any controversy.

DOBBS
I'll bet I know exactly what he said to Bill too.
(Mock imitation)
"Off the record Bill - your Dad went about this thing in the wrong way".

Bill smiles in spite of himself and Nancy laughs aloud.

And did you stick up for me?

BILL
I didn't volunteer anything.

DOBBS
(Semi-serious to Bill)
Do you think I went about it in the right way?

NANCY
You went about it the only way.

DOBBS
No Nancy, I'm asking Bill.

BILL
(Protesting)
Dad, you're the lawyer.

DOBBS
All right, stop beating around the bush.

BILL
(Avoiding looking at Nancy)
Well I do think it might have been handled differently. For one thing, in a practical sense, by waiting a half an hour you could have arrested Foreman without a crowd. And I suppose even you were taking some chance trying to get a man convicted in this area for preaching against integration.

58 (CONTINUED)

BILL (Cont'd)
(Seeing his father's face)
Course, I guess it's easy for me to sound so smart now.

DOBBS
Yes it is.

59 INT. UNDERHILL'S OFFICE

A Mammoth Company cheque book sits on a large oakwood desk. The Judge is writing out a cheque as Foreman stands before him.

UNDERHILL

Hands him the cheque.

I think this should cover immediate expenses....Did you get a chance to talk to Saunders about the new plans?

FOREMAN
Yes Sir....and I told him that I agreed with you one hundred percent.... from now on our appeals got to be to peoples mind and hearts.

UNDERHILL
I want you to watch it closely - so that it doesn't get out of hand...

FOREMAN nods affirmatively.

particularly keep an eye on Saunders... he's a well meaning man but....uned-ucated....I don't think he fully realizes how these rural people are once you get them excited...they don't know where to stop....
(Reminiscing)
my grandfather used to say...and he employed hundreds of them over the years ....that there was some sort of... insanity back in those hills...and still he loved those people...their simplicity ...and their complete devotion to him.

FOREMAN
I know what he meant....
(Vehemently)
they're almost untouched by the rotten

59 (CONTINUED)

FOREMAN (Cont'd)
world about them...
(Underhill looks puzzled)
with it's filthy conformity.

UNDERHILL
(Not getting it)
That's probably all very true Mr. Foreman....all the same...remember what I said....

We see something in Underhill's eyes that might betray a previous experience.

DISSOLVE TO:

60 EXT. DAY. LATE AFTERNOON - THE COE FRONT PORCH

Robert is speaking excitedly to his wife but in a low voice not wanting his children to hear.

COE
Running all over the plant...nailing up posters...join this...join that ...everywhere you could look...people whispering...white men I've been friendly with my whole life starting to look at me funny.

ANNIE
(Trying to reassure)
The decent white people are on our side.

DOE
That don't help me none...I've still got to work with these men...Hell there was a regular procession of them into that White Peoples Headquarters at the factory ....and then that new friend of his...
(Shakes his head)
I've known men that didn't like colored people but this here man is different...I overheard him in the hall today...he hates colored people.

61 INT. THE NEW WHITE PEOPLES CLUB ROOM AT THE FACTORY

Foreman is speaking to about fifty people. The group is about evenly divided between men and women.

61 (CONTINUED)

FOREMAN
(Crisply)
I have the school list here....before you go home...take the names of as many students families as you think you can call...tell them that their White Peoples Club wants them to boycott the school until its "all white" again....Sheila will arrange with a couple of you to work on the teachers...if they don't see it our way...
(Bites)
Try putting the fear of God in them...
(Pauses and snarls)
I want every white student and teacher out of that school by tomorrow...
(Pause)
so get to work.

DISSOLVE TO:

62 INT. THE SWITCHBOARD OF THE TOWN OF CLAYTON SPRINGS

Lights are flashing all over the place. The two women on duty seem swamped.

63 INT. THE ALCOVE OF DON FRANKLIN'S HOME

Don stands talking on the 'phone. He is dressed casually in leather strap slippers with slacks and a sports shirt. He strains to be polite.

FRANKLIN
I have nothing more to say....the school will open same as usual tomorrow morning.
(Waits a moment and then gets annoyed)
You'll have to excuse me...my wife and I are having company....
(Pause)
well do anything you want....

He hangs up the phone.

64 INT. DON COMES INTO HIS LIVING ROOM

Sitting there are Bill, Nancy and his wife.

64 (CONTINUED)

FRANKLIN
This is getting ridiculous....and all of them with the same story.

NANCY
Why don't you have them disconnect your 'phone?

MARIAN
We would only somebody in the family... might call long distance....and if they got no reply - they might worry.

FRANKLIN
Suppose it sounds silly....but I had hoped after that vote today....they might leave us alone.

BILL
(Twirling his glass cubes)
Uncle Bedford backing them up....gives them all sorts of new life....
(Nancy turns away)

MARIAN
Nancy --
(Softly)
you know how fond I've always been of your uncle....well I must admit....today he really surprised me....
(Nancy looks embarrassed)

BILL
(Unable to resist the quip)
You know what they say Marian...."White Supremacy makes strange bedfellows".

NANCY
(Annoyed)
You're certainly no one to talk.

BILL
(Protesting)
I'm only kidding.

NANCY
I don't think this happens to be a kidding matter...

64 (CONTINUED)

FRANKLIN
(After a long silence)
After today Nancy - I'd be inclined to agree with you.

BILL
O.K.....so it's not a kidding matter...
(Nancy looks at him)
so...Don't look at me that way Nancy.
(Pause)
I'm not a White Peoples Club member yet.

NANCY
Of course you're not...you're like most other men...doing nothing --
(Bill flushes)

MARIAN
(Slightly annoyed)
Don's tried to do something Nancy.

FRANKLIN
Oh Honey.

NANCY
I know he has...so's the new Minister... and Bill's father...and they are the only ones....
(Bill smarts under the criticism)
But even then it's usually with an apology.
(Mock speech)
"Folks - we don't like the negroes being in school anymore than you do"....
(Change of tone)
"But we must all follow the law"....
(To Bill and Don)
Am I to understand the only difference between the decent men in town and that crowd in front of the school is that the decent men believe in the law?
(No answer)

BILL
Just like a woman - with apologies to you Marian and to reduce a complex situation to simple terms - how you've baited me all year to endorse that Supreme Court decision.... in print...and I haven't put in a single word...why? Because even if I might believe in this decision...I happen to work in the Newspaper business...and if I go and get too

64 (CONTINUED)

BILL (Cont'd)
far ahead of these people that are supposed to read this paper...I won't be able to give away the copies next week... and another thing, what good do you think it would do? - Nothing as far as Don is concerned...if he told that School Board how he really feels about integration... they'd have Bud Saunders in as his replacement in the morning.
(He takes a furious swallow)

NANCY
I still think...despite all the practical reasons against it...somebody like the paper has to stand up to these people...paying lip service to segregation only encourages them....they all go around thinking they're members of some Holy Crusade.

MARIAN
If Don and Bill did what you wanted.... they'd be leaving the field to Foreman and Saunders...

The 'phone rings and Don goes to answer it.

NANCY
Meanwhile Marian....every colored student in that school is going around with their heart in their mouth....thinking nobody's on their side but the law...
(To Bill)
For instance Bill what kind of effect do you think this is having on the Coe children.

BILL
(Looking away)
Probably a very bad one - but how can it be helped?

NANCY
Oh Bill - don't be so casual...you're talking as though they're perfect strangers....their mother practically raised you...
(She hesitates)
I've heard you say yourself....you sometimes could tell her things - you wouldn't tell your own father...
(Bill turns his eyes away)

64 (CONTINUED)

FRANKLIN
(Returning)
That was another one of the teachers... they've been around to her house.

DISSOLVE TO:

65 INT. BILL'S STATION WAGON

It is parked down the street from Nancy's home. Bill and Nancy sit in the front seat and continue the evening's discussion.

BILL
Look Nancy...we could go round and round on this thing all night long....

She keeps looking out the window.

and another thing....
(Controlling himself)
You realize telling them about Annie - you were repeating our most private conversations?

NANCY
I'm sorry Bill....I had to do something... there I was sitting with the man I'm supposed to marry...and we can't even agree on fundamentals.

BILL
I do not see where our relationship has anything to do with the trouble at school.

NANCY
You're forgetting I'm a teacher.

BILL
No - you're forgetting it...you go around talking like you're the principal..... insulting Don in his own home...lecturing us two grown men like a couple of schoolboys.

NANCY
(Disturbed)
I wasn't aware I was lecturing....
(Wearily)
I just somehow thought we should all be feeling the same way...it was bad enough

65 (CONTINUED)

NANCY (Cont'd)
when my uncle....but when I found you and the Franklins didn't even agree with me....

Bill avoids looking at her.

I don't know...I guess I just can't be passive and calm like the rest of you.

BILL
Oh Nancy....stop being so dramatic.

NANCY
Is that all you have to say?.....

He doesn't answer and she opens the car door.

Good night Bill.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

66 EXT. FRONT OF THE SCHOOL

The following morning. Foreman is speaking to a crowd of about one hundred of his sympathizers. An additional two hundred or so students listen in curiosity. Bill Dobbs stands near Foreman just listening. He looks as though he hasn't had much sleep the previous night.

FOREMAN
Because of this stupid school Principal.... we may have to take the law into our own hands....
(Grumbling in the crowd)
as I'm talking to you right now....some more of that scum is coming in the back door....
(Cries of "Let's go back and get them")
Not yet brother....
(Warmly)
So boys and girls....that's why it's necessary...for every white...red-blooded American...to stay way from the school until we've gotten rid of the niggers and their pip squeak friend....

66 (CONTINUED)

FOREMAN (Cont'd)

Shouts from students in the rear..."No"..."Go on back to where you came from"....a few of the older people down front turn to go after them.

No leave them alone...we all know how he's poisoned their minds against us...

The school bell rings and the crowd in the rear begins to fade into the school.

67 INT. FRANKLIN'S OFFICE

Bill stands there listening to Don.

FRANKLIN
A couple of mothers called me this morning and wanted to know if I thought it was safe for their children to come to school....safe mind you....they got a call last night saying we were going to be bombed.

BILL
You tell the Sheriff?

FRANKLIN
Tell him...hell I can't even find him....
(Gets up)
I have never in all my born days seen anything like this...and every man in town with the power to do anything....walks around with his eyes closed...here's someone... not a week in town...calling me names to people that I've known my whole life...half of them I've had in school...and they stand there like a bunch of hound dogs...lapping it up like it was the gospel truth.

BILL
What did the Mayor say?

FRANKLIN
Ignore it...wait for them to break a law... wait....that's fine...but it's me that has to sit up here all day long on this powder keg.

68 INT. THE DRUG STORE

A waitress carried some toast and two cups of coffee to Nancy and Fred Dobbs sitting in a booth.

DOBBS
You're going to have to learn something very important if you and Bill spend your lives here...families like ours live in the limelight...people expect us to reflect the traditions of the community.... for example...in my own particular case... when the School Board first came and asked me to handle their fight to keep the High School segregated...I wanted to say "No" personally....because I don't honestly believe that a man ...black...white...red or what have you....is anything before he's an individual...then I proceeded to spend a long time in the Courts saying something completely opposite...
(Reflecting)
so perhaps because of this hypocrisy.... I deserved yesterday morning.

NANCY
I think you're too hard on yourself Uncle Fred...and after Sunday...I don't think anyone has any doubt where you stand.... I somehow wish I could say the same thing about Bill.

DOBBS
Nancy...if I were in Bill's shoes...I'm not so sure what I'd do...after all can a newspaper afford to offend a very large portion of its readers.

NANCY
I don't see how a <u>good</u> newspaper can avoid offending some people from time to time... particularly when an issue like this is at stake.

DOBBS
Even if he lit out after your Uncle.... because...like it or not...your Uncle's the leader of that mob in front of the School and for him there's <u>no</u> excuse....he knows how these people are when they get riled up.

68 (CONTINUED)

NANCY
I'll never understand what came over him - you know he can't even stand to be in the same room with Bud Saunders.

DOBBS
Maybe it's just pure spite.
(Nancy looks shocked)
I know we've never talked about the reason your uncle doesn't speak to Floyd Hopkins or me anymore. But it was shortly after your mother and father died. One term when I was Mayor, Floyd and I invited two new industries to locate here - we didn't consult your uncle and he never forgave us. He said we were destroying the balance between industry and agriculture - there are those who say the real reason it upset him so was that it drove wages in the area up over what they were before - and it was shortly after that his plant went Union - all these years he's held this grudge.

NANCY
You don't believe he's doing all this for spite over that?

DOBBS
No that'd probably be too simple....I don't see where any one thing can explain it...but he hasn't been in complete control since that time.

NANCY

Nancy looks at her watch and starts.

Say - my next class starts in five minutes....

Puts her hand on his.

I want to thank you for coming over and holding my hand.

DOBBS
Least I could do for my future daughter-in law.

Nancy looks as though the issue might be in doubt.

69 INT. WHITE PEOPLES CLUB OFFICE

Foreman sits at an enormous desk in the rear of the office. It is quite businesslike and respectable as opposed to the atmosphere of the mob. Decent looking well-dressed people are coming to the desk picking up literature from a pretty girl and then signing their names. Bill Dobbs is interviewing Foreman. On the wall dominating the personality of the room, is a picture of Mr. Underhill. Below it, it says, "BEDFORD F. UNDERHILL - HONORARY CHAIRMAN - WHITE PEOPLES CLUB - HENDERSON COUNTY". Bill is writing away.

FOREMAN
You can quote me as saying the citizens of all economic groups have gotten behind the inspired leadership of Mr. Underhill.

BILL
I see....
(Looks at his pad)
now the wire service wanted me to ask you some personal questions.

FOREMAN
(Sly grin)
Not too personal....I hope.

BILL
Number one...what do you personally hope to gain from all this?

FOREMAN
(Swiftly and seriously)
The satisfaction of doing something that I believe in.

BILL
Why did you pick Clayton Springs?

FOREMAN
Why not?....It's representative of the entire problem.

BILL
What problem is that?

FOREMAN
The centralization of all authority....
(Bill glances at him)

69 (CONTINUED)

BILL
Do you personally dislike negroes?

FOREMAN
No....but that doesn't mean I want to sleep with them...I think that all races are perfect within their own environment...the negro should live in Africa...the white man should never have tampered with nature and brought him here...now that he has... the negro has to go to his own schools.

BILL
Every time I've heard you speak.... you've mentioned some kind of "plot" ....it's never been quite clear to me what you mean.

FOREMAN

Foreman rises and speaks in an irritated manner.

Can't <u>you</u> realize there is a plot?... I cannot understand why this should be so difficult for an educated man to comprehend....

He walks to the window and inhales deeply.

It's the Communist intellectuals who control the main stream of our cultural life...all of the college professors are part of the "plot".....they set the pattern for all...if you don't go along you're a freak...that's why I distrust all intellectuals....
(Smiles)
including myself....now....the negro in the South has become their latest tool..
(Strongly)
and <u>must</u> be dealt with as such.

BILL (Pause)
How do you feel about violence?

FOREMAN
(Smoothly)
The same way I feel about eating and sleeping...it's a part of life...you can't avoid it.

69 (CONTINUED)

BILL
(Looking directly at him)
Everything seems so simple to you.

FOREMAN
(Confident)
It is.

BILL
You never worry?

FOREMAN
I'll leave that to others...now you'll have to excuse me.

BILL
I still have to take that picture.

FOREMAN
So you do....

Foreman strides over in front of Underhill's portrait. Then tongue in cheek.

Why not here.

70 INT. THE SCHOOL LIBRARY

A full length portrait of Dwight D. Eisenhower in battle dress hangs on the wall. Franklin has gathered the faculty and is speaking. His expression is grim and outside in the hall the students peer through in curiosity.

FRANKLIN
All I can ask each of you to do....is keep coming to school...if the parents see we can't be buffaloed...maybe they'll keep on sending the children...

Miller the football coach raises his hand.

Coach?

MILLER
You mean McWood and his boys are going to sit on their "duff" while that circus goes on out there?

FRANKLIN
The Mayor doesn't want to do anything until....

A girl student breaks into the library.

70 (CONTINUED)

GIRL STUDENT
Mr. Franklin...there's a fight going on outside....

Everyone in the room gets to their feet.

71 EXT. DAY - OUTSIDE THE FRONT OF THE SCHOOL

Jackie and Bobby Saunders are going at it. Jackie's nose is bleeding and Bobby is circling him. The White People around, mostly women and teenagers, yell their filth at Jackie. We hear, "Kill that nigger"...."Don't hit him in the head, you'll break your hands"...."Get him in the guts". Bobby buoyed by the crowd gets in a particularly good blow and Jackie falls. Rudy Duncan steps in and shoves Bobby down on top of Jackie and yells, "Pin him", Bobby puts his knees on Jackie's outstretched arms and sits there. Duncan yells, "Him him in the face". Bobby hesitates and when nudged by Duncan, starts to pummel Jackie square in the face. Jackie rolls his head back and forth but finally gets a beauty in the nose. Jackie then grabs Bobby from behind with his long legs and upsets him. Jackie gets up and hits Bobby a double uppercut. Bobby falls. A hand reaches out of nowhere and shoves Jackie back, toppling him. A woman's handbag lands on the side of his head. He struggles to maintain his balance. There is a moment of indecision and then the crowd decends on Jackie with sticks, fists, placards, womens' purses, etc. He backs up against the building. He tries to ward off the blows.

DUNCAN
(Screaming)

Kill him....

Jackie cornered, stops short and pulls a switchblade knife. He presses the button. The crowd gasps. He waves the blade through the air.

JACKIE
Come on....

The crowd hangs back.

what are you waiting for?.....

For what seems like an eternity, the swelled crowd of now three hundred surround him. Then from the back comes an apologetic-looking policeman, followed by Don Franklin and Coach Miller. Jackie is still poised. The Policeman pauses a moment at the edge of the crowd and then comes towards Jackie.

71 (CONTINUED)

POLICEMAN
Give me that knife boy....

Jackie ignores him....The Policeman speaks more gently.

You'd better give that knife here.

JACKIE
Get them away from me.

POLICEMAN
(Turning to the crowd)
All right now folks...back off....
(Some slowly do)
all of you....

The rest go back slowly without a word. Jackie fights to hold back tears and the Policeman comes to him and takes the knife easily. The crowd immediately starts to return and the Policeman whirls and pulls his pistol in one motion.

Hold it....
(They do)
Now I'm going to take this boy with me.

SHEILA
(From one side near Rudy)
We want to give him what he deserves....

The crowd roars and the Policeman looks scared.

POLICEMAN
(Carefully)
Mrs. Saunders....if you or anybody else tries to stop me...I'll have no other choice but to use this gun....
(Semi-firmly)
now come on and make way for me...I'm coming through....

The crowd opens with Miller and Franklin leading the way.

DUNCAN
(As they pass him)
Tough guy.

DISSOLVE TO:

72 INT. THE PRINCIPAL'S OFFICE

Eight adult women stand talking to Don Franklin who attempts to calm them.

FIRST WOMAN
I don't care...I want her to come home with me right now...she can come back when it's safe.

FRANKLIN
Please now...the children are all back in school...you don't want to disturb them now.

FIRST WOMAN
You telling me I can't take my child home.

FRANKLIN
No of course I'm not.

FIRST WOMAN
Because much as I like you Mr. Franklin ....I just can't take a chance....six of those coloured boys roaming the school with switchblade knives.

FRANKLIN
(Befuddled)
It was only one boy.

FIRST WOMAN
Now don't go telling me stories....I know what happened.

DISSOLVE TO:

72 INT. THE CITY COUNCIL CHAMBERS

Present are Dobbs, Fettyplace and Hopkins. Bill sits on the side with Reverend Parker.

HOPKINS
If he hadn't pulled a knife....there wouldn't be half this trouble.

DOBBS
Course he might not be alive to tell about it.

72 (CONTINUED)

HOPKINS
Things are plenty bad enough Fred without you getting melodramatic.

DOBBS
I wish you'd take the trouble to just wander over to that school.

HOPKINS
I don't have to wander...I get reports from people all the time.

FETTYPLACE
Woman my wife knows from Church called and said we ought to thank that Saunders boy....said he was fighting to protect some white girl.

DOBBS
(Disgusted)
Ralph....you're not serious.

FETTYPLACE
(Slightly embarrassed)
Well you know how <u>they</u> are....

Don Franklin comes in the far door at this precise moment.

DOBBS
Don....what's the story Ralph here is telling us about Jackie Coe making advances to some white girl?

FRANKLIN
What?....

Franklin shakes his head and puts a file of papers on the Council table.

Bobby Saunders was put up to starting a fight with Jackie.....

Fettyplace slinks lower in his seat.

that's what it was gentlemen....a fight started to cause trouble....and it sure has succeeded...right now twenty five parents are in the school office taking their children home.....two hundred other students never came back from lunch... with the large absentee list we had this morning...it means forty percent of our student body is out....
(The table sits in stunned silence)

72 (CONTINUED)

FRANKLIN (Cont'd)
Gentlemen, what are we going to do?

HOPKINS
Don look...I'd give it another twenty four hours....

A sigh of annoyance from Fred Dobbs.

by tomorrow morning...I'll bet most of those children will be back...you know how kids love to stay home from school..

FRANKLIN
Not on the second day of the term.

HOPKINS
(Defensively)
If I go and jump in there today.... way the mood of those people is...we'll be sitting on top of this all winter long...

There is a silence as Dobbs shakes his head to Don Franklin. The Reverend awkwardly motions to the table.

REV. PARKER
Gentlemen...may I suggest something?

HOPKINS
(Polite)
Certainly Reverend.

REV. PARKER

Rev. Parker comes over.

As I understand it...this White Peoples organization calls the parents of students every night telling them to keep their children home....well why can't we get up a committee to do just the opposite thing ....

They look from one to the other as though they should have thought of this before.

DISSOLVE TO:

73 EXT. DAY - THE STADIUM

A young man runs down the field with a practice punt and is tackled by two men; one of whom is Dick Shipley. Don Franklin crosses the open field with Bill.

74 EXT. DAY - A CORNER OF THE STADIUM NEAR THE GOAL POST.

The Coach blows his whistle hard to bring in the stragglers as Don stands in front of about twenty of the players. As the last one arrives, the Coach gives him a playful boot in the fanny.

FRANKLIN
Boys...you might wonder why I'm making a special point to single you out to talk again...but you know how everybody looks up to their football team... I think in your case this is particularly true...and though I wouldn't want anybody to keep coming to school if its too difficult at home...I know it would be a real booster to all the other students if they knew their football team was behind the school.

SHIPLEY
We're with you all the way Mr. Franklin.

A chorus of approval.

FRANKLIN
(Very touched)
Boys...I appreciate that...you'll probably never know how much....

He turns and walks away followed by Bill.

MILLER
You all heard what Mr. Franklin said?... Anyone here feel different?.....
(He searches their faces)
Good....I've got a great idea on how we can help him....

They circle in closer.

75 EXT. DAY - THE COE BACKYARD

Robert Coe is berating his son who holds a basketball which he has been practising with.

75 (CONTINUED)

COE
Taking out a knife...spending the afternoon in jail....would somebody please tell me what's this family coming to....
(He turns)
Oh wait till Mr. Underhill hears....
(Suddenly)
where did you get that knife?

JACKIE
(Very low)
In the City....

His father shakes his head in disgust. Jackie tries to prove his point.

The Sheriff even gave it back to me.

COE
He did....well give it right here.

JACKIE
If I don't have a knife...they'll kill me sure.

COE
If you can't go to school without a knife ....then you'll have to stay home....
(A moment passes)
Well?

Jackie reaches in his pocket and hands him the knife. His father takes it from him swiftly and throws it in a wide arc into the darkened woods.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

76 EXT. NIGHT - STREET IN FRONT OF UNDERHILL'S HOUSE

Long Shot - Underhill and Foreman come out through the front spring door and the dog follows. Foreman shakes hands and exits. Underhill returns to the house.

77 INT. INSIDE THE UNDERHILL HOME

Nancy comes down the stairs with two books in her hand. She looks at her Uncle momentarily and then turns into the library. He follows her.

77 (CONTINUED)

UNDERHILL
It was quite difficult for me to explain your absence.

He stands at the library door.

NANCY
(Looking at the shelves)
After the last two days I just couldn't see myself having dinner with him.

UNDERHILL
Well you can thank him for getting that crowd to leave after the knife incident today.

NANCY

She walks towards the door.

Uncle Bedford...I wish I could talk to you about this...
(She shakes her head)
but somehow...you can't even see what they're doing....
(At the doorway)
and then of all things think that you should end up with a partner like Bud Saunders.

UNDERHILL
If you are telling me young lady that I have to choose between Mr. Saunders.... and integrating that school....then I'll have to choose Saunders...and I am only doing what any deep feeling person would do...under the circumstances...I am fighting for my way of life....I can't change because nine strangers in Washington tell me I have to.....

He comes to her.

for over fifty years the doctrine of separate but equal schools was acceptable ...now that doctrine...like me is supposed to be out of date...

Walks back a step.

Well I don't think so.

78 INT. -PHONE BOOTH IN A ROADSIDE CAFE.

Foreman sits with the door closed.

COLE'S VOICE
(From the receiver)
How many dues paying members?

FOREMAN
Over three hundred Jesse.

COLE'S VOICE
That's good. How about donations?

FOREMAN
Coming in very well. Remember that fellow Underhill I mentioned?

COLE'S VOICE
Yes.

FOREMAN
He's coming through as expected.

COLE'S VOICE
Fine. When will you want the boys to come up?

FOREMAN
I'll want them at least before the rally on Saturday.

79 INT. A BOOTH IN A ROADSIDE CAFE

We see Saunders and Duncan having coffee and beer. Rudy looks bored tearing apart a paper book of matches.

DUNCAN
(Bitterly)
I'm sick of all this talkin.

SAUNDERS
We've got to give it time.

DUNCAN
Time and talk...that's all I hear.... you and that damn Foreman.

SAUNDERS
(Looking around)
You better shut up...he's going to be back in a minute....
(He stares Rudy down)
Now we're doing this his way....he aint been wrong yet.

79 (CONTINUED)

DUNCAN
(Snarling back at Saunders)
I knew more about things like this
the day I was born....than he does now...
but you don't listen to me...no sirree
...
(Jealously)
ever since he got here...you follow him
around like he was some sort of a God...
(This rankles Saunders)
now if you'd a listened to me we'd a
been up that Hill last night...and not
a one of them niggers would have come
down there this morning....

Foreman comes up unwrapping a package of cigarettes. Rudy shuts up.

FOREMAN
Don't let me stop you Rudy....
(Rudy sits silent)

SAUNDERS
(Jovially)
General Duncan here was saying how's he'd
like for us to pay the Hill a visit.

FOREMAN
That's a good idea Rudy....
(Rudy's face brightens)
but not tonight....
(Foreman smiles furtively)

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

80 EXT. DAY - SCHOOL ENTRANCE FACING THE HILL

An effigy swings high by its neck over the rear entrance to Clayton Springs High School. On it is placed a card, "INTEGRATED NIGGER". A number of white students and segregationists, prominent among them Rudy Duncan, mill around below waiting. Finally we see the twelve negroes come down the hill for the third day. This time they are met by a crowd and four policemen in the final block. A few of the segregationists throw rotten eggs and tomatoes that splash among the negroes and policemen. Mary Anne is one of those hit. A few of the crowd close in after them taunting them, but the negroes walk at the same pace and the police attempt to hold back the more violent ones. A mountain woman carrying a small child runs up to Mary Anne and yells in her face.

80 (CONTINUED)

MOUNTAIN WOMAN

You're all wrong...
(To the crowd)
she's all wrong...look at her face ....she's black...go on home....we don't want you.

SECOND WOMAN

A second woman rushes up to Mary Anne.

Don't you feel out of place here?

MARY ANNE
(Firmly)

No.

81 EXT. DAY - THE REAR SCHOOL ENTRANCE

The negroes go in without noticing the effigy. Then Don Franklin comes out. He appears to have had another sleepless night. He looks up towards the effigy, then returns to the school. Bill Dobbs comes around the corner with his camera over his shoulder. As he walks up Rudy Duncan walks along with him. Bill sets up to take a picture of the effigy.

DUNCAN
(Proudly pointing)

I did that up there....

Bill ignores him and takes his first picture. Then Rudy speaks to the crowd.

had a helluva time getting it up there to....

Franklin comes out the door with the coloured janitor who is carrying a tall ladder. He places it firmly against the side of the building and takes a pair of scissors from Franklin. He then cautiously mounts the ladder trying to ignore the crowd below. The policemen stand in front of the crowd and hold them back. Duncan jams out his face.

Hey....what you doing there?....

The janitor freezes.

FRANKLIN

Go ahead Sam....

The man doesn't seem able to move.

81 (CONTINUED)

FRANKLIN (Cont'd)
Don't pay any attention to him....

Still no movement.

all right....come on down....

The janitor doesn't need to be told twice and swiftly does. In a second Franklin himself is back up the ladder and cuts the rope which holds the effigy in place. It falls and Duncan starts for it but is held back by the police.

DUNCAN
(Hurt tone)
That's my effigy.

Franklin drags it into the school as Bill takes a picture of it all.

82 INT. FRANKLIN'S OFFICE

He has thrown the effigy with its placard still dangling, into a large leather chair. On Franklin's desk we see a sheet marked "ENROLLMENT CHART" and the columns "FRESHMAN-SOPHOMORE-JUNIOR-SENIOR"....there are two places still left empty.

VOICE BOX
Mr. Franklin....Miss Wolf in 324....
18 students.

FRANKLIN
(Presses lever)
Thank you....

He writes the figure into one of the remaining two places.

and if you thought that phone was busy Monday night...you should have been around last night....we tried to go to sleep at two o'clock....

He rises.

Bill it's got to the point where I say to myself...what next?....why if it hadn't been for the football team this morning...I don't think we'd have been able to unload the buses.

82 (CONTINUED)

VOICE BOX
Mr. Franklin.

FRANKLIN
(Presses lever)
Yes.

VOICE BOX
Mr. Nelson in 318.....9 students....

FRANKLIN
Thank you....

He writes it down in the last remaining space and then adds up a column. He hands the results to Bill and we see "Student total-295".

That's less than one third of our enrollment.

83 EXT. DAY - THE SIDE DOOR OF THE SCHOOL

Bill exits attempting to avoid the mob out front. Foreman however spots him and calls him to stop for a minute. Then he, Duncan and many of the others come over to surround Bill. Foreman wears a broad grin.

FOREMAN
(Jauntily)
Get a lot of good pictures?....

BILL
(Beginning to tire of this man)
Don't know yet.

FOREMAN
Friend of mine down South says they're starting to run stories about Clayton Springs every day now.
(Bill just stares)
....seeing as that's the case....maybe you'll be able to do <u>us</u> a couple of favours....first...you might have heard ....we're having a big rally for Mr. Underhill on the Court House Lawn Thursday night.
(Bill shows no sign of acknowledgment)
This is pretty important...but on Saturday

83 (CONTINUED)

FOREMAN (Cont'd)
....we really have important goings on...
some of the most influential men in the
White Peoples Clubs are going to be here...
largest rally like this ever in the State...
maybe even the whole South.

BILL
You have a permit for the Court House
Lawn?

FOREMAN
Sure....now it's very important that
everyone hear about these rallies....
especially the one on Saturday Night....
(Bill is wanting to be
elsewhere)
so will you play it up big in this week's paper?

He slaps Bill on the arm.

84 INT. THE CITY COUNCIL CHAMBER

It is later that morning. Hopkins sits at the head of the table with Dobbs, Fettyplace and McWood.

FETTYPLACE
Why don't the negroes stay home for a
while?....because let's face it...we're
not ready for integration.

DOBBS
If we're not ready now...we never will be.

HOPKINS
I agree...and with the newspapers out of
town starting to pick this up....we'll have
a devil of a time getting any new business
to locate here.
(He rises)
....but despite all this....I don't think
this is the time to do anything drastic.

MCWOOD
Way that crowd is today Mayor....I don't
know what you could do.

DISSOLVE TO:

85 EXT. DAY - THE FRONT OF THE SCHOOL

Hopkins stands on a wooden box surrounded by about three hundred adults and students. Not anywhere to be seen are Foreman and Saunders. Around Hopkins stand the four policemen and in the rear are Fred Dobbs, Sheriff McWood and the ever reluctant Fettyplace. Bill Dobbs stands in the rear of the crowd.

HOPKINS
We agree with you....that the Court's decision was a bitter dose....and you all know what we as your City Council have done to keep the High School segregated....but this year....
Principal Franklin.....
(Boos)
and the School Board....
(More boos)
have this Court Order....if they disobey it....they'll go to jail....

A hard faced woman sticks her face out.

HARD FACED WOMAN
That's where they belong.

HOPKINS
(Speaking directly to her)
Madam that is hardly a responsible remark....

Another woman yells.

ANOTHER WOMAN
Go on back to your TV store and mind your business.

Hopkins looks shocked as this is a new experience for him.

HOPKINS
Come on folks...you can pay your Mayor the courtesy of....

A boy student yells, interrupting him.

BOY STUDENT
See you later integrator....

The crowd roars.

DUNCAN
(Getting bored)
Hey Hopkins....don't you smart people

85 (CONTINUED)

DUNCAN (Cont'd)
know you can't cross a mocking bird with a chickadee....

Loud roar of laughter.

HOPKINS
I'm still Mayor of this town Rudy Duncan.

DUNCAN
That's our tough luck.

Crowd laughter.

Say folks when's he going to dry hisself up and blow away....

More laughter.

86 DAY - REAR OF CROWD

Bill watches what is going on and takes intermittent notes. He sees the Mayor get down off the box and go to a car at the curb. He hasn't noticed Nancy meanwhile come up behind him. He turns into her as he starts to go away.

NANCY
(Softly)
It's a pretty frightening thing, isn't it Bill?

BILL
(Quietly)
It sure is.
(Long pause)

NANCY
I imagine you've been pretty busy.

BILL
(Pre-occupied)
Yes, pretty busy.
(There is another pause as they look at one another)

NANCY
Well.
(Looks at her watch)
Class starts again in a minute.

86 (CONTINUED)

BILL
Everything all right with you?

NANCY
About as good as can be expected with the situation.
(Pause)
Goodbye Bill.

BILL
Goodbye Nancy.

She exits and he looks after her.

87 INT. UNDERHILL'S OFFICE

Mr. Underhill is on the 'phone. Foreman is across from him.

UNDERHILL
What did you expect Mayor?...you should never have gone over there....
(Sarcastically)
who said they were going to blow up the school?....Why that's absurd....
(Coldly but politely)
well I'm afraid there's nothing I can do for you.

He puts the phone down firmly.

FOREMAN
(Quickly)
I just heard about it....went up to the school and called them stupid hillbillies.

UNDERHILL
Then he rings me to help him clean up the mess....

He notices Robert Coe on the other side of the glass door. He rises.

You'll have to excuse me....Come on in Robert....

Foreman moves to the door.

This is Mr. Foreman.

87 (CONTINUED)

COE
How do you do sir.

FOREMAN
Robert....Mr. Underhill speaks highly of you.

COE
Mr. Underhill is kind.

Foreman exits.

UNDERHILL
(Warmly)
Well now....sit down Robert...

Robert does.

I want to have a little chat with you about the school....
(Pause)
I don't want to influence you one way or the other about it....eventually every man has to make up his own mind....but as you know....this trouble is going to go on until you and the other negro parents take your children back to school in the City....Now I have a plan...

88 INT. HARDY'S SHOE STORE

Sheila and another woman carrying a baby cross the threshold and the bell tinkles. Mr. Hardy comes up and greets them in a friendly way. We see cardboard signs in both window and counter denoting that a sale is in progress.

MR. HARDY
Ladies...what can I do for you?

SHEILA
We're signing up people to fight this integration thing at the school....

Hardy's expression changes.

and we want everybody to join with us.

MR. HARDY
(Cautious)
I see.

88 (CONTINUED)

MRS. CUMMINGS

Fingering some shoes on display.

Costs three dollars.

MR. HARDY

No they're five....
(Nervous)
Oh you mean to join your Club....well thank you for thinking of me.....but really...I'm not much for joining things.

MRS. CUMMINGS

Still fingering the shoes.

Think you ought to join this.

SHEILA

Otherwise folks might get the wrong idea.

MRS. CUMMINGS

You're not from around here are you?

MR. HARDY

Been in business in Clayton Springs for twenty-five years.

MRS.CUMMINGS

But you weren't born here?

MR. HARDY

No I wasn't....
(Sensing their disapproval)
but I'm not for putting the negroes in the school.

MRS. CUMMINGS

Then I'd join us.

MR. HARDY

Well if it's only a question of three dollars....
(He moves towards his cash register)

SHEILA

Apiece for you and your wife....ten dollars for a family membership....

88 (CONTINUED)

He reaches in the cash register and takes out a five and a one. He senses their disapproval and puts the one back and takes out another five. Sheila's eyes light up and she takes the money.

SHEILA (Cont'd)
Well thank you....

She bends over and starts to write out his card.

MRS. CUMMINGS
We're having a meeting on the Court House Lawn tomorrow night...Try and make it....

Then Sheila hands him his card.

MR. HARDY
I'll do that Man....

They start to exit.

and don't forget....it's Hardy's for all your family's shoe needs....

The door swings shut and he stands there looking after them. It is only then that we see that Mrs. Cummings is wearing an old beat-up pair of tennis shoes.

89 EXT. DAY -FRONT OF THE SCHOOL

Early afternoon. Rudy Duncan is playing hop scotch in front of the school with two pretty girls. The rest of the White Peoples crowd sit along the wall and sun themselves. No policeman is in sight. Then down the side street adjoining comes an important looking middle-aged negro woman. She is about to cross to the other side of the street to avoid them, but decides against it. She comes along the sidewalk and passes Duncan and the others with great dignity. People on the wall start to wake up.

FIRST WOMAN
Put your nose down...you're the one that stinks not us.

SECOND WOMAN
(To First woman)
Put clothes on a savage...it's still a savage.

BOY STUDENT
Go on back to Africa.....

89 (CONTINUED)

Rudy walks along behind her, imitating her walk and pushing his nose high with his finger. He draws gales of laughter and much encouragement from the young ladies. This excites him to put one of his feet in between her two, and she falls to the ground. The crowd roars with laughter and Rudy doesn't notice the woman get to her feet. She sees in a split second who tripped her and brings her handbag into Rudy's face in a wide arc. It stuns him and in that moment, the woman crosses to the other side of the street. Duncan recovers and, picking up a coke bottle, goes after her. He gets within arms reach and belts her with it. She collapses and he stands there a moment. Then after waiting for a pssing car, he casually recrosses the street and throws the bottle up on the school grounds. The crowd, mostly women look embarrassed and uneasy. The woman turns over and moans. She screams "Help me" and they all stand rooted to the ground. A couple of women look with hate at Rudy Duncan and seem almost about to cross over; when around the corner comes Sheriff McWood and two policemen. He goes quickly to the negro woman and taking her by the arm, props her up against the wall.

SISTER REED
That man over there....

She tries to raise her arm to point but can't.

the checkered shirt.

MCWOOD
Are you sure Sister?

SISTER REED
I'm sure.

MCWOOD

Turns to Duncan's direction.

Rudy...come on over here....

Rudy in bored fashion crosses the street.

DUNCAN
I didn't do anything.

SISTER REED
He's lying....

She attempts to kick him from her sitting position.

89 (CONTINUED)

DUNCAN
(Backing off)
Hey old gal....you got it all wrong....
(The Sheriff takes a long long look at him)

SISTER REED
Aren't you going to arrest this man?

DISSOLVE TO:

90 INT. THE JAILHOUSE

Sheriff McWood comes down the stairs from the second floor of the jail swinging his keys. He walks into his office to face Saunders and Foreman. Outside the open window a small band of segregationists is gathered.

FOREMAN
(Firmly)
Sheriff....I demand you release Rudy Duncan.

MCWOOD
(Still very conciliatory)
Wait a minute...now wait a minute Mr. Foreman...Rudy's committed a serious crime.

FOREMAN
You see him do it?

MCWOOD
I had positive identification.

SAUNDERS
(Belligerently)
Yeh....but from who?

MCWOOD
The Preacher Woman.....Sister Reed.

SAUNDERS
J.T. you know how <u>they</u> hate Rudy...
(This gets no reaction)
you going over on their side?

MCWOOD
Bud I'm on <u>nobody's</u> side.

FOREMAN
Then let Rudy go.

90 (CONTINUED)

MCWOOD
I can't.

FOREMAN
(Playing to the gallery)
McWood...we're trying to be patient with you.

MCWOOD
(Slightly miffed)
And I'm trying to be patient with you... because I don't want to give anyone the wrong idea....but listen here Mr. Foreman ...ask Bud...nobody does any demanding around this office...but me....so change your tone and you'll do a lot better.

SAUNDERS
Fool to argue with him now Kyle, he's over on their side.

FOREMAN
That black kid Coe tears the clothes off a white girl
(The crowd begins to bounce)
and they want to pin a medal on him - but let poor Rudy just be in the neighborhood and this
(Long pause)
Sheriff puts him in jail.
(McWood's eyes narrow)

SAUNDERS
(Ignoring McWood)
Folks are saying he locked up Rudy for the sassing back he gave the Mayor this morning.

MCWOOD
If you two gentlemen are through with your speech-making, I'd appreciate it if you'd clear out.
(They give him a last dirty look and exit)

91 INT. THE COUNCIL ROOM

Hopkins is on the 'phone as Dobbs watches.

91 (CONTINUED)

HOPKINS
Would you please tell the Federal Judge how bad things have gotten ...
(Pause)
well look Marshall - you're welcome to come out and see for yourself...
(Pause)
how about tomorrow?...Fine, you ask for either myself or Mr. Dobbs...bye-bye.
(Hangs up and smiles)
I wouldn't say he was exactly burning to join us --
(Dobbs smiles back)
Well they gave us this Court Order Fred, let them come out here and figure out a way to enforce it.

92 INT. THE BAND ROOM OF THE SCHOOL

Nancy sits at a desk before thirty boys and girls, including Mary Anne, Carol and a negro boy. At Nancy's desk turning in their uniforms are a line of white students.

CHARLIE
It don't matter to me at all, it's my mom and dad.

NANCY
Maybe one day we'll see you back.

CHARLIE
I sure do hope so.

He exits looking at the unhappy Mary Anne. The next girl in line is in tears.

NANCY
(With surprise)
Sally.

The girl bursts into floods of tears. This is too much for Mary Anne and she runs from the room.

93 INT. A CORNER OF THE HALL OUTSIDE

Mary Anne stands and sobs uncontrollably. Carol comes up behind her and speaks warmly.

CAROL
Mary Anne.

93 (CONTINUED)

MARY ANNE
I really wish I was back in school in the City.

CAROL
(Shakes her head)
I don't blame you.

MARY ANNE
You know what Carol - I guess I never in my whole life thought about being a negro before.

Mary Anne wipes her nose with her hand.

Well I know about being one now.
(An embarrassed silence follows)

CAROL

Carol hands her a hankie.

Why don't you stay out here until you feel better?

Mary Anne blows her nose.

Remember that all of us in there want you to come back.
(Pause)
We need a good clarinet.

94 EXT. DAY - THE STREET IN FRONT OF THE JAILHOUSE

Mr. Underhill walks into the Jail House alone as Foreman and Saunders stay in the car to keep his dog company.

95 INT. THE SHERIFF'S OFFICE

Underhill talks to McWood.

MCWOOD
No matter what you heard sir, that boy is guilty.

UNDERHILL
You didn't see him strike the woman.

95 (CONTINUED)

MCWOOD
No, but she furnished positive identification.

UNDERHILL
(Debating with himself)
She could have been mistaken.

MCWOOD
(Confidential tone)
I don't think so. I've known Rudy since he was a boy. His own dad used to flog him by the hour. He's mean as a snake.

UNDERHILL

Underhill looks out the window at his two companions in the car.

Well the truth will come out in the trial. Meanwhile, I'd like to bail him out.

McWood writes something on a bail form and hands it over to Underhill.

Twenty-five hundred dollars is a lot of money.

MCWOOD
I consider him a dangerous man.

DISSOLVE TO:

96 EXT. DAY - OUTSIDE THE JAIL

The door opens and the jubilant Rudy Duncan appears followed by Underhill. Rudy gets in the front seat and Underhill the back. The car drives off.

97 INT. THE COE KITCHEN

Annie is putting away the remains of their supper. Her husband follows her with his voice pitched low.

COE
(With emphasis)
...and give us a brand new bus with heating and air conditioning both, like we always wanted.

97 (CONTINUED)

COE (Cont'd)
(Silence from Annie)
A man is willing to spend ten thousand dollars of his own money and you have nothing to say.

ANNIE
I can't see anybody up here wanting to send their children back to school in the City.
(He looks beside himself)
Course that's only my opinion. If you want to make the effort to ask everyone yourself - go ahead.

The 'phone rings.

MARY ANNE
(From the other room)
Daddy it's for you.

He goes to the living room.

98 INT. THE HALLWAY

Robert takes the 'phone away from Mary Anne.

COE
(Patting her head)
Thank you honey.

99 INT. THE SAUNDER'S LIVING ROOM

Sheila Saunders is on the 'phone.

SHEILA
Men in town are planning to fix your boy tomorrow -
(Pause)
you didn't think they'd forget what he did? If you're smart you'll keep him home and that daughter of yours too.

100 INT. MONTAGE OF MANY NEGROES BEING CALLED ON THE PHONE.

DISSOLVE TO:

101 EXT. THE EARLY EVENING - ROAD ON THE HILL

People come out of the houses and down on the street. The Coe home seems to be their goal.

DISSOLVE TO:

102 INT. THE COE LIVING ROOM

Ben, Bill Dobbs printer, is speaking to about twenty informally assembled negro adults.

BEN
I'll keep on sending the kids but when are these white people going to give them some real protection.

ANNIE
Ben they're having a PTA meeting at the school tonight about the same thing. I already talked to Mr. Franklin about it.

BEN'S WIFE
(To Annie)
We make a mistake trusting any of them, I never seen the white man yet that wasn't all talk when it came to equal rights.

BEN
I'd trust Franklin. He's had it as tough as the kids.

BRO. THOMAS
(Shakes his head)
Don't get it at all. I've worked with some of these same white men down there yelling at our kids; drank water with them from the same dipper; even shared a locker, then this happens.

THIN MAN
Because Brother Thomas they was tolerating you.

YOUNG WOMAN
The time for talking is past, I want to know when we're going to fight back.

SECOND YOUNG WOMAN
How many children you got in school?

102 (CONTINUED)

YOUNG WOMAN
(Heated)
My sister's going down there.

ANNIE
There's enough trouble without us falling to arguing among ourselves.

Robert whispers in her ear.

All right, Robert has something he wants to say to you.

COE
Today Mr. Underhill asked me to find out if we would consider sending the children back to school in the city.

YOUNG WOMAN
He's the biggest bum of all.

COE
(Ignoring her)
He said he would take care of the extra expenses and give us a brand new bus with...

THIN MAN
(Interrupting)
I don't know about the rest of you, but I've had enough of that stuff.

BEN
Robert it's not only us here in Clayton Springs we got to think about, but every colored person in the State is watching what we do.

THIN MAN
You doh't even have to bring up that flag waving Ben. Heck, half the battles over. It can't get any worse.

SECOND YOUNG WOMAN
My kid would shoot me if I sold out.

BEN
What are the colored families on the other side of the county doing?

ANNIE
They told Mr. Franklin they'd be on the buses tomorrow, regular time.

102 (CONTINUED)

An elderly coloured Minister enters the room and they all rise.

REV. CALHOUN
With Sister Reed in the hospital, I had hoped to see a few of you praying for her in Church:
(They all fall silent)
but seeing you have more important things to do, I thought you wouldn't mind me coming over and leading you in a little prayer.

He clasps his hands and they bow their heads.

103 INT. THE FETTYPLACE LIVING ROOM

Fettyplace talks to his wife while the sad looking Carol sits in a chair in the corner.

FETTYPLACE
The child is not going back to school and that is that.

MRS. FETTYPLACE
Ralph, she's Vice-President of the Student Council.

FETTYPLACE
What is that compared to my business?

MRS. FETTYPLACE
The Mayor's going to be very upset when he finds out you've contributed to the White Peoples Club.

FETTYPLACE
It was a courtesy. Let him be upset.
(Then definite)
No sir - I won't have my business suffering over this school thing. I should have listened to Mr. Underhill in the first place and we wouldn't be having all this trouble now. And do you have any idea of what this could cost me in the loss of the Underhill business alone?

Carol runs from the room near tears.

Now what do you suppose got into her?

104 INT. THE SCHOOL AUDITORIUM

The PTA Meeting is in progress. Franklin sits up on the school auditorium stage at a table with six others. There is about one hundred people in the audience. Franklin is speaking to Foreman in the audience. Foreman is surrounded by a dozen of the usual claque.

FRANKLIN
Mr. Foreman you don't seem to understand you are not a resident of this school district. I can't let you have the floor.

FOREMAN
Can't you, as a matter of courtesy, allow me to say a few words.

FRANKLIN

Franklin exasperatedly looking to the others at the table.

It's very unusual but if no one else has any objections..
(Pause)
A short statement only.

Franklin sits.

FOREMAN
(Exhibiting great confidence)
A short statement indeed Ladies and Gentlemen. Mr. Franklin has asked you to endorse a statement of his, asking all the mothers and fathers who are keeping their children home to send them back to this unhappy place. Now you've all seen for yourselves - if you had <u>any</u> doubts before - that an integrated school in this area can't work. Most of the people are violently opposed to it. Therefore I would suggest that the PTA issue or endorse no statement at all. After all the purpose of a body like this is not to dictate to individual parents when to place their children in jeopardy.

Foreman sits.

FRANKLIN
(After an appropriate time)
Anyone else before we vote?

104 (CONTINUED)

An attractive woman out in the audience stands.

FRANKLIN (Cont'd)
Yes Mrs. Harper.

MRS. HARPER
I would like to say something to one of our guests of this evening.

She turns and looks directly at Foreman.

I don't know where you've come from Mr. Foreman - or why you've chosen to upset our community and make our school as you yourself described it 'an unhappy place.' And I want to be charitable to you, because that's the way I was raised. Everything rational in my mind says to try, try to understand you. Because it's obvious to anybody that you're a very disturbed young man; but try as I may I can't understand. So all I can do is descend to your level and tell you that you are not even fit to associate with the decent people of this town - black or white.

Foreman blushes and tries to look nonchalant to his comrades. But he looks the bad little boy caught at his game.

At the end of your stay here - I hope the Good Lord, who's name I've heard you mention so frequently, can forgive you for the harm you have caused to Clayton Springs because I don't want to see anyone burn for eternity. I hope he can forgive you because I can't.

She sits to a thunderous silence.

FRANKLIN
(Almost as shocked as Foreman)
Mrs. Harper. Now I think we should return to the original purpose of this meeting.

DISSOLVE TO:

105 INT. BILL'S OFFICE

Bill stands at the door to his press room anxiously waiting for the Mayor to let him go past.

105 (CONTINUED)

HOPKINS
Then you haven't done an editorial yet?

BILL
(Suspiciously)
No sir - I haven't been a hundred percent clear on what I wanted to say.

HOPKINS
Bill - at this point I don't think there should be any confusion in your mind. It's a matter of the paper supporting law and order. This thing has upset every man of property in town.
(Bill doesn't answer)
Ask your Dad.

BILL
(Slowly)
Mayor, rightly or wrongly, I've kept out of this all week long. Only this afternoon Bud Saunders came around to get a donation for the White Peoples Club. And I told him - as I told everybody up to now -
(With difficulty)
the paper should not take sides.

HOPKINS
It's different now.

BILL
Why? You felt the same way I did this morning.

HOPKINS
(Blushing)
Well, things have changed.

BILL
(Almost not wanting to say it)
You mean what happened to you at the school.

HOPKINS
(Flushed)
My skin isn't that thin.
(Then pleasant again)
Now look - I know your reason for staying out, it's business? Well look we're all in the same boat.
(Pause)
Now how about it? Just a hundred words to give people some more backbone.
(Warmly)
Come on, if you have no ideas, I'll give you a few of mine.
(Pause)

105 (CONTINUED)

BILL
It's never been a lack of ideas - now less than ever --
(Slowly)
but probably a lack of courage - which unfortunately mirrors our entire community.

HOPKINS
Bill - I'm not going to stand here and beg --
(Bill stares at him)
OK young man.

Hopkins exits and Bill walks in to join the waiting Ben in the press room.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

106 EXT. DAY - THE HILL

Thursday morning. The entire police force and Sheriff McWood surround the twelve negro students as they come down the hill for the fourth day. The White Peoples Club have placards all over the place and some members carry them. They jostle the police in an attempt to get at the children. One juts out his face to one of the negro boys.

FIRST MAN
You keep coming down this hill boy and you know what comes next --
(Pause)
we'll get you if it takes all year.

FIRST WOMAN
Let's have a party and hang them all tonight.

This remark is greeted with enthusiasm. We see a solid human mass blocking the street at the bottom of the hill. By the school door we notice twenty-five of the football players gathered; all wearing their school sweaters. At a given signal from Dick Shipley, they move up the near side of the street in a straight line. When they are fully extended with arms linked, they cover the ground from the school door to a given point across the street. McWood observes this and marches his charges over to that point. When the negroes reach this solid human chain, they walk behind them protected, into the school. The last negro

106 (CONTINUED)

boy has his shirt torn as he escapes behind the barricade. The crowd surges towards the football players but makes no violent attempt to break through.

107 EXT. DAY - THE SPORTS BUILDING

Bill comes past on the far side. As he crosses the lawn Bobby Saunders and two other boys run out and block his path. They stand in his way and try to slow him down without touching him. Bill ignores it as though it were a boyish prank. Bud Saunders and Rudy Duncan come around the corner.

SAUNDERS
Hey you, hold on there.

He comes up with a copy of the Courier-Journal in his hand.

What you mean by this Dobbs?

He points to the article that Bill has edged in black and entitled, "A Message of Importance". What appears below is a plea from the PTA to restore the missing students to school; while the headline reads, "VIOLENCE IN CLAYTON SPRINGS". All over the rest of the front page are pictures of the crowds, the effigy and the general air of anarchy.

BILL
What's that?

SAUNDERS
Telling folks to send their kids back to school.

BILL
If you'll read it closely, you'll see it's a statement from the PTA.

SAUNDERS
Don't care what <u>you</u> call it I can see what it is - and then putting the story of our Meeting so small.

He points to a minute and short article at the bottom of the page with baby head, "Two Meetings".

BILL
That's all the information I got - and besides I had no more room left.

107 (CONTINUED)

BILL (Cont'd)
(Saunders stares at him)
Now if you don't mind, I have somewhere to go.

Rudy Duncan stands in his way.

SAUNDERS
You're so damn clever...

Duncan looks at Saunders as if for a signal.

Let him by Rudy, but from now on we'll <u>know</u> what side he's on.

Duncan steps aside and Bill walks towards the school. He doesn't notice the three boys gathering stones. When one hits near him, he looks back startled and sees Duncan joining them. Two more objects whiz past his head then one strikes him.

DISSOLVE TO:

108 THE NURSES OFFICE

The Nurse is applying a bandage to his scalp wound. Franklin stands hands in pockets viewing proceedings.

FRANKLIN
I don't know whether it was your publishing the PTA statement or not, but we're two hundred students up on yesterday.

BILL
That's one ray of sunshine.

The nurse finishes.

NURSE
If I were you Mr. Dobbs, I'd try and take it easy today.

BILL
(Smiling)
I don't know if I can promise you that.

As he gets up.

Oh that reminds me what I came over for in the first place.

108 (CONTINUED)

BILL (Cont'd)
(To Don)
A man from the Wire Service has arrived and wants to interview you.

FRANKLIN
You don't say.

BILL
He tells me some of the newspaper boys in the city will be coming to the rally tonight.

FRANKLIN
Looks like Clayton Springs is getting on the map.

109 EXT. DAY - FRONT OF THE SCHOOL

A few minutes later. Rev. Parker is addressing a large crowd of segregationists. Among them are Rudy Duncan, Sheila and Bobby Saunders.

DUNCAN
Never mind Preacher, fact remains black is black and white is white. People aint like eggs. You can't crack em up, drop em in a bowl and swill em around all together.

REV. PARKER
(Good humoredly)
I'm not suggesting that any of you good people are eggs.
(More laughs)

SHEILA
(Coming up)
But don't you honestly feel in your heart this mixing aint natural?

REV. PARKER
(Slowly)
No. Doesn't seem that way to me.

SHEILA
Well, the Bible sure says we have to separate black and white?

REV. PARKER
I don't recall the passage.

109 (CONTINUED)

SHEILA
Didn't they say they wouldn't let Moses back into Egypt after he took hisself a black wife?

REV. PARKER
I wouldn't go trying to figure out parts of the Bible that have been stumbling scholars for years Mrs. Saunders.
(To all)
If all of you want to pay attention to the Bible though, and I know you do, I'd first have you remember that the Bible preaches the brotherhood of man, and then remember...the story of Adam and Eve, the common ancestors for all.

The crowd stands strangely silent. Then from around the corner comes two cars filled with teenage boys, their sides bedecked with signs "Go Home Coons", "Beat it Nigger". They wave to the crowd and shout encouragements.

110 INT. A CLASSROOM

The honking cars go past. Dick Shipley is standing and speaking but stops. The class is half full. Mary Anne Coe sits by the door, the only colored person in the class. Nancy motions to him.

NANCY
Pay no attention to that Dick, go right ahead.

SHIPLEY
The late English poets can all trace their lineage back to Chaucer and his Canterbury Tales....

111 INT. A SIDE ENTRANCE TO THE SCHOOL

Rudy Duncan and Bobby Saunders have sneaked in. They crouch and wait for one of the policemen in the hall to walk past. They slowly creep around the corner to the first classroom; the rear door of which is open. Dick Shipley is still on his feet.

DUNCAN
(Hoarse whisper)
There's one right there.

He points to Mary Anne.

111 (CONTINUED)

BOBBY
(Sheepishly)
But it's a girl.

DUNCAN
No mind - throw it.

Bobby stands frozen.

OK - give it to me.

Duncan takes an ink bottle from him and creeps into the classroom below the sight level of the desks. He tries to remove the lid and to get more leverage, rises to his knees. Dick Shipley spots him out of the corner of his eye and stops in mid sentence.

NANCY
What's the matter Dick?

Duncan tugs ferociously at the resistant cap and Dick recovering from surprise, hurls his book at him. Pandemonium ensues. Duncan drops the bottle, which breaking, splashes his trouser legs and shoes. He bolts from the room in panic as the class and Nancy burst out laughing in spite of the situation. We hear a police whistle from further down the hall.

DISSOLVE TO:

112 EXT. NIGHT - THE STAIRS OF THE COUNTY COURT HOUSE

Kyle Foreman, wearing a ten gallon hat, smokes a large cigar and listens to a man reading from a paper.

FED. MARSHALL
And it is further ordered and decreed by the Court thst Kyle Foreman and all other persons who are acting in concert with him are hereby enjoined and prohibited from hindering, obstructing or in any way interfering with the swift carrying out of the aforementioned Order of this Court,

Mr. Underhill comes up from the street.

or from picketing Clayton Springs High School either by words or acts or otherwise.

He hands Foreman the document.

112 (CONTINUED)

FED. MARSHALL (Cont'd)
Do you understand this Injunction?

FOREMAN
(Easily)
I'm not too sure but then I imagine you'll tell me when I violate it.

FED. MARSHALL
(Nods)
Good evening.

The Marshall departs.

FOREMAN
(Very airily; to Underhill)
The usual mumbo jumbo of the law.

He takes Underhill by the arm and walks towards the Lawn. The band strikes up "Dixie".

113 EXT. NIGHT - THE COURT HOUSE LAWN

About a thousand are present, their faces lit by torches. On the rear of the speakers platform, an elderly white preacher is sitting. Foreman and Underhill take two empty chairs next to him. Propped up on another chair is a monkey doll holding the sign "I WANT TO INTEGRATE TOO". Over half the crowd are curiosity seekers, as the word has gone through the County that Clayton Springs has a new show. In the rear of the crowd stands the Federal Marshall, Sheriff McWood and what appears to be other peace officers. Bud Saunders is bellowing into an almost defective sound system.

SAUNDERS
But Kyle Foreman even suffered the final insult of going to jail - put there by the most stupid bunch of officials in the South...officials who every day this week have done the impossible feat of walking down both sides of the fence - talking out of both sides of their mouths,
(Pause)
and all at the same time.

Roars of laughter from the crowd and cries of "Thats it", "You're right Bud".

But before we hear from Kyle, we're going to have a few words of spiritual encouragement from the Reverend Bullard.

113 (CONTINUED)

Saunders turns to meet the man and there is heavy applause. Bullard is farmerish looking, in his late fifties and wearing a greyish suit with wide brim panama hat. Perspiration shows under his armpits.

REV. BULLARD
(Waits a moment and then throws out his arms)
Brothers and sisters - most of you know I'm not much of a preacher ...

Roars of delight at the man's modesty.

but I'm a real hundred percent American - with only red blooded American blood in these here veins,
(Which he exhibits)
and I know by the Bible of our Lord Jesus Christ

Cries of "Amen".

that this here intermingling of the races is all wrong. Now there are preachers hereabouts who I hear doubt the word of God and go talkin about brotherhood, sisterhood and Lord only knows what kind of 'hood'. I say to <u>them</u> -if you cotton up to black people this way, how come you've never had em join your Church. 'Cause certainly if'n they're fit to sit next to your youngins in school, they're fit to come and worship in your temple. Well the answer is they shouldn't be either place and these preachers are just making political talk! Running off at the mouth like a college education gives them some special right.
(Big smile)
That's all from me, children. Be lovely. Be happy. And <u>stay</u> in the palm of God.

He sits to a great ovation and Saunders comes to the microphone.

SAUNDERS
And that's a <u>real</u> preacher.
(Cheers)
Now without any more talk I give you a fighter. A man amongst his fellow men. Mr. Segregation himself - Kyle Foreman.

113 (CONTINUED)

The crowd explodes into a loud roar of approval. Foreman gets to his feet and has his hand shaken vigorously by Saunders. Then he claps Saunders on the back and drags Underhill to his feet. The three stand to an ovation. As an afterthought the Rev. Bullard is included. The cheers die down and the other men sit. Foreman ceremoniously throws his ten gallon hat on adjoining table.

FOREMAN

First - let me say 'hello' to all the parents of the students up at the High School. To you I say stick to your guns - and we'll have "you know who" back where they belong before you know it.

Prolonged cheers.

Now if I have a theme to my talk here tonight - it's this. "The black race must be kept in it's place." No matter what.

Yells of "You said it"..."Give it to em Kyle".

We here in Clayton Springs have the responsibility of holding this first fort against the Communists in their march to destroy the white Christian race. And so many powerful forces are against us...

(Sizes up his audience)

There is the Press - and more particularly the Courier-Journal,

Heavy boos.

there is the Supreme Court,

Heavy boos.

who want to mongrelize the great and noble Southland. There is also the NAACP -

More boos.

who we know is paying one hundred dollars a week to the parents of every black child kept in school. And five hundred dollars to that devil of a Principal;

113 (CONTINUED)

FOREMAN (Cont'd)

Boos

and lastly there is the so-called leading citizens of this community who have sided against us and with the niggers - every single time. To them and to all within reach of my voice, I say but one thing - are you with us or with the niggers, because you have no other choice.

We cut to see the Federal Marshall, Sheriff McWood and government deputies listening in the rear of the crowd.

You do not compromise with a cancer -

"No"

or disease in any form

They wipe the foam from their lips and yell anew.

you must cleanse yourself every night before going to bed by saying...
(Reverently)
"Lord I consecrate myself to work my fingers to the very bone - to drive this black death out of Clayton Springs High School".

Long and loud cheers and a few "Amens" and much back slapping. Federal Marshall, McWood and deputies come through at the base of the crowd.

114 EXT. NIGHT - REAR - BOTTOM OF THE SPEAKERS PLATFORM

The Marshall, his men and McWood come up. Sheila Saunders and a few burly looking hillbillies view them with a mixture of hostility and suspicion. A small, self-conscious group of out-of-town reporters sensing that something is about to happen, come closer to the Marshall. Foreman finishes his speech. The band strikes up. The Marshall motions Foreman down from the platform.

FED. MARSHALL
Mr. Foreman you're under arrest.

114 (CONTINUED)

FOREMAN
(Surprised)
What?
(Then recovers)
Why we're three blocks from school.

FED. MARSHALL
Makes no difference, the injunction states the limitations.

SAUNDERS

Saunders jumps down from the platform.

What's this guy want?

The Marshall's hand goes right to his gun.

FOREMAN
(Slightly upset)
It seems I broke some law.

SAUNDERS
We got permission to use the lawn.

FOREMAN
(Realizing he has but a minute)
That isn't it. Marshall can I talk to him for a minute?

FED. MARSHALL
(Eyeing the group gathering)
Make it quick.

Saunders and Foreman walk over to the back of the stand.

FOREMAN
(Shishing him)
No - let me talk Bud, give me your pen.

Foreman starts to write on a sheet of paper.

Call this number in Birmingham, make it person to person, ask for Jesse Cole. Tell him <u>everything.</u> Tell him we <u>must</u> have more help by tomorrow morning at the latest. He'll know what to do.

114 (CONTINUED)

SAUNDERS
Wouldn't it be better if Underhill...

FOREMAN
(Interrupting)
The hell with Underhill, this needs some action.

115 EXT. NIGHT - THE SPEAKERS PLATFORM

Saunders hops back up where Underhill and Rev. Bullard are still sitting watching the proceedings, ignorant of all that has happened. Saunders raises his hand and the band stops.

SAUNDERS
Sorry to interrupt -
(Holds up his hands)
but I have sad news for everybody here tonight.
(Long pause)
Kyle Foreman has just been arrested and taken off by a United States Federal Marshall --

Cries of "Oh No"

and just for speaking his piece.

Loud roar of protest.

But - now quiet down -

They do.

but before he left - he told me to give you this message.

Saunders holds a blank piece of paper up to the light.

These are his exact words.
(He reads)
"The rest is up to you".

The crowd cheers.

116 EXT. NIGHT - MAIN STREET BY THE COURT HOUSE

As the meeting breaks up, Bill sits in his lighted station wagon putting his notes in order. A crowd begins to gather.

116 (CONTINUED)

FIRST HILLBILLY
That's him all right.

SECOND HILLBILLY
Yeh...look at the sign.

Close-up of the sign "Clayton Springs Courier Journal". Bill ignores them and keeps writing. One man ventures up to the window.

FIRST HILLBILLY
You writing about the meeting?

BILL
(Barely acknowledging)
Uh huh.

FIRST HILLBILLY
What you fixing to say?

Bill starts to answer but doesn't.

We hear the paper's for letting the niggers in school.

Bill pays no attention.

Let's drag him out.

Bill hesitates only a second before turning on the ignition and rolling up the window next to him. They pull open the other door, as he drives off.

117 INT. THE COE BEDROOM

Annie is unfolding the bed. Her husband slowly and meticulously hangs up his clothes in the closet. He wears pajamas.

ANNIE
The children say the white children are finally becoming friendly and talking. Jackie thinks it might be all right for him to try out for the basketball team.

Coe sits at the side of the bed and puts his dhoes in shoe trees.

You don't still object all that much do you Robert?

117 (CONTINUED)

COE
(Accepting the facts)
If the children are satisfied, I'm not objecting.

He pauses as he puts the shoes with the trees in place in their rack. The sound of a car stopping in front is heard.

Sounds like somebody stopped.

ANNIE
Who's that going to be this time of night?

COE
I'll just have myself a look.

He puts on his slippers.

ANNIE
You be careful now.

He goes to the living room.

118 EXT. NIGHT - THE COE FRONT YARD

Robert peers cautiously through the front window curtains at Rudy Duncan and another man who are attempting to erect a dark structure on the lawn. All of a sudden a spark appears and a Klan cross is afire. The men get in their car swiftly and drive away. Coe comes out of his house and stares at the burning cross. Annie and Jackie stand in the doorway.

119 INT. THE SHERIFF'S OFFICE

McWood sits with feet on desk talking to a policeman. They are drinking coffee.

MCWOOD
Next thing Foreman knew he was in the general cell block -
(He laughs)
and that sure was integrated tonight. He took one look at all those coloured boys and just stood himself over in the corner with his mouth wide open - like he was catching flies.
(He laughs and sips his coffee)
Got him coming up before the Federal judge tomorrow afternoon.

119 (CONTINUED)

POLICEMAN
This crowd was sure hopping mad after you left. When they heard about Foreman they just kept walking up and down all night begging for trouble.

A loud roar splits the air.

120 EXT. NIGHT - THE HILL

The siren on the sheriff's car sounds noisily. The car turns into the negro section. We see all the lights have been turned on. A few windows have been broken. A woman points further down the street. The police car speeds off.

121 EXT. NIGHT - A VACANT LOT

Five negro men, amongst them Coe, Ben and Brother Thomas all stand around a crater in the middle of the lot. The Sheriff's car pulls up.

MCWOOD
(Jumping out)
What's happening here?

BRO. THOMAS
Sheriff, that's what we want to know.

MCWOOD
(Peering in the crater)
Smells like somebody set off some dynamite. You boys see anybody?

BRO. THOMAS
Not me.

BEN
Neither did I and believe you me the coloured people are getting pretty sick and tired of all this goings on. Early tonight they burned a cross on Brother Coe's front lawn.

MCWOOD
And you didn't see who that was either?

Robert keeps peering at the crater.

Well you boys aren't much help if I'm supposed to catch somebody.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

122 EXT. DAY - THE TOP OF THE HILL

The next morning. Fred Dobbs car drives past the dozen policemen waiting to take the negro children to school. He waves to them and pulls into the Coe driveway.

123 INT. THE COE LIVING ROOM

Fred Dobbs talks to Annie as the two children watch TV.

ANNIE
After last night everybody decided to keep the children home today.

DOBBS
Of course this is just what Saunders and Foreman want.

ANNIE
We know that but you can't blame us.

DOBBS
(Softly)
I don't blame anybody, just seems such a pity after all the trouble that they should have to stay home the last day of the week.

MARY ANNE
(Looking around casually)
I'd go Mr. Dobbs.

JACKIE

Jackie looks at his mother embarrassed by his sister's courage.

I guess I'd go too.

ANNIE
Children way things are somebody might get killed marching down the hill today, policemen or no policemen.

Dobbs seems to be thinking about what she has said.

124 EXT. DAY - THE ENTRANCE OF THE SCHOOL NEAR THE TEACHERS PARKING LOT

Students stand around and talk to reporters and cameramen. A big banner hangs over the door saying, "Football Game Tonight - Clayton Springs VS. Tech. Central - Football Stadium 8 P.M."

124 (CONTINUED)

BOY STUDENT
I don't see as they're hurting anybody.
(Smiles)
Law says they got as much right here as I do.

ENGLISH REPORTER
Then you don't mind them?

BOY STUDENT
Heck No.

Fred Dobbs car pulls into the parking lot and the reporters go towards him. A photographer comes up to the car door.

PHOTOGRAPHER
You one of the teachers?

DOBBS
No son I'm not.

He gets out and goes around to the rear door of the other side which he opens to reveal Jackie and Mary Anne sitting on the floor covered by a blanket. He helps Mary Anne to her feet and the three of them go quickly into the school passed a crowd the majority of which are students who are amused by Mary Anne and Jackie's going into the school. Saunders and Duncan push through the front of the onlookers. They look furious one to the other and Duncan moves toward the school doorway. Saunders grabs his arm, shakes his head and pulls Rudy off through the crowd.

125 INT. FRANKLIN'S OFFICE

Dobbs talks to him.

FRANKLIN
(Matter of factly)
Our total - even with the other negro students out, is considerably up on yesterday.

DOBBS
Did Carol Fettyplace come back yet?

FRANKLIN
No - but she called and explained the whole thing.

Dobbs nods knowing.

125 (CONTINUED)

DOBBS

Dobbs turns to exit.

I suppose you've kept Bill abreast of all that's going on?

FRANKLIN

Yes, I just finished talking to him when you came in.
(Smiles)
He's got himself quite a job playing host to all those newspaper men. Finding himself quite a celebrity. They all keep digging to find out what he thinks about integration.

DOBBS

(Wry smile)
Poor Bill. Guess it's not meant to be that he's going to be able to stay out of this thing.

FRANKLIN

Anymore than the rest of us.

126 EXT. DAY - THE SCHOOL SIDE ENTRANCE.

The crowd has changed from juvenile to adult. Dobbs comes out the door. Some of the people there yell insults at him. Photographers take more pictures. He brushes aside the reporters with a smile. He gets into his car and starts up the engine. As he backs up, the crowd moves away to give him room but when he tries to move forward, he finds his way blocked by two burly men. One stands staring at him while the other walks to the side of the car and opens the door. Before Dobbs realizes what is happening - he has been yanked out the door. He attempts to resist, then before he can raise his hands the man begins to pummel him. The crowd watches silently as the second man joins his partner. The photographers are having a field day. One blow knocks Dobbs against the side of the car so hard that the fender is dented. Two girls attempt to step in but are pushed back. Dobbs attempts to sit up against the side of the car and the man closest kicks him. He goes down again. He lies there. The two men walk off, when around the corner of the school, come running some members of the football team. They tackle the two men and throw them hard to the ground... At this point the police and McWood appear swiftly on their heels. Jerry Shipley, Team Capt. gets to his feet, brushing his hands.

DISSOLVE TO:

127 EXT. DAY - BACK AT DOBB'S CAR

He is being doctored by the School Nurse as Franklin and Nancy kneel next to him. She rubs his wrist as McWood appears.

MCWOOD
Is he all right?

NANCY
He's alive, if that's what you mean.
(Then to Franklin)
I'd better call Bill.

DISSOLVE TO:

128 EXT. DAY - MAIN STREET

A sirened ambulance goes fast coming from the direction of the school.

DISSOLVE TO:

129 EXT. DAY - THE FRONT OF THE HOSPITAL

Bill's station wagon jerks to a stop. He rushes up the steps to be met by Nancy.

130 INT. THE WAITING ROOM

Present are Hopkins, McWood and a Doctor as Bill and Nancy enter.

BILL
How is he doctor?

DOCTOR
(Gravely)
Well, Bill, for a man of your dad's age he's had quite a shock.

BILL
The one time I wasn't at the school.
(Turning to McWood)
How could a couple of strangers beat my father up in broad daylight?

MCWOOD
(Defensively)
Bill - it happened so fast. And I was on the other side of the school.

130 (CONTINUED)

Bill looks away in frustration and then sees Annie coming through the front door. He immediately goes to her and puts his arm around her.

131 INT. UNDERHILL'S FACTORY OFFICE

Robert Coe stands in front of Underhill.

COE
I swear to you I knew nothing about it Sir.

UNDERHILL
You mean to tell me Mr. Dobbs went up there and stole your children?

COE
I'd already left for work.
(Concerned)
Mr. Underhill are they all right?

UNDERHILL
(Dismissing it)
Far as I know they are all right -
(Rising)
and I hope you're satisfied because they are the only negro children in school today. Robert - I have resisted pressure from many people all week long to make an example of you. Even more when that boy of yours started that trouble.

Coe interrupts.

COE
(Strongly)
Begging your pardon, he didn't start the trouble - my son's not that kind. He only took out that knife to keep from being killed.

Underhill looks slightly shocked.

UNDERHILL
I don't want to sit here and argue with you, we're both taking too much time away from our jobs as it is. But I would like you to promise me you will not keep on insisting to send these children of yours to the High School.

131 (CONTINUED)

COE
(Shaking his head)
I can't do that sir.
(The world of Mr. Underhill has undergone a change)
I don't have any choice - the Government says the children have to go to this school.

UNDERHILL
(Sensing the futility)
I can see I'm wasting my time. You'd better get back to work.

COE
Yes sir.
(And Underhill realizes that things will never ever quite be the same again)

132 EXT: DAY - EXTERIOR OF THE FEDERAL COURT HOUSE BUILDING IN THE CITY

Many of the segregationists are entering the building.

133 INT. THE FEDERAL COURT ROOM

The Courtroom is crowded with most of the major characters in our story. Sprinkled throughout are a few negroes. Don Franklin is on the witness stand, the Judge leans over and listens to his testimony.

FRANKLIN
Certainly I had no indication prior to Mr. Foreman's coming to town that our integration program would run into any trouble.

The Defense Lawyer jumps to his feet.

MR. BERNARD
Your honour I object - I don't see where all this ancient history has any bearing on my client's alleged violation of an injunction that was issued only yesterday.

FED. JUDGE
With Counsel's kind permission, the Court would like to hear the entire background of the case, please continue Mr. Franklin.

Bernard sits, the clock overhead registers 2.15 p.m.

DISSOLVE TO:

134 INT. FEDERAL COURTROOM

Mayor Hopkins is on the witness stand, the clock reads 2.45 p.m.

HOPKINS
(Distressed)
Then I went over to the school and tried to explain the Court Order to them. But they wouldn't listen to me.

DISSOLVE TO:

135 INT. FEDERAL COURTROOM

Mr. Underhill is on the stand.

UNDERHILL
And Judge I personally think it is grossly unfair for the complainants to place blame on Mr. Foreman for bringing out into the open a situation that existed prior to his coming to our community. Rather than upsetting things, I feel he's had a clarifying influence.

DISSOLVE TO:

136 INT. FEDERAL COURTROOM

Telephone company operator on the stand.

TEL. OPERATOR
Every night calls, calls, calls - your honor my switchboard hasn't stopped going all week long.

DISSOLVE TO:

137 INT. FEDERAL COURTROOM

Bill is on the witness stand, it is 3.30 p.m.

BILL
No sir I've never heard him say in so many words "Stop the Negroes from coming to school".
(Looks directly at the Judge)
But after listening to him speak one would surmise that he condoned the abuse of the negro students.

Mr. Bernard pops to his feet.

137 (CONTINUED)

BERNARD
Your honour I object, the witness is stating an opinion.

FED. JUDGE
Objection sustained.

DISSOLVE TO:

138 INT. FEDERAL COURTROOM

Sheriff McWood is on the stand, the clock reads 3.55 p.m.

MCWOOD
When I got these two men over to the jail, this morning your honour - I asked them, "Why did you come all the way to Clayton Springs? The only answer they'd give me was that they were good Southerners - coming in to give us a hand.

FED. JUDGE
Did you ask them if they knew the defendant?

MCWOOD
Yes sir I did but they denied it.

FED. JUDGE
Although this is probably not the proper time, the Court wishes to state its personal upsetment at the injury to Mr. Fred Dobbs, an Attorney who is no stranger to this Court and one for whom we have always had the highest regard.

DISSOLVE TO:

139 INT. FEDERAL COURTROOM

Saunders is on the witness stand.

SAUNDERS
No sir, I thought his speech was fairly mild. And on a very high plane. I was surprised when the Marshall arrested Mr. Foreman; particularly when he said absolutely nothing to either myself or Reverend Bullard.

DISSOLVE TO:

140 INT. FEDERAL COURTROOM

The Federal Marshall is on the stand.

FED. MARSHALL
When Mr. Foreman said to me he didn't have time to read the injunction, I read it to him in full myself.

FED. JUDGE
Thank you Marshall; cross examination Mr. Bernard?

BERNARD
No sir.

FED. JUDGE
I believe that completes the witnesses.

Directing the Judge his attention to Bernard.

Now do you wish to address the Court before a decision is reached?

BERNARD
No sir but my client does.

The Judge nods and smiles. Foreman rises.

FOREMAN
(To the entire courtroom which is filled with his supporters)
Your Honour what happens to me today is important <u>only</u> insofar as it may illustrate to people everywhere how far our present Federal Government has gone in the violation of sacred rights guaranteed to each and every citizen by our Constitution.

The Judge smiles tolerantly and holds up his hand.

FED. JUDGE
The Court is impressed with your rhetoric Mr. Foreman, but I did not mean to invite you to make a speech this afternoon; much as we might all enjoy it. Therefore I would suggest your confining your remarks to the substance of the charge under consideration.

FOREMAN
(Realizing what he is up against)
If you limit me in that sense the only thing I can say in my behalf is this;

140 (CONTINUED)

FOREMAN (Cont'd)
sincerely - I did not understand the injunction and I naturally assumed that no one could accuse me of being in contempt of Court merely by making a speech to the citizens of Henderson County on their own Court House Lawn.

DISSOLVE TO:

141 INT. A PAY 'PHONE BOOTH IN THE COURT HOUSE HALLWAY

Bill sits the door ajar and a reporter waiting his turn overhears the conversation.

BILL
Well Nancy - when will the doctor know. I see, I don't see how you can reach me here... I'll be back by six anyway.
(Pause)
I don't know I hope so, the Judge has already been out over an hour. Bye bye dear.

He hangs up the 'phone and starts to leave the booth.

TOM
How's your dad?

BILL
Still no definite word Tom.

Tom shakes his head.

142 INT. THE HALLWAY

Underhill, Bernard, Foreman and Saunders stand surrounded by their supporters. Foreman is shuffling through telegrams.

FOREMAN
Jesse Cole from Birmingham.

Turns another.

Edwards from Dallas, Green and Porter - looks like all our speakers are going to be at the rally.

SAUNDERS
That's fine Kyle but you ain't free yet.

142 (CONTINUED)

BERNARD
(Confidently)
Don't worry Bud, worst come to worst, we'll get him out on bail.

DISSOLVE TO:

143 INT. THE COURT AGAIN

Foreman stands before the Judge with his lawyer next to him.

FED. JUDGE
So that there won't be any mistake in the future, I am hereby making permanent the temporary injunction under which Mr. Foreman was brought to Court. This injunction will be enforced by the Federal Marshall's office who will station a man outside the school until further notice.
(Long pause as he eyes Foreman)
Mr. Foreman - I want you to know that the Court does not accept your line of defense about misunderstanding the very clear restrictions of an injunction that was read to you in full. You are an educated man and this particular Order was in simple form. So that no mistake could be made, I drew it up myself.
(Foreman blushes)
So with that in mind the Court finds you guilty.

Moan from the Court.

COURT CLERK
(A Negro)
Order in the Court.

FED. JUDGE
And sentences you to a term of one year in a Federal place of incarceration.

Bernard signals.

Mr. Bernard?

143 (CONTINUED)

BERNARD
We're going to appeal your honor.

FED. JUDGE
That's your privilege, we can discuss it Monday.

BERNARD
(Hurriedly)
Would your honour please fix bail?

FED. JUDGE
After the Appeal is heard.

Hits the gavel.

Courts adjourn.

BERNARD
But your honour.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

144 EXT. NIGHT - THE FOOTBALL STADIUM

That evening. Klieg lights reveal the crowd roaring as Jerry Shipley snags a pass and is finally tackled on the fifteen yard line. The Scoreboard reads - Clayton Springs 20 - Tech. Central 7 ....3rd Quarter.

145 EXT. NIGHT - OUTSIDE THE STADIUM ENTRANCE

McWood stands on tip-toes trying to watch the game. He is surrounded by a group of reporters who press him.

MCWOOD

McWood turns to the reporter next to him enthusiastically.

That Dick Shipley's playing himself a real ball game.

ENGLISH REPORTER
(Weak smile)
How nice. Now Sheriff would you say the crowd attending was inordinately large?

145 (CONTINUED)

MCWOOD
(Turning)
It's what?

ENGLISH REPORTER
(Amazed at not being understood)
Larger than usual.

MCWOOD
(Matter of factly)
Nope - not at all.
(Returns to game)

ENGLISH REPORTER
I see and is it also the usual procedure for collections to be taken up at the game?

He points to the booth marked "Kyle Foreman Defense Fund".

146 EXT. NIGHT - THE STADIUM PARKING LOT

Bill turns off his engine and gets out of his car. As he winds his way through the other cars, he sees six cars in a row with various deep Southern license plates, all bedecked with Confederate flags.

147 EXT. NIGHT - THE STADIUM FRONT ENTRANCE

Bill comes towards McWood and the reporters. McWood sees him and walks up to greet him.

BILL
Sheriff you see all those out-of-state cars in the parking lot?

MCWOOD
(Softly)
They came an awful long ways to see our ball game -
(Then concerned)
But Bill how's your dad?

BILL
Thank God - the doctor thinks he's going to be all right.

MCWOOD
(Sigh of relief)
Oh I'm very pleased to hear that. But say if you're going to see any of this game, you've only got about two minutes left.

148 INT. INSIDE THE LOCKER ROOM

The players rush in with the scoreboard in back reading 27 to 7. Coach Miller comes in after the players followed by Don Franklin.

MILLER
(Shouting)
All right now you guys, Mr. Franklin wants to talk to you.

Still some noise in back.

Pipe down there in back.

FRANKLIN
First of all I want to congratulate you on your fine victory tonight. I think it won't be too long before the word gets around that the conference is going to have a new champion.

Roar of approval from players.

And I also want to thank you as your Principal for the way you've conducted yourselves all this week. I feel you've served as an example in the finest sense to your fellow students.

149 EXT. NIGHT - MAIN STREET

The crowd leaving the game cross impending the traffic. Three burly men wearing "Keep our White Schools White" buttons stand at the intersection; they seem to be waiting for something. A car driven by a Negro pulls up and stops at the red light.

FIRST MAN
There's one now.

The light changes but the crowd of pedestrians prevents the car from moving. The negro gingerly taps his horn. The three men on the corner move towards him.

Hey boy, what's going on?

NEGRO MAN
Just trying to get through the light chief, I've got the green.

149 (CONTINUED)

FIRST MAN
You've got the green. Listen, way things are around here you're lucky we're letting you drive a car.

SECOND MAN
(Whispering to the first)
Let's have some fun with him.

He comes over to the window.

What are you? One of them wise guys?

He stares at the terror-stricken Negro as the other cars behind pull out and around him.

NEGRO MAN
No suh, I just want to get on through.

THIRD MAN
(At the rear)
Hey he's got a Michigan license plate.

FIRST MAN
Oh one of them NAACP niggers.

SECOND MAN
Let's give him a little rock and roll.
(To the teenagers standing around nearby)
Hey boys give us a hand.

The boys rush over and begin to rock the car. One of them pulls off a couple of pieces of chrome. The man inside tries to balance himself. The situation is tense but not totally lacking in humour. One of the High School boys makes faces in the side window of the car. One of the original ruffians taps at the window near the driver, he tolls it down reluctantly.

FIRST MAN
Next time. Don't go honking your horn at white people.

NEGRO MAN
Yes Suh.

He drives off as the crowd looks for its next victim. Finding none, some of the High School boys get bored and begin to head for the Drug Store.

149 (CONTINUED)

FIRST MAN

Shouting to his cohorts on the curb.

Hey - where's Kyle Foreman?

SECOND MAN
They got him locked up in jail.

The students start to come back.

FIRST MAN
And we know who put him there.

SECOND MAN

Shouting with his hands cupped to his mouth.

We want Foreman.

THIRD MAN
We want Foreman.

The cry is taken up as the second car with negroes arrive containing a well dressed man and woman. The crowd turns on them and starts to rock the car. One tough takes off his boot and smashes in the headlights. Firecrackers are thrown under the car's bottom and the negroes stare stonily ahead. The three ringleaders who started it all, step to one side and smile to each other as they watch their work succeeding.

150 EXT. A NEARBY CORNER

Sheriff McWood, Bill, eight policemen and finally the eager Rudy Duncan come around the corner. They are followed by a battery of reporters and photographers. McWood goes directly to the car as flash bulbs start going off in the crowd.

MCWOOD
All right now boys, you've had your fun, let these people get on their way.

The crowd reluctantly backs off under the gentle guidance of the policeman. The car slowly makes its way through them, looking ready for the junk heap.

Now why don't all you folks go on home
(friendly tone)
or get some ice cream at the Drug Store and relax a bit.

150 (CONTINUED)

The tension decreases perceptively and some people begin to drift off, then another negro drives up. We notice it's Ben.

DUNCAN
Hey look, it's one of them niggers with kids in school.

The crowd begins to bunch in around Ben's car as McWood and his policemen try to clear a path for him to drive through. Suddenly a rock comes through the air and crashes Ben's front windshield. He gets out automatically and stands there stunned next to his car. Another rock bounces off his hood, this is followed by Duncan running around the police, up to him and clubbing him on the shoulder with a heavy stick. Ben reaches into his pocket and pulls out a pistol, which he aims directly at Duncan.

BEN
You leave me alone Duncan.

DUNCAN
(In bravado to the crowd)
Well what do you know, we got a killer here. We going to let him get away with it?

The crowd yells "No" and shoves Duncan forward. McWood turns to see Ben fire at Duncan. Rudy falls and McWood marches right up to Ben with gun drawn and takes his gun away. McWood sees Rudy look up from his sitting position - seemingly unhurt. McWood then takes Ben and shoves him back in his own car.

MAN IN CROWD
You hurt Rudy?

McWood starts up Ben's car.

DUNCAN
(Dazed)
I don't know.

McWood drives off through the path cleared by the policemen. Bud Saunders dashes up.

MAN IN CROWD
They're getting away.

150 (CONTINUED)

SAUNDERS
(Demanding)
What's going on here?

MAN IN CROWD
Nigger almost killed Rudy.

Someone yells "Let's go get him". This idea is roundly cheered. All during the melee reporters and photographers are very much in evidence, getting in peoples way.

151 EXT. FURTHER DOWN MAIN STREET

We see Nancy and Marian standing on the pavement attempting to get to the Drug Store. A woman nearby spots Marian. We see she is Mrs. Cummings from Hardy's Shoe Store and other incidents.

MRS. CUMMINGS
There's Franklin's wife.

The crowd turns its attention on Marian and Nancy. They bunch in.

MAN IN CROWD
(Threateningly)
You're taking a big chance coming out here tonight.

MRS. CUMMINGS
Let's fix them.

NANCY
We're trying to get into the Drug Store.

Far back in the crowd we see Bill trying to push forward.

MRS. CUMMINGS
You're not going anywhere if we don't want.

They try to move but are boxed in.

Well what are we going to do with them?

Flashbulbs go off, someone yells, "Kill Them".

MAN IN CROWD
(Directly in Nancy's face)
Come on now, tell us what makes you teachers love the niggers?

151 (CONTINUED)

NANCY
(Practically hysterical)
I don't love them.
(Fairly weeping)
Can't you leave us alone?

Another flashbulb goes off in Mrs. Cummings face. She kicks at the photographer and the crowd turns its ire on a few of the photographers and reporters nearby. Punches start flying and one High School boy kicks at a pile of camera equipment on the nearby sidewalk. Bill meanwhile has arrived and begun to take Nancy and Marian towards the Drug Store.

152 INT. UNDERHILL LIVING ROOM

Close-up of a large mahogany radio console.

RADIO ANNOUNCER
Earlier the cry was directed against the negroes and teachers in this rural community. Now it is the press on which they are venting their anger.

On the other side of room. Underhill is on the 'phone speaking excitedly while the radio continues in the background.

UNDERHILL
I've been trying for five minutes to get through Bill.
(Pause)
Tell Nancy to stay right there. I'll be down to pick her up soon as I can get the car.

He hangs up and strides briskly across the living room past the radio.

RADIO ANNOUNCER
A small force of policemen, minus their Sheriff, has been trying to handle the mob but is having a very hard time.

153 INT. HOPKINS LIVING ROOM

The radio transmits the same program. Floyd Hopkins and his wife listen, obviously tense and upset.

RADIO ANNOUNCER
It is difficult to say what is going to happen next,
(Speaking faster)

153 (CONTINUED)

RADIO ANNOUNCER (Cont'd)
but apparently they have something in mind - because about a hundred of them have broken away and headed off down the street. I understand they are being lead by a member of the City Council.

The 'phone rings which Hopkins answers swiftly.

HOPKINS
Yes Sheriff.
(Turns pale)
Well what are we going to do? I see, yes I'll tell them.

He hangs up and goes out the front door to two policemen standing on the porch.

Boys you'd better get ready, that crowd is on its way up here.

They throw on the floodlights which illuminate the lawn.

154 EXT. STREET - NIGHT. THE HEADLIGHTS OF THE SHERIFF'S CAR

His and two other cars come screaming down the quiet residential streets of Clayton Springs. They turn right and after driving a couple of more blocks form a barricade across a street. In the distance we see torches of a crowd approaching.

155 EXT. NIGHT - SAME STREET - FURTHER DOWN

Saunders and Duncan are leading a crowd of male and female rowdies marching purposefully along.

156 EXT. NIGHT - THE HEADLIGHTS OF THE SHERIFF'S CAR

The six policemen stand in front of their cars, cock their guns and face the advancing crowd. McWood puts his hand to his mouth.

MCWOOD
Halt.

The mob stops and Bud Saunders comes forward.

SAUNDERS
These people want to talk to the Mayor.

156 (CONTINUED)

MCWOOD
(Cooly)
His office is closed.

SAUNDERS
What they have to say won't wait.

MCWOOD
(Firmly)
I'm afraid it'll have to.

DUNCAN
(To Saunders and the others)
Never mind him let's go.

The mob moves forward.

MCWOOD
You people come any further and we'll open fire.

They keep coming

Ready, aim.

They are fifty feet from the cars.

Fire.

The guns go off and the crowd stops. They look to one another and see that no one has fallen.

That was over your heads, the next ones going to be right at you.

Saunders comes forward again.

SAUNDERS
McWood you crazy? There's women and children here.

MCWOOD
They ought to be home in bed.
(Meaning business)
Now I'm going to give you people about thirty seconds to clear off.

No one moves.

156 (CONTINUED)

MCWOOD (Cont'd)
Saunders you tell these friends of yours if somebody don't start moving - there won't be anybody alive to see the Mayor when his office opens.

He walks out from behind the cars and his men follow, all with guns poised. The crowd starts to back up slowly.

Go on now.

They wait a final agonizing moment and then reluctantly turn back. McWood still tense watches their departure. Then after a moment takes a deep breath and looks with some relief at his companions.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

157 EXT. DAY - THE BULLETIN BOARD FOR PUBLIC NOTICES ON THE COURT HOUSE PORCH.

Saturday morning. The Court Clerk is tacking up a notice rescinding permission for the White Peoples Club to use the Court House Lawn that evening. When he finishes, a group of loafers go up, read the notice and look annoyed.

158 INT. THE CITY COUNCIL ROOM

Hopkins, McWood and Coach Red Miller are in deep discussion giving the appearance of an informal council of war. Against the wall, on the far side, stands Bill and Tom, one of the out-of-town reporters.

MILLER
(To Hopkins)
Then what's wrong with my idea of a Home Guard?

HOPKINS
Nothing, except after last night I doubt if there's ten men in the whole County who'd volunteer.

MILLER
After last night I know there's a lot of men who'd want to help out.

158 (CONTINUED)

HOPKINS
This is not a Football Team helping negroes get into school. These men would have to be armed and I don't want the responsibility of putting guns in inexperienced hands.

MILLER
Well if you feel that way, let's only take men with military experience.

HOPKINS
(Pleadingly)
Coach -- I don't want to end up here with a Civil War.

Miller shakes his head.

MCWOOD
Mayor I think we should pay some serious attention to the Coach. He's an ex M.P. and knows a lot more about these things than we do.

HOPKINS
We don't even have extra guns and ammunition.

MCWOOD
The Armory in the City has plenty.

HOPKINS
(Hating to make a decision)
Well, I'll try again to get through to the Governor at ten o'clock and discuss this whole thing with him.

159 INT. A TALL CEILINGED OAK PANELED ROOM IN THE GOVERNOR'S MANSION.

Present, but not immediately visible are a man in shirt sleeves sitting and another man standing on the other side of the room. From a large TV set in the corner a news commentator blares forth. The remains of breakfast litter a silver tray nearby. Cigar smoke trails across the room.

TV ANNOUNCER
And so, as Clayton Springs tries to pick up the mess from last nights riots - and waits in fear and anticipation for the trouble that may come tonight - everyone

159 (CONTINUED)

TV ANNOUNCER (Cont'd)
is asking one question "Where is the Governor"? Newsmen have been trying with singular lack of success to contact both the --

The man in shirt sleeves furiously puffing on a cigar, gets up and turns off the set. We notice he is in his mid-thirties and has the build of a truck driver. The other man in contrast is well dressed and composed.

GOVERNOR
(Parroting the Commentator)
Trying to contact the Governor: what do the newspapers expect me to do? What am I? Some sort of medicine man.

AIDE
Governor - the Press just wants to know if you're going to give Clayton Springs some help.

GOVERNOR
What help? Highway Police? National Guard? What's that going to do? Oh sure it might help them to maintain order. But the precedent would be set for any community to run to me whenever they're faced with this problem. And this kind of trouble has just begun.

AIDE
They probably don't have enough peace officers.

GOVERNOR
(With definiteness)
That don't matter, the Sheriff could deputize every man in Clayton Springs - including that White Peoples bunch.

He paces up and down.

And that isn't all Frank, let's be honest. Minute I step in and use force - I may as well kiss goodbye any popularity I've ever had.

A coloured maid comes in and whispers to the aide.

159 (CONTINUED)

GOVERNOR (Cont'd)

When they'd hear my name they'll remember just one thing, not roads or hospitals or decreasing taxes, that'll all be forgotten; all they'll remember...God love em....is there goes that son of a B....who used guns to force integration in Henderson County.

The aide just stands there.

Well what is it?

AIDE

Mayor Hopkins again.

GOVERNOR

I told you I can't --
(Thinks again)
never mind, I'll tell him myself.

Picks up the 'phone from the table nearby.

Hello Floyd...yes I've been busy. How's Clara? Good.
(Long pause)
I know too well what you're up against.
(Pause)
My problem is I can't interfere unless I absolutely have to. You sworn in any extra deputies? I see...a Home Guard? That sounds like a fine idea...
(Pause)
..the Highway Police?
(Sweats)
Well, if you'll give me your word that you'll use them only in an extreme emergency.

160 EXT. DAY - THE FRONT STREET OF THE FACTORY

Underhill's car pulls up. As he gets out he notices Bobby Saunders loading bundles in his father's car and further down other cars are loading in a like manner.

161 INT. THE WHITE PEOPLES CLUB HEADQUARTERS IN THE FACTORY

The place is a beehive of activity. Rudy Duncan is supervising four women stacking literature in boxes. Two girls are busily typing while three others are on the 'phones. A mimeograph machine churns in the background. At Foreman's old desk Saunders stands talking to Underhill and obviously in a hurry to get somewhere.

161 (CONTINUED)

SAUNDERS
No sirree you can't turn a thing like this on and then off. Regardless of what Hopkins says, this meeting's going on as scheduled.

UNDERHILL
If you persist in holding this meeting to-night, there's going to be bloodshed.

SAUNDERS
I've got four guest speakers from out of State. The famous Jesse Cole is here from Birmingham. And I'm spending my own money to put them up. They came here to talk and it's up to us to guarantee them an audience. What do you think I got all those cars outside for? We got to cover every inch of the County by nightfall.

UNDERHILL
(Painfully)
It seems I have no other recourse but to forbid you to hold this meeting.

SAUNDERS
(Almost amused)
What?

UNDERHILL
And on Monday when you've calmed down, you'll thank me for it.

SAUNDERS
You can't stop me from holding this meeting.
(Underhill is taken aback)
You are the Honorary Chairman.
With Kyle in jail, I'm in charge.

He walks away defiantly.

Come on Rudy.

They exit. Underhill stands there in the final shot framed by his own picture.

162 EXT. DAY - MAIN STREET IN FRONT OF THE COURT HOUSE

Teenagers are passing out handbills. Buckets have been strategically placed along the street and are manned by

162 (CONTINUED)

older people. Above each bucket is a sign "Kyle Foreman Defense Fund"....meeting tonight 8.00 pm Court House Lawn. Some passers-by give money but the vast majority ignore the plea. There is a rather festive air as though something exciting might be about to happen.

163 INT. AN OFFICE IN THE SECOND FLOOR OF THE COUNTY COURT HOUSE

Red Miller hangs up the 'phone. Nearby stands Sheriff McWood.

MILLER
That makes thirty-five.

Finger goes to the next one on the list.

How about Fettyplace, he's still pretty young.

MCWOOD
I heard somebody say he took his wife and daughter to the city last night.

MILLER
I'll try anyway.

Picks up the 'phone.

374 please.
(Waits a moment)
No answer.

Miller looks down his list as Franklin appears in the door.

FRANKLIN
I want you to put me down Coach.

MILLER
I don't think so Mr. Franklin.

FRANKLIN
Why not, I know how to handle a gun.

MILLER
(Apologetically)
We're hoping we won't have to use them.

163 (CONTINUED)

MCWOOD
(Good-naturedly)
I've put the Coach here in charge of this Home Guard and he doesn't want men like you and me up there that have been mixed up in this thing all during the week.
(Smile)
Now I'm being real smart and hiding up here in Headquarters on the second floor. Why don't you join me?

FRANKLIN
(Serious)
It's too bad with every man in town being given the opportunity to join, that I'm being excluded when the whole thing is over what I've done at school.

MCWOOD
(Serious)
Now Mr. Franklin you wouldn't want to be the red flag that excited the bull?

FRANKLIN
If you put it that way, you don't leave me much choice.

164 INT. THE COE HOME

Saturday afternoon. Robert stands near the window, his rifle next to him watching the soft rain on the muddy street. Annie sits sewing while Ben's wife changes a baby's diaper. In the kitchen, the four adolescents of the two families play cards.

BEN'S WIFE
All these years working so hard. And then because of something so stupid, it's all over. Then going to jail besides.

ANNIE
They're not going to be too hard on him. After all, he didn't hit him and was only acting in self defense anyway.

BEN'S WIFE
Annie - don't you know that a colored person can't ever defend himself against a white man.

164 (CONTINUED)

COE
(Turning)
She's right. We're helpless as that baby lying there in diapers.

Ben's wife picks up the baby.

BEN'S WIFE
When I saw Ben at the jail - said he was sorry what happened. But firing that gun atDuncan and seeing him really scared - made him feel like a men for the first time in his life.

DISSOLVE TO:

165 EXT. DAY - A STATE HIGHWAY

Late afternoon. A State Trooper stands in the middle of the Highway directing patrol cars to a roadhouse parking lot. A sign a bit down the road says "Henderson County Line". One of the officers gets out of a car and walks to the roadhouse.

166 INT. INSIDE THE ROAD HOUSE

The man walks up to the proprietor.

PROPRIETOR
Hi there chief.

CHIEF CLARK
Use your 'phone?

PROPRIETOR
Right in back.

CHIEF CLARK
Thank you kindly.

167 INT. PUBLIC 'PHONE BOOTH

Chief Clark enters and dials.

CHIEF CLARK
Yes we're all set Sheriff, you can call me at Hobsons Road House.

168 INT. THE LARGE ASSEMBLY ROOM IN THE REAR OF THE COURT HOUSE

About fifty men have their arms raised with Red Miller in front. The Judge we met on the previous Monday is swearing them in.

168 (CONTINUED)

COUNTY JUDGE
Do solemnly swear that you will uphold the Constitution of the United States of America --

McWood comes in the side door quietly.

the Constitution of this State and the ordinances of the town of Clayton Springs to the best of your ability, So help you God.

CHORUS OF VOICES
So Help Me God.

The Judge exits quickly.

MILLER
Have you all picked up your weapons?
(They nod)
Good, now this is very simple - There are only a few rules - but they are absolutely rigid. One - stay in groups of four or five; two - when you're out there among the people don't speak to them as fast as they come up move them on; three - if they give you any lip at all - lock them up; four - do not draw your gun unless the police officers or I tell you to do so; five - if you are forced to shoot - don't fool around aim for the head or the heart because there is nothing that will enrage a mob more - than a wounded person screaming. But a dead body serves as a reminder of what can happen; six - don't under any circumstances run away from the mob - otherwise they'll know you're scared and jump you; seven - if they all start to come at us together - that's our signal to fall back slowly against the front side of the Court House.
(Pause)
That's all except this, although a mob is composed of your fellow human beings - the resemblance ends right there. So if tonight you have to do something drastic, have no regrets.

He steps down and McWood gets their attention.

MCWOOD
It's now 6.15 you have your orders, I've just talked to Chief Clark of the Highway

168 (CONTINUED)

MCWOOD (Cont'd)
Police. If real trouble comes I can have them here in 15 minutes. Go on out now, do your job under Coach Miller and stay cool.

They file out.

169 INT. COURT HOUSE FRONT DOOR

The Home Guard files out in groups of four and five in the drizzling rain.

170 EXT. LATE AFTERNOON - ONE SIDE STREET

People are gathering in groups of four and five and standing around.

171 EXT. LATE AFTERNOON - ANOTHER SIDE STREET

Cars are driving up and parking at the curb. They are filled with people, sometimes containing whole families.

172 EXT. LATE AFTERNOON - MAIN STREET

The Home Guard is moving people with efficiency away from the street and sidewalk directly in front of the Court House.

173 EXT. DUSK - ADJACENT SIDE STREET NEAR THE COURT HOUSE

Underhill sits in his car with his dog Duke. Through the windshield we see Bud Saunders standing on the tailgate of a truck, speaking to a crowd. Underhill gets out of his car leaving the dog behind.

The crowd listens attentively to Bud Saunders.

SAUNDERS
Just keep sticking around and stay away from those boy scouts in front of the Court House but spread the word.

Underhill walks towards the group.

We're starting about eight o'clock.

UNDERHILL
I'd like to say a few words if I may?

SAUNDERS
We're all through here.

173 (CONTINUED)

Underhill ignores him and crawls up on the truck gate.

UNDERHILL
I want all of you to know as your
(Looking at Saunders)
Honorary Chairman - that I am not in favor of going through with this meeting tonight.

The group rumbles.

I think you all know me as a man who deeply respects our Southern traditions. But this situation has gotten out of hand. Last night innocent people had their lives threa tened just by walking down the Main Street of their own home town. And a lawless mob marched on the Mayor's home.

MAN IN CROWD
What the hell do you mean lawless? I was there.

SAUNDERS
Listen here Mr. Underhill - we want the South to know "Clayton Springs has not sold out."

Cheers and rebel yells.

UNDERHILL
I tell you nothing but violence can come from this meeting.

SAUNDERS
Oh poohey.

Saunders shows a gesture of dismissal and strides off followed by the majority. A few stay behind with Underhill, probably his own employees.

174 INT. UPSTAIRS IN THE COURT HOUSE

We see Bill Dobbs and Don Franklin staring out of an open window. Through the same window is pointed a machine gun manned by two Home Guards. We hear Tom the Reporter's voice from a 'phone booth in the hall, as the camera pans down to show the Court House Lawn empty except for the Guard; while the side streets become choked with people.

174 (CONTINUED)

TOM
It's after seven o'clock here in Clayton Springs, the rain has stopped and we may see a bit of sun before dark. There is an air of expectancy, newsmen from all over the world have converged on this small middle Southern community to see inacted one of the first phases in the most important social change to hit this area since the Civil War.

We notice a slight scuffle at one of the corners.

175 EXT. DUSK - THE SAME CORNER AT STREET LEVEL.

Two of the Home Guards are trying to arrest a man in overalls.

MAN
Let me alone, I aint done nothing.

No answer from the Guards.

This isn't Russia.

FIRST HOME GUARD
I asked you to move on. Now you can tell it to the Sheriff.

They half carry him towards the jail.

DISSOLVE TO:

176 INT. SHERIFF'S OFFICE

We hear noise in the hall as they drag in the same man.

MAN
(Shouting)
Hey McWood what's going on here? Ain't I got a right to stand in front of the Court House and wait for my own wife?

FIRST HOME GUARD

As McWood doesn't look up.

MCWOOD
Lock him up.

176 (CONTINUED)

When the Guards drag the man away he suddenly sinks his teeth into the shoulder of one of them and the Guard yells. McWood gets up quickly sizing up the situation and taps the man on the head with a billy club. The man collapses and the injured Guard rubs his shoulder.

MCWOOD (Cont'd)
Boys take him upstairs where he can get some sleep.

SECOND HOME GUARD
(Shocked)
He bit me, the son of a bitch.

MCWOOD
(Off hand)
I wouldn't worry none, I know the boy and don't think he has anything you can catch.

177 EXT. EARLY EVENING - SIDE STREET

A car drives up followed by five others and stops at the curb. The first car is driven by a pretty blonde in a tight white dress. Next to her sits Jesse Cole, a good-looking young man in his late twenties. We had seen him briefly before when he bid Foreman goodbye and got back on the train eight days before. Saunders comes towards the car, looking at his watch and smiling while the twenty or more occupants of the other cars get out, stretch and look around. Saunders jams his face through the open window of Cole's car.

SAUNDERS
(Good-naturedly)
Got to hand it to you Jesse, right on time.

COLE
(Not looking at him)
Everything all set?

SAUNDERS
(Disappointed)
Why sure. We did just like you said.

Cole ignores him and keeps on smoking.

Got everybody waiting.

Cole takes a final puff and puts out his cigarette in the dashboard ash-tray. He then opens the door, gets out, facing the men from the other cars. They crowd around him pushing Saunders slightly to one side.

177 (CONTINUED)

COLE
(Looking down)
My watch reads 7.40. When I finish talking I want you to lose yourselves in the crowds on the side streets. You'll work in twos as we planned:
(Firmly)
At 7.50 exactly you will move these crowds immediately to the area in front of the Court House. Once you're there - keep your eyes on me. If I raise one arm - rally around. Two arms - start shoving the crowd towards the Lawn. Hands locked over head,
(He demonstrates)
brace yourselves; hold the crowd and don't let them back up.

Rudy Duncan comes up behind Saunders.

DUNCAN
(Belligerently)
I been looking all over for you.

Saunders tries to shush him.

Underhill's out there trying to send the people home.

SAUNDERS
Well what do you want me to do?

DUNCAN
Leave it to me.

Duncan half exits.

SAUNDERS
(Recovering)
Don't you hurt him none.

DUNCAN
(Disdainfully)
Bud you worry too much.

Duncan walks away.

DISSOLVE TO:

178 EXT. NIGHT - THE ADJACENT SIDE STREET NEAR THE COURT HOUSE

178 (CONTINUED)

Duncan comes toward Underhill's parked car. The street is quiet as the crowd has gathered at the intersection. Duncan approaches the car, looks about, and takes a piece of paper from his pocket, crumpling it. He then pulls a branch from a nearby tree and pokes it through the end of the paper. He unscrews the cap off the gas tank, lights the paper, pushes the branch towards the gas tank and runs.

179 EXT. NIGHT - MAIN STREET

Underhill is button holding an elderly woman. There is an explosion some distance away. They turn their heads.

180 EXT. NIGHT - THE ADJACENT SIDE STREET NEAR THE COURT HOUSE. UNDERHILL'S CAR IS ENVELOPED IN FLAMES.

A crowd is gathering. Underhill pushes his way through. He looks crushed, remembering his dog is inside. We hear the distant sound of approaching fire sirens.

181 EXT. NIGHT - MAIN STREET

The crowd moves from the side streets on cue. Miller barks an order. Immediately the Home Guard forms in front of the Court House. The mob moves steadily down the street towards the Guards. When the mob sees the Guards standing fast, it slows down. The Guards cock their guns. Pushed by the toughs who are following Jesse Cole's directions, the mob moves forward. Watching everything, Miller motions the Guards to retreat slowly across the Lawn.

182 INT. UPSTAIRS IN THE COURT HOUSE

The machine gun is pushed to the window. McWood critically observes the action below. With him are Mayor Hopkins, Bill, Don and Tom the Reporter.

MCWOOD
(To the Mayor)
It's about time to make that 'phone call.

The Mayor nods and he exits. The clock reads 7.55.

DISSOLVE TO:

183 EXT. NIGHT - THE HIGHWAY

Forty State Police patrol cars race down, sirens screaming.

184 EXT. NIGHT - BY THE COURT HOUSE

The uneasy Guards glance at Miller expecting a signal. Miller eyes the advancing mob cooly. When it comes within twenty feet, he raises his carbine.

MILLER
(Loudly to the Guards)
Free your firearms.

As the guns come up, the crowd stops. Miller cups his hand.

If you don't back off we'll have to shoot.

COLE
(From Deep in the crowd)
Go ahead nigger lover.

MILLER
(To the Home Guard)
Ready to fire. Walk forward slowly.

The Guards inch forward. The front line of the crowd tries to back up but are held by Cole's men in the rear.

Move.

The Home Guard continues to come forward. Miller finally holds out his hand for them to stop.

I'll give you ten seconds.

He looks at his watch which reads 8.04. After a moment he reaches into the knap sack of the man along side and takes out a tear gas bomb. At ten he grips it firmly and yells.

All right now Goddamit move.

The crowd tries to but can't. Miller throws the bomb at the feet of those in the first row. It explodes and the people in front panic and break through to the rear. The part of the mob on the left flank is pushed forward by Cole's men. Miller throws another bomb at this group. They also fall back. In the process a child is knocked over. As the gas passes over him he screams. A man dashes out and picks him up. Cole has lost control and raises his arm for the men to rally. Miller notices what is going on and heaves a third tear gas bomb at this group. It doesn't explode. Immediately he grabs another and throws it, missing Cole and his men, it lands deep in the crowd and explodes, scattering some more of the mob.

185 EXT. NIGHT - SIDE STREET.

People running. Other people stand stationery wiping the tears from their eyes. The main body of the crowd has retreated down the side streets but the hard core of the segregationists remain in the general area of the Court House. This group includes the out-of-state hoodlums, many men and women who have been in the forefront of the trouble all week long, miners and of course Saunders, his wife and Duncan. This group, led by Cole's men, starts to come forward. The Guards fall back in an orderly fashion, guns in readiness. Ten feet from the wall Miller motions them to stop.

MILLER
Ready to fire.

In the rear of the crowd, Cole has been observing the entire action with increasing irritation. Suddenly he is transformed from an apparently passive person, to a man of action as he sees the crowd loosing momentum. He pulls off his coat, pushes it at the blonde and reaches into her purse and takes out a gun. He lunges into the fray screaming.

COLE
Christians, White Citizens, kill them.

Miller gets Cole in his sights and is about to fire, when he hears the sirens approaching. Though tempted to shoot, he doesn't. Hearing the sirens, the people in the crowd seem to awaken from their hypnotic state. Cole's bravado turns to fright. He and his group duck down a side street while the remainder stay in front of the court house.

186 EXT. NIGHT - MAIN STREET

The patrol cars come roaring down the street to a full stop. The roof lights turn in a 360 degree angle. The Highway Police get out of cars with riot guns poised. Chief Clark's car pulls up in front of the Court House. Sheriff McWood comes down the steps as he sees the Chief. Most of the faces in the crowd show respect for the arrival of additional authority. Chief Clark standing next to McWood speaks to the crowd through an electric megaphone. Saunders pushes his way through the crowd.

CHIEF CLARK
Folks we're here at the request of the Sheriff of Henderson County.

Boos.

We want you to go home now peacefully.

186 (CONTINUED)

Saunders finally reaches them.

SAUNDERS
Chief, we were promised we could have a meeting here tonight.

CHIEF CLARK
(Viewing the crowd, then half humorously)
Bud you're not serious?

SAUNDERS
You're darn right I'm serious. This crowd has been promised a speech and they're not going to go home until they get one.

Chief Clark pulls McWood over to one side.

CHIEF CLARK
Sheriff I'll do anything you say but I can smell this is a nasty crowd. I'd let them have maybe one short speech. Then I think we can get them on home.

MCWOOD
(Very definite)
Chief ordinarily I'd agree. But this White Peoples bunch have been running wild all week long. I think it's about time we said something and stick to it.

CHIEF CLARK
(Good naturedly)
It's your party.

He turns, walks over to Saunders and takes him by the arm.

SAUNDERS
(Pulling away)
Hey - wait a minute.

Four State Police converge on the spot.

CHIEF CLARK
(Annoyed)
You aint got a minute - you've got five seconds, now clear off.

The crowd watches with interest.

186 (CONTINUED)

SAUNDERS
(Knowing he's been beaten)
You aint heard the last from me.

He pushes off through the crowd. This is the signal for the State Troopers to start pushing the crowd back with their night sticks. A few diehards resist but most go quite easily. One of the troopers runs into Rudy Duncan who stands and stares defiantly. The Trooper waits patiently and then nudges him with the butt of his night stick. Rudy grabs it and tries to pull it out of his hand. Two Troopers come over and shove Rudy but he persists, and they club him to the ground. The crowd begins to break-up more swiftly, get in their cars and disappear down side streets. In a short while the entire area is almost completely deserted.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

187 EXT. DAY - SAME AS PREVIOUS SCENE

It is very quiet and peaceful. A few of the cronies lounge in front of the Court House. Church bells toll in the background.

188 EXT. - DAY - HENDERSON COUNTY HOSPITAL

189 INT. A HOSPITAL ROOM

Fred Dobbs is propped up in bed his head swathed in bandages. With him, dressed in their Sunday best, are Robert and Annie Coe. We can still hear the church bells.

DOBBS
You tell Ben and his wife I'll be glad to handle his case, free of charge.

COE
He's going to appreciate that.

ANNIE
You should be outside today, it's a different town.

COE
(Taking her hand)
We were saying to each other on the way here, how nice it is to come downtown again.

189 (CONTINUED)

DOBBS
How'r the children?

ANNIE
Fine, they're both looking forward to get back to school tomorrow.

DOBBS
(Shaking his head)
Kids are sure funny. Amazing when you think of what they've been through. I've been lying here asking myself how many adults would have shown the courage they did this past week.

190 EXT. THE COURT HOUSE CLOCK READS TWELVE O'CLOCK.

191 EXT. - DAY - FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

A few late stragglers are going in.

192 INT. - THE CHURCH

Reverend Parker is there delivering his sermon from the pulpit. As he does the camera pans to Nancy, Bill, Don, Marian, Mayor Hopkins, Sheriff McWood and Mr. Underhill.

REV. PARKER
When I came here to you a few months ago, I found a community trying to adjust itself to a great change in its social pattern. Though it was a painful experience for many, most people seemed willing to obey the law of the land. Then later we all became witnesses to the amazing spectacle of one man, a stranger to this town, turning neighbor against neighbor.

Fettyplace, his wife and Carol come down the side aisle. He is trying to look as inconspicuous as possible.

Now how could Christians have been so deceived as to listen and pay heed to this voice of hatred? This is the question I have asked myself over and over again this past week. And this is a question all of you might ask yourselves as well. And I think if you are honest, you will arrive at the only answer that has any meaning. That we have failed God, and in doing so, have

192 (CONTINUED)

REV. PARKER (Cont'd)
failed ourselves. We turned our backs on our responsibilities as Christians. As your spiritual leader, I share more than my proportion of this feeling of guilt, because I was hesitant and timid, when I should have been strong. For fear of offending some of you, I did a disservice to all of you.
(Long pause)
Now peace is returning to Clayton Springs, but if this peace is to last, we will have to look deep into our souls and bring forth those qualities of strength, compassion and righteousness, which have been so long hidden from His Eyes.
(Pause)
Let Us Pray.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

193 INT. THE SECOND FLOOR OF THE COUNTY COURT HOUSE

Mr. Underhill is walking down a hall to a door marked "City Council".

194 INT. INTERIOR OF COUNCIL ROOM

Underhill walks in interrupting Hopkins who is obviously startled. Also present are Fettyplace, Sheriff McWood and the Court Clerk.

UNDERHILL
Sorry I'm late gentlemen.

HOPKINS
(Recovering)
That's all right, we were just discussing how long the State Police is going to be with us.

Underhill sits.

UNDERHILL
And how long is that going to be?

HOPKINS
Sheriff - when do you think you'll have enough extra men sworn in, so that we can take care of it ourselves?

194 (CONTINUED)

MCWOOD
Wednesday the latest.

195 EXT. - DAY - MONDAY IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL

The buses pull up and discharge their students in a sea of calm.

196 EXT. DAY - REAR ENTRANCE OF SCHOOL

The Hill Negroes enter the door and all seems normal. The school bell rings.

197 EXT. DAY - BACK IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL

The Federal Marshall's man stands talking to two State troopers and Sheriff McWood. The front campus is completely empty of everything else.

198 INT. THE SCHOOL HALLWAY

Bill, Tom and Don walk down. As they pass Nancy's room, Bill catches her eye and winks. Suddenly Bobby Saunders comes up and interrupts. Tom puts down a suitcase he's carrying.

BOBBY
Oh Mr. Franklin can I see you a minute - alone?

FRANKLIN
Why sure, excuse me.

They go over on the side and Bobby tries to speak.

Well what is it Bobby?

BOBBY
My Dad's forcing me to go
(Very upset)
to school in Central City.

FRANKLIN
(Sympathetically)
That's too bad, basketball team's going to miss you.

BOBBY
Yes sir I know, I told him but he's made up his mind.
(Slowly)

198 (CONTINUED)

BOBBY (Cont'd)
I just turned in my uniform.
(He bites his lip)
I want to stay here, I don't want to go to school anywhere else.

FRANKLIN
You have to go to school somewhere.

BOBBY
I know sir -
(Pause)
And I wanted you to know none of that business last week was my idea. I know I'm 17 and a senior, but having negroes didn't seem right at the time. But I never wanted to leave the High School.

FRANKLIN
I understand Bobby.
(Long pause)

BOBBY
I guess I'd better be getting along.

FRANKLIN
Drop in and see me anytime you want Bobby. My door's always open.

BOBBY

Ceremoniously they shake hands.

Goodbye Mr. Franklin.

The boy goes off and Don joins Bill and Tom who have gone further down the hall.

199 INT. - THE GYMNASIUM

A basketball game is in progress. Jackie Coe looks conspicuous in uniform. Don, Tom and Bill come in the side door and watch the play.

TOM
And tell me Bill, as one newspaperman to another, do you think these people have really changed?

199 (CONTINUED)

BILL
(Humorously)
If you're asking me if they now suddenly all love the idea of school integration, I'm afraid I'll have to say no. But I think they've all learned --
(Stops in mid-sentence and smiles)
I mean we all have learned, that there really is no alternate road. It's either the law, or chaos.

TOM
What about the future?

BILL
They say that Bud Saunders still has a lot of people in his group. And Mr. Foreman will be out on bail today. A few of those who quit the club this past weekend say they have all sorts of new plans.
(Pause)
So I don't imagine our problems will be over for a little while. If I was to guess, I'd say it was going to be a long hard winter. Eh Don?

FRANKLIN
I'm afraid I'll have to agree with you, Bill.
(Pause)
Course Ton, in the long run this thing's not going to be decided by the Saunderses, or the Foremans or school principals. Or for that matter, the State Police. It's going to be decided right out there,
(Looking to the gym floor)
by them.

The ball is thrown one to the other and finally to Jackie. Then a boy breaks for the basket, Jackie passes it at exactly the right time and the boy scores. He bangs Jackie on the back as they come back up the court to defend their goal.

FADE OUT

THE END

Re Rochemont Films

June 8, 1959

Mr. Paul Green
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Green:

At the direction of our Executive Committee, I am taking the liberty of asking a favor for the Southern Regional Council. We realize that the demands on you are heavy; so if this request presumes too much on your time and energy, don't hesitate to place the enclosures in the envelope provided and send them back without apology.

Enclosed are copies of letters and a script sent to us by Louis de Rochemont Associates, the movie producers who made "Lost Boundaries," "Martin Luther," and various other well known films. As you will see, they are proposing that the Council, in effect, give its sponsorship to a fictional movie based on the Clinton, Tennessee, school experience, which they hope to get underwritten by foundations or individual philanthropists. They are perfectly ready to work out such revisions in the draft script as the Council would feel necessary. Any and all net proceeds from the movie would accrue to the Council. We, in turn, would be expected to endorse the proposed film as a desirable and constructive one, support the fund-raising effort, probably receive the contributions which would underwrite the production, and cooperate closely in the production itself.

Obviously, this is something quite outside the Council's normal experience. The Executive Committee was divided in its reaction to the proposal, quite apart from the merits of the script which none of them has yet read. Questions of practicability, tax-exemption, and possible effects on the Council's "public image," program effectiveness, and so on, were discussed.

A balanced committee of three -- James M. Dabbs, John Wheeler, and Duncan Hunter -- was appointed to investigate the matter further and to act for the Council. This committee was unanimous in feeling that we should solicit your opinion of the potentialities of the script and of the practical merits of the proposal. The Committee will also read the script when we get more copies. And we will arrange for appropriate legal advice.

I might add that Jim Larkin, the writer, did come to Atlanta and elaborate on the proposal. However, the substance of it is as outlined in the enclosed letters from Borden Mace and in what I have said above.

Any advice you can find time to give us will be deeply appreciated.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures-4.

Ltr. from Borden Mace - May 19, 1959
Ltr. ~~to~~ Borden Mace ~~from~~ HCF - May 27, 1959
Script - "WEALTH OF VIOLENCE" by Z. Modine
Self-addressed envelope

RECEIVED JUN 18 1959

ADAM YARMOLINSKY
BARR BUILDING
910 17TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

METROPOLITAN 8-6977

June 16, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is to report on my meeting last Thursday with Borden Mace of Louis deRochemont Associates, and James Larkin, who has prepared the script for the proposed feature film based on the Clinton school integration experience.

I asked Messrs. Mace and Larkin to give me the history of the project, and to outline the kind of arragement, or the alternative kinds of arrangements, that they would propose to work out with the Council, if the Council were to decide in principle that it was willing to cooperate in the venture. From the somewhat lengthy discussion that followed, I learned, as you may know already, that the deRochemont organization has successfully produced at least two other commercial feature films for which it has had to secure either financing or distribution outside of regular channels - Lost Boundaries and the Martin Luther Story. I learned also that the script of the Clinton Story has been submitted to, and rejected by, United Artists and Columbia Pictures, the two most likely sources of financing and distribution within the industry. I was given to understand, and I have no reason to disbelieve it, that the reason for the rejections was not so much doubts about the commercial possibilities of this picture, as fears about the effects of distributing it on continuing relations with the Southern exchanges.

What the deRochemont people need, therefore, is outside financing for thepicture, presumably from investors whose interest in improving race relations will make up, to some extent, for the high risk they are taking without the prospect of a commensurate return. I gather that they have not yet done much serious thinking about where such investors could be found, and they rather hoped that SRC would do the thinking for them,without, however, tapping people who are, or might be, regular SRC contributors. Their original notion was that

investors would put up the necessary capital (about $400,000) by making tax-deductible contributions to SRC, and that SRC would then contract with deRochemont to produce and distribute the picture at cost. I believe that this was (and still is) a bona fide proposal, motivated by a desire to make an unusual picture, and perhaps (although this is my own deduction) to help cover general overhead.

When I suggested that such an arrangement would raise a number of tax and policy questions, Messrs. Mace and Larkin replied that they had no fixed preference for any particular form of cooperation. When I tried to pin them down as to the minimum elements for a cooperative venture, they agreed that they could not expect any substantial contributions of SRC staff time, since the staff is overworked already. Nor do they expect any access to SRC's financial supporters, for analogous reasons. The only remaining element that SRC, as I saw it, could contribute, if it chose to, would be an expression of enthusiastic interest in the project, and a willingness to confirm that interest directly to prospective investors at the appropriate time. Again, Mssrs. Mace and Larkin agreed with my analysis.

Whether they would continue to agree throughout the process of negotiating an agreement is a question that would have to await the event. It would clearly be premature now, in their view as well as in mine, to try to work out an agreement until the Council has arrived at a consensus on the merits of the project, presumably with some contemplated revisions of the script.

After looking at the law and the regulations, I can see no tax problems in an agreement whereby the Council would endorse the project and would perhaps express its willingness to confirm the value of the project to individual prospective investors, and at the same time would receive, say, a 50 per cent royalty interest in the uncompleted film, to be paid out of net profits. Such a royalty arrangement would avoid the problem of the 5 per cent limitation on corporate charitable deductions, and the royalty income would not be taxable as unrelated business income to the Council, nor could it be argued with any plausibility that the Council was thereby carrying on a trade or business.

Mr. Mace suggested that while we are awaiting the outcome of the Council's deliberations I might perhaps meet with their lawyer, Mr. Ambrose Doskow, of Judge Rosenmann's firm, on my next visit

to New York. I plan to take him up on this invitation, primarily to see what more, if anything, I can learn about their plans and intentions.

Best regards,

Alan

P.S. I am sending a copy of this letter to you in New York, since I recall that you said that you would be there tomorrow.

Mace - de Rochemont Assoc.

June 17, 1959

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
412 Barr Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Adam:

This is merely to make official the substance of our recent agreement reached by telephone.

You have been asked by the Southern Regional Council to investigate legal and philanthropic aspects of a proposal by Louis de Rochemont Associates, Inc., that SRC cooperate in the production of a film. Our agreement is that you will explore these questions and report your conclusions to us. It is further understood that your fee will not exceed $200 at this initial stage, and that the extent of your services will be limited accordingly. If we subsequently decide to pursue the matter further, we will contract anew for your services on such terms as may be mutually acceptable.

For the record, I am enclosing copies of the two letters concerning the film proposal thus far received from Borden Mace of Louis de Rochemont Associates, Inc.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures - 1.

PAUL GREEN
GREENWOOD ROAD
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED JUN 22 1959

June 19, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
Sixty-three Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks for your letter of June 8 and for the motion picture script, "Wealth of Violence," which were waiting for me here on my return home. I have just finished reading the script and am hurrying along my impressions of it.

The author has done a good solid reporter's job, it seems to me, even if the story is supposed to be fictionized. He takes us right into the midst of things and lets us see prejudice and misunderstanding fully stewing and turmoiling. But, to come quickly to the point, I think the country has, alas, already seen so much of this sort of thing that a reporting of it again, even in a film, will simply be doing once more what the newspapers, television, radio and word of mouth have already done to repletion. (And at the end of the script things are as bad as they were to start with.) Further, I doubt that the public would care enough about seeing such a picture to make it financially profitable to anyone. Of course, I may be wrong here.

But I don't think I am wrong when I say that if the Council embarks on the sponsorship and support of a full-length film on this sensitive and "loaded" subject, it should be a film which leads somewhere, which has more of the spirit of reaching hands across the divisioning, of illumination, of the final and basic solving of something, or at least the suggestion of solving, so that we can feel at the end that a bit of the plus side of living has been added to -- that the job has been worth doing.

Integration in the schools is not only a Southern but is something of a national dilemma, as everybody knows. Race relations are our American tragedy right now, and any film dealing with them should, I think, give us some of the heartache and heart-hunger of that tragedy. I find these lacking in the script. I find too much peckerwood violence and rush and wash and go of mobbery throughout. And to use that old abused Aristotelian word -- there is no purgation out of this bleeding and sound and fury. As I say, we already know all we need to know of this kind of behavior. I, along with most everybody else, am tired of hearing about it.

But I am not tired of hearing about those who are earnestly trying to accomplish something. If the author had written about such people and had thrown out most of the scenes dealing with Bud Saunders, Kyle Foreman and their mob followers (a reference to them now and then would almost be enough), I believe his script would be more worthwhile and would have a better chance at financial success. But from Hollywood and TV experience I too know how much more easy it is to get an effect by violence than by rational behavior and thinking. But that is exactly the challenge here. And it should be met. The matter is too important for the usual documentary or Hollywood treatment. It requires vision, objective and even benign understanding and a sense of moral value. (Racial violence is a far different thing from the violence in our popular westerns.)

The present script seems to me a good first draft but with the main thing left out -- a warm, human story. In revision, the author might well consider, I think, the possibility of concentrating more on two families -- one Negro and one white. We could get to know the members of the two as we go along -- especially the young folks. As it is now, the action dances on so fast with so many characters, and most of them worthless, that we are never allowed to stay with anyone long enough to get down into their hearts and minds. So suspense is lacking -- except for the suspense about possible violence and physical hurt to someone. And for the Council's purpose this is the most unimportant suspense of all. Also I think the author could do more with the churches.

The kind of picture I am suggesting is, I know, harder to do than the one the present script calls for. But it should be harder. It should require not only the best creative power of the author but of both the Council and Louis de Rochemont, as well. "Wealth of Violence" does not quite do that.

And to start with, the title is wrong. Wealth of violence is not what we want, but rather a wealth of the creative spirit. To keep on repeating -- a film mostly devoted to violence is the easiest and least worthwhile thing in the world to do in the present situation. But the right film should be done, I think, and the Council could find no better producer for it than the Louis de Rochemont organization.

With best greetings and regards,

Paul Green

Paul Green

PG:jg

June 23, 1959

Mr. Duncan Hunter
First Methodist Church
Semmes and Green Streets
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Duncan:

As a member of the committee to consider the de Rochemont proposal, you will be interested in the enclosed letters from Paul Green and Adam Yarmolinsky. You will recall that the Committee asked Harold to solicit appropriate legal advice as well as the opinion of Paul Green on the script. In the absence of the SRC Counsel, Joseph Haas, Adam Yarmolinsky, Washington attorney and friend of the Council, was approached and his initial response is enclosed.

There is one copy of the script available for circulation. We are mailing this to Mr. Dabbs with the request that he forward it to Mr. Wheeler; Mr. Wheeler will then forward it to you. Could you then inform us of what steps should be taken next?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

June 23, 1959

Mr. John Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

As a member of the committee to consider the de Rochemont proposal, you will be interested in the enclosed letters from Paul Green and Adam Yarmolinsky. You will recall that the Committee asked Harold to solicit appropriate legal advice as well as the opinion of Paul Green on the script. In the absence of the SRC Counsel, Joseph Haas, Adam Yarmolinsky, Washington attorney and friend of the Council, was approached and his initial response is enclosed.

There is one copy of the script available for circulation. We are mailing this to Mr. Dabbs with the request that he forward it on to you as soon as possible. Could you then inform us of what steps should be taken next?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

June 23, 1959

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

As a member of the committee to consider the de Rochemont proposal, you will be interested in the enclosed letters from Paul Green and Adam Yarmolinsky. You will recall that the Committee asked Harold to solicit appropriate legal advise as well as the opinion of Paul Green on the script. In the absence of the SRC Counsel, Joseph Haas, Adam Yarmolinsky, Washington attorney and friend of the Council, was approached and his initial response is enclosed.

Enclosed is the one copy of the script available for circulation. When you have finished reading it, would you please forward it to Mr. Wheeler in the enclosed stamped envelope. Could you inform us of what steps should be taken next?

Sincerely

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 3.

June 24, 1959

Mr. Paul Green
Greenwood Road
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Green:

Harold is away from the office for the week. In his absence this will acknowledge your good letter of the 19th.

We have forwarded copies of your letter to Harold and to the members of the special "film" committee; Mr. Dabbs, Mr. Wheeler, and Mr. Hunter.

I am sure that you will hear from Harold shortly after his return. In the meantime, please know that we are most grateful for the effort and contribution you have made in this matter.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

PAUL GREEN
GREENWOOD ROAD
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED JUN 22 1959

June 19, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
Sixty-three Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks for your letter of June 8 and for the motion picture script, "Wealth of Violence," which were waiting for me here on my return home. I have just finished reading the script and am hurrying along my impressions of it.

The author has done a good solid reporter's job, it seems to me, even if the story is supposed to be fictionized. He takes us right into the midst of things and lets us see prejudice and misunderstanding fully stewing and turmoiling. But, to come quickly to the point, I think the country has, alas, already seen so much of this sort of thing that a reporting of it again, even in a film, will simply be doing once more what the newspapers, television, radio and word of mouth have already done to repletion. (And at the end of the script things are as bad as they were to start with.) Further, I doubt that the public would care enough about seeing such a picture to make it financially profitable to anyone. Of course, I may be wrong here.

But I don't think I am wrong when I say that if the Council embarks on the sponsorship and support of a full-length film on this sensitive and "loaded" subject, it should be a film which leads somewhere, which has more of the spirit of reaching hands across the divisioning, of illumination, of the final and basic solving of something, or at least the suggestion of solving, so that we can feel at the end that a bit of the plus side of living has been added to -- that the job has been worth doing.

Integration in the schools is not only a Southern but is something of a national dilemma, as everybody knows. Race relations are our American tragedy right now, and any film dealing with them should, I think, give us some of the heartache and heart-hunger of that tragedy. I find these lacking in the script. I find too much peckerwood violence and rush and wash and go of mobbery throughout. And to use that old abused Aristotelian word -- there is no purgation out of this bleeding and sound and fury. As I say, we already know all we need to know of this kind of behavior. I, along with most everybody else, am tired of hearing about it.

But I am not tired of hearing about those who are earnestly trying to accomplish something. If the author had written about such people and had thrown out most of the scenes dealing with Bud Saunders, Kyle Foreman and their mob followers (a reference to them now and then would almost be enough), I believe his script would be more worthwhile and would have a better chance at financial success. But from Hollywood and TV experience I too know how much more easy it is to get an effect by violence than by rational behavior and thinking. But that is exactly the challenge here. And it should be met. The matter is too important for the usual documentary or Hollywood treatment. It requires vision, objective and even benign understanding and a sense of moral value. (Racial violence is a far different thing from the violence in our popular westerns.)

The present script seems to me a good first draft but with the main thing left out -- a warm, human story. In revision, the author might well consider, I think, the possibility of concentrating more on two families -- one Negro and one white. We could get to know the members of the two as we go along -- especially the young folks. As it is now, the action dances on so fast with so many characters, and most of them worthless, that we are never allowed to stay with anyone long enough to get down into their hearts and minds. So suspense is lacking -- except for the suspense about possible violence and physical hurt to someone. And for the Council's purpose this is the most unimportant suspense of all. Also I think the author could do more with the churches.

The kind of picture I am suggesting is, I know, harder to do than the one the present script calls for. But it should be harder. It should require not only the best creative power of the author but of both the Council and Louis de Rochemont, as well. "Wealth of Violence" does not quite do that.

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With best greetings and regards,

Paul Green

Paul Green

PG:jg

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JA-4-2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

June 27, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

I have read "Wealth of Violence," and forwarded it to John Wheeler, with the suggestion that he read it as soon as possible and return it to you, with any comments he wishes to make. I don't know whether it has been to Hunter yet or not. I told Wheeler I would try to see him while I'm in Durham during the week of July 6-10.

Mrs. Dabbs read the script too. Both she and I are inclined to go along with Paul Green's criticism. She is inclined to think that for the majority of people who would see the picture the effect would be an increase of tendency toward violence rather than away from it. For myself, I am afraid that this would be the case. The violence is too apparent, the lesson as to why it comes too hidden. I might modify this opinion after I have considered the script longer and have talked with others; but that's about the way I feel now. We also agree with Paul Green that the action has possibilities, and if handled according to some of his suggestions might well be supported--sponsored--by the Council.

My present suggestion is that you get--as you are doing--the opinions of Hunter and Wheeler. If they tend to agree with this opinion--and I imagine Hunter is even more dubious about the script than I am--let Harold write to the de Rochemont people stating that, unless Larkin wishes to take a far more serious, and less violent, shot at the material, we shall have to decline regretfully the sponsorship. Personally, I wish that Larkin would make this attempt, but I imagine the proposal is so radical that he won't do it. I don't see anything wrong with letting him see a copy of Paul Green's letter; but Harold's opinion on this is better than mine.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

ADAM YARMOLINSKY
BARR BUILDING
910 17TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

METROPOLITAN 8-6977

RECEIVED JUL 15 1959

July 13, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is just to report that I had lunch last Thursday with Borden Mace and his lawyer, Ambrose Doskow. Mr. Doskow and I agreed that the best way to produce The Clinton Story is as a straight commercial venture. While the Council's blessing is still a prerequisite to the de Rochemont people going forward, and could be extremely helpful in persuading investors to take an extra risk, the Council should not participate, either as a general or a limited partner, in the venture. If the picture were produced, and in the unlikely event that it should be a great commercial success, some of the investors might well be moved to contribute a portion of their profits to the Council, but these would be independent gifts. I suspect that you would feel more comfortable with this arrangement than with the one I suggested earlier, whereby the Council would receive a contingent interest in profits; there would be no question about the motivation for endorsement; and I don't believe the Council would be passing up an opportunity to get rich in a hurry.

But all this awaits on the outcome of your deliberations.

Yours,

Abe

P.S. How are your accountants doing in Mississippi?

via air mail July 28, 1959

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
910 - 17th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Adam:

Many thanks for the report of your conversation with Ambrose Doskow. I am well satisfied with the conclusion that you and Doskow reached; if we should at some time agree on a script, we could proceed much more comfortably and effectively on such an altruistic basis.

For the moment, however, the question is moot. I have finally heard from each member of the committee, and the unanimous decision is that the present script is not one we could push with any enthusiasm. The main criticisms are: the overemphasis on violence, the lack of characterization in depth, and the lack of a strong, positive theme that points toward solution, or at any rate progress. No one wants to rule out the possibility of a satisfactory revision -- though a complete rewriting, including a change of story-line, would be necessary.

As soon as I have concocted a satisfactory letter to Mace, I will send you a copy. Our basic position will be that we will be glad at any time to plug for production of a film which we feel will contribute something really different and worthwhile to race relations.

If you are interested in reading the script, I'll be glad to send it along; would have done so

sooner; but we never received any more copies.

Send along a statement whenever it suits you.

I'm exasperated past speech on the Hazel Smith business. Gene Cox did tell me last week that the completion and forwarding of the auditor's material was delayed by the death of Hazel's father. But he left me with the understanding that the analysis should be here any day. It hasn't arrived yet, but I'm hopefully watching each mail. Needless to say, I will ship it off to you pronto when (I won't say "if") it arrives.

Best regards.

de Rochemont Associates

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

July 31, 1959

To: Messrs. Gordon Mace and
Jim Larkin

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director HCF

Re: "WEALTH OF VIOLENCE"

As I told Mr. Mace by telephone, I finally have the reactions of all members of the committee created by our Executive Committee to consider "Wealth of Violence."

Since some of the responses were by word of mouth, much of this memorandum necessarily represents my own interpretation. However, the two main points, which are underlined, may be taken as the unanimous views of the committee and myself.

To get to the main point at once, it is our feeling that we cannot commit the Southern Regional Council to endorsement of the present script. This is no judgment on the purely dramatic potentialities of the script or the commercial possibilities of a film based on it. The comments that follow should be considered only as a reaction to the story and its effect on public opinion, from the point of view of this race relations organization.

1. The script is too violence-centered. This is not merely a question of the amount of violence depicted, but the emphasis on violence in the plot itself. Most of the suspense is derived from the threat of violence -- whether it can be controlled, who will be hurt, and so on. And in the end much of the resolution is in terms of violence and the successful use of force to quell it. Undeniably, these were major elements in the actual Clinton story. But were faithfulness to the events in Clinton is not necessarily

a virtue in and of itself. The country has been saturated with reports of force and violence -- in Clinton, Little Rock, Tuscaloosa -- through press, radio, and television. If anything, that aspect of the problem has been over-emphasized already. In our experience the tendency to identify desegregation with violence produces despair and discouragement, North as well as South. This is not to say that there should be no suggestion of violence in the script, but it should not be the main focus.

2. The story lacks characters of sufficient worth and development for the viewer to achieve strong identification. One comment: "The present script seems to me a good first draft but with the main thing left out -- a warm, human story. In revision, the author might well consider, I think, the possibility of concentrating more on two families -- one Negro and one white. We could get to know the members of the two as we go along -- especially the young folks. As it is now, the action dances on so fast with so many characters that we are never allowed to stay with anyone long enough to get down into the hearts and minds.... Also I think the author could do more with the churches." On this last point, a distinction probably should be made between the churches as formal community institutions and individual religious leaders. The institutions are giving little leadership, and promise little, but some clergymen and lay church people are moved on occasion to something like heroism. Undoubtedly more could be done with a character who is religiously motivated.

Of course, the film should be true to life, and a part of this truth is that ordinary, "grassroots" folks seldom play a decisive role in determining the course of desegregation. Leadership is of the essence. But the people in decision-making positions are human beings, too, and they usually respond to the people they are supposed to be leading, or at least their image of these people. So a "warm, human story" need not be in conflict with honesty and realism.

As I told Jim ad nauseam when he was here, I think the best and most convincing characters in the script are the Negroes. If this part of the story could be developed more fully (or deeply) and matched with comparable development of several whites (a family?), my own feeling is that the story would gain mightily in power and effectiveness. In the great rush of events in the South, we tend to lose sight of the fact that these are human beings hating, fearing, suffering, and

we hope ultimately growing to a new maturity through it all.

I realize that Jim understands this fully, but the question is whether the objective may not be better achieved by digging deeply into a few key characters rather than by showing a larger number from the outside. Perhaps this would satisfy the desire one of our members expressed to see a film that "has more of the spirit of reaching hands across the divisioning, of illumination, of the final and basic solving of something, or at least the suggestion of solving, so that we can feel at the end that a bit of the plus side of living has been added to -- that the job has been worth doing."

It's easy to generalize about what a script or a film should do; quite another thing to indicate how it's to be done. I'm not sure we can contribute anything to the "how." If I am any judge of Jim, he will write what he knows and believes, anyway, not what we think he should write. If he has a story to tell of the kind I've tried to indicate -- and if you two feel the time and trouble of revision are called for -- that's all anyone can hope.

As for the "business" side of a possible cooperative arrangement, Adam Yarmolinsky writes me that he and Ambrose Doskow met and agreed that the Council's support should have no financial strings. This seems wise for both tax and other reasons. If we are convinced on a script, our support and advocacy will be no less enthusiastic because we are not financial partners in the venture. Not only would we be more comfortable, but I honestly believe our endorsement would be more effective; for there would be no basis for suspicion of our motives for endorsement.

To sum up our position:

1. We have a high opinion of Louis de Rochemont Associates and would welcome an opportunity for this kind of cooperation.

2. We feel that our reservations about the present script can be met by revision of the admittedly basic and extensive sort indicated above.

3. We will be glad at any time to discuss proposed revisions or to consider further drafts.

4. If we agree upon a script, NRC will cooperate wholeheartedly in efforts to convince potential backers of the value and importance of the proposed production.

If there are other questions we should discuss, I'll be glad to have you call or write. Meanwhile, best regards to you both.

PAUL GREEN
GREENWOOD ROAD
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

August 11, 1959

Dear Harold Fleming:

Thanks for your note and copy of your letter of July 31 to Borden Mace and Jim Larkin about the script "Wealth of Violence". It seems to me you put things just right.

Best regards,

Paul Green

20 Alden Road
Larchmont, New York
November 5, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED NOV 9 1959

Dear Harold:

Both Borden and I have been meaning to write you for the past few months, but always something seems to intervene.

I will let him outline to you in a further letter, our reactions to your note of July 31st, and at this moment I'm only requesting that you return the script to me as soon as possible. They are in most short supply and I need the copy we sent you practically immediately.

Hoping this note finds you and your family in good health.

I remain,

Most sincerely yours,

James J. Larkin

JJL:LG

cc: Mr. Borden Mace
Louis DeRochmont Associates
380 Madison Avenue
New York City, New York

1 copy returned 11/9/59 wf

PA - for action next week in my absence.
HCF

November 26, 1958

Mr. Lewis M. Killian
Department of Sociology
The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Lew:

There is going to be a sizable printing of the Atlanta clergy's new manifesto under the imprint of the Georgia Council of Churches. It's going forward as fast as possible, considering the Thanksgiving holiday, and should be ready about the middle of next week. If they're available in time, I will send you 100 copies gratis from our supply. Otherwise, I will scare up one of the few complete texts and get it to you in time for the meeting.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Florida State University

Tallahassee

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

November 24, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is a hurry up request for something that I hope the Council can help me with. On December 8 our local Tallahassee Council on Human Relations is having a program on the role of the church in race relations. It would be very helpful if we could have for the program a copy or copies of the Manifesto which the Atlanta clergy group issued yesterday. I do not know how they distributed it, but thought perhaps the Council could send us preferably a hundred copies, or at least a copy of the original text. If there is any cost, we do have some money in our treasury and will be glad to pay it.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis

Lewis M. Killian

LMK:cc

Dear Lew:

There is going to be a sizable printing of the Atlanta clergy's new manifesto under the imprint of the Georgia Council of Churches. It's going forward as fast as possible, considering the Thanksgiving holiday, and should be ready about the middle of next week. If they're available in time, I will send you 100 copies gratis from our supply. Otherwise, I will scare up one of the few complete texts and get it to you in time for the meeting.

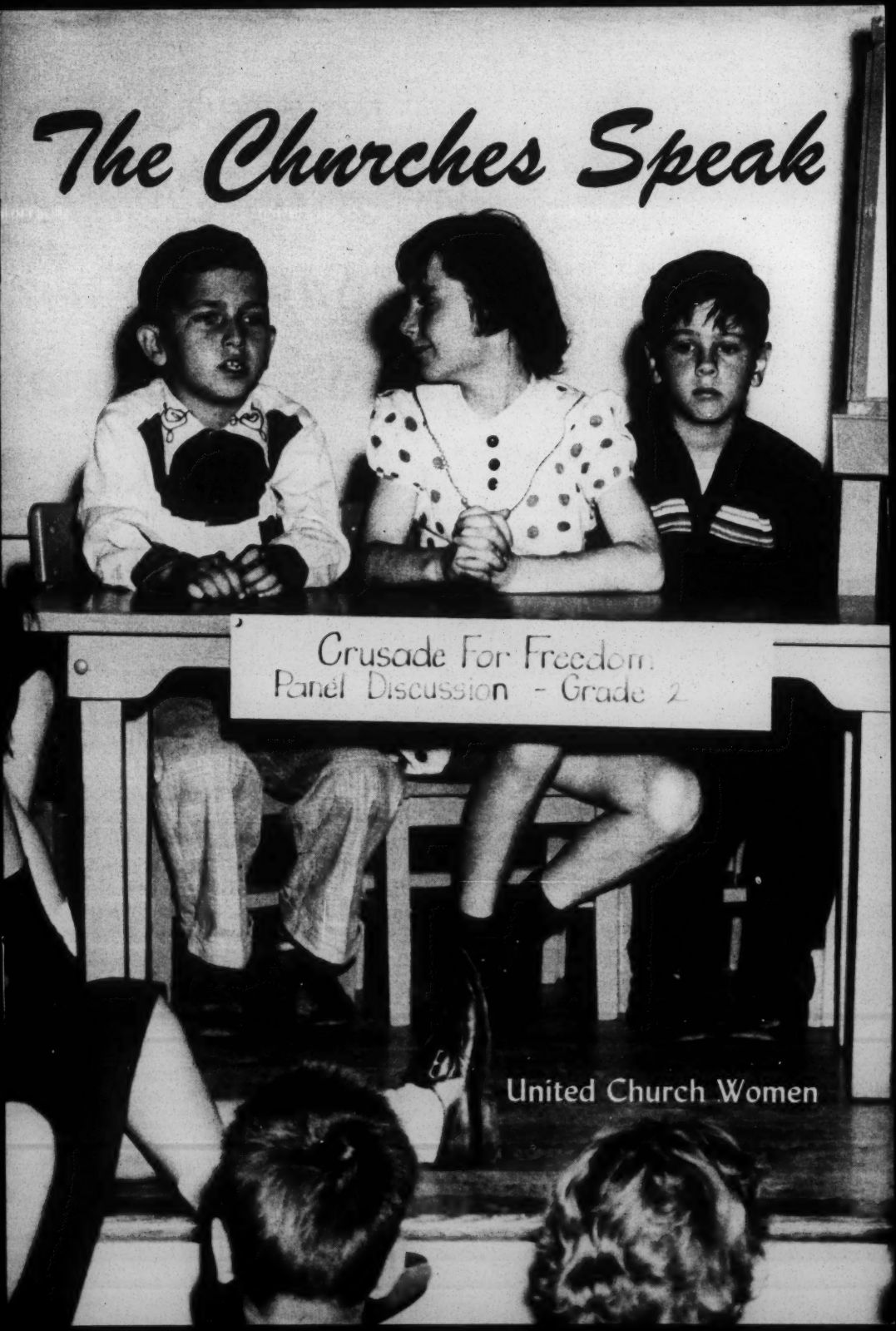
All the best.

Sincerely,

HCF

[Correspondence to Paul Anthony so that he can handle the matter in my absence next week.]

The Churches Speak



United Church Women

FREE SCHOOLS IN

What the Churches

Supreme Court

Segregation in

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL

"Be it resolved, that . . . [we] commend the Supreme Court for this far-reaching decision and urge the support and co-operation of our entire constituency in its implementation."

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION

". . . Recommending to our far-flung constituency of more than 723,000 people at 44 Annual Conferences in Continental United States active co-operation with local school boards in implementing the program of immediate desegregation and urging our pastors, presiding elders and people to contribute to the morale-building principles employed to create the climate of public opinion favorable to desegregation in every form of American life."

AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

"We commend the United States Supreme Court in its historic decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in public education. . . . We urge American Baptists to increase their opposition to other areas of segregation—housing, employment, recreation, church participation. We urge local churches to carry forward educational programs dealing with this issue, and we propose co-operation with other Christian bodies of like mind."

CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

"We note with appreciation all recent steps made in the direction of elimination of segregation, including the decision of the Supreme Court interpreting the Constitution as opposing segregation in the public schools. We appeal to our Brethren to lead out in effecting these social changes in every area of life."

CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL

"This is the Christian way. This is the American way. This is a nation of law respecting, law abiding citizens. It is to be expected that all of us who are concerned with the issues of the Court's declaration shall possess our souls in all Christian sobriety, dignity, fortitude, patience, and tolerances as, under God's guidance, we seek to discover the most practical formulas for the achievement of nation-wide conformity to the decision."

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN

"WHEREAS the Supreme Court of the United States has declared segregation in tax-supported accommodations and services, including public schools, to be contrary to the Constitution,

"BE IT RESOLVED that we recommend that local churches where

A FREE AMERICA

Have Said on the Decision on the Schools

segregation has prevailed, move toward ways in which they and all churches can open their membership to all persons on a simple basis of faith and character, and that we call upon Congregational Christian colleges, agencies, associations, conferences and institutions to practice non-segregation and non-discrimination in enrollment, employment, church extension and church conservation, and organization.

"BE IT RESOLVED that we call upon all Americans to undertake timely and tolerant implementation of the Supreme Court decision, and that our Department of Race Relations and the Council for Social Action carry forward such activities as will develop public support for the Supreme Court decision."

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

"BE IT RESOLVED: that we approve and commend the decision of the Supreme Court concerning segregation in the public schools, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that we call upon our churches, our agencies, and our institutions, to reexamine themselves in light of the implications of Christ's gospel and to initiate and encourage voluntary, racially inclusive, community groups to plan for full compliance with the gospel of Christ, as well as definite techniques for implementation within their own bodies.

"That we likewise urge our churches, our agencies, and our institutions, in a spirit of reconciliation to teach forbearance, patience, and generosity on both sides as we attempt to work out the problem of the Disciples of Christ and racial segregation."

EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN

"We express our gratitude for the unanimous decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that segregation 'in the public schools is unconstitutional.' We urge our church members to assist in preparing their communities psychologically and spiritually for implementing the Supreme Court's decision. We call upon our church members to co-operate with the authorized agencies in their communities as effective means for accomplishing racial integration in the public school system, and to remember that integration must be indivisible in character."

EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH

"The General Synod remembers in love and understanding the fellow Christians of both races in those areas of our country where tensions are most severe, and it is not un-

mindful that reconciliation as well as reformation is a part of our Christian witness. Yet General Synod cannot but support the principle of integration and urges full support of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States outlawing segregation in the public schools; General Synod urges pastors and members of our congregations to lend their moral support to integration and to support constructive programs toward integration in their communities. Further, General Synod deplores attempts to evade the decision of the Supreme Court by means which weaken and undermine the public school."

METHODIST

"The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relative to segregation make necessary far-reaching and often difficult community readjustments throughout the nation. We call upon our people to effect these adjustments in all good faith, with brotherliness and patience. In doing this all racial groups must be willing to admit their imperfections and seek to correct them. Let these things, however, be done in love lest the cause of Christ suffer at our hands."

PRESBYTERIAN, US

"Having in mind the recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States concerning segregation, the Assembly [1954] commends the principal of the decision and urges all members of our churches to consider thoughtfully and prayerfully the complete solution of the problem involved. It also urges all our people to lend their assistance to those charged with the duty of implementing the decision, and to remember that appeals to racial prejudice will not help but hinder the accomplishment of this aim."

PRESBYTERIAN, USA

"We receive with humility and thanksgiving the recent decision of our Supreme Court, ruling that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional—with humility because action by our highest court was necessary to make effective that for which our Church has stood in principle; with thanksgiving because the decision has been rendered with wisdom and unanimity.

"We urge all Christians to assist in preparing their communities psychologically and spiritually for carrying out the full implications of the Supreme Court's decision.

"We call upon the members of our churches to co-operate with civic organizations, neighborhood clubs, and community councils as effective means for the accomplishment of racial integration in the public school system, and to remember that integration must be indivisible in character, insisting that teachers as well as pupils be accorded full opportunity within the school system on the basis of interest, ability, and merit, without reference to race."

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL

"The Court's ruling is more than a matter of law and order . . . it is also a matter of religious faith and democratic principles. . . . Judged in the light of Christian principles . . . the Court's decision is just, right and necessary.

"We thank God for the new and rich opportunity for health and healing which the decision has opened

up, and for the hope this brings to people all over the world. . . .

"We thank God also that through His Holy Spirit, He has put it into the hearts of many to undertake voluntarily to remove these barriers between the children of our land. These efforts have demonstrated that the decision is as workable in practice as it is sound in principle. It is true and it works."

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

". . . we recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men.

". . . we commend the Supreme Court for deferring the application of the principle both as to time and procedure until the nation shall have had time to work out methods by which transition from the present practice may be effected.

". . . we urge our people and all Christians to conduct themselves in this period of adjustment in the spirit of Christ; that we pray that God may guide us in our thinking and our attitudes to the end that we may help and not hinder the progress of justice and brotherly love; that we may exercise patience and good will in the discussions that must take place, and give a good testimony to the meaning of Christian faith and discipleship."

UNITED LUTHERAN

"The ULCA, recognizing its deep involvement in the moral crisis confronting the USA in the current con-

troversy over desegregation occasioned by the Supreme Court decision . . . calls upon all its congregations and people, exercising Christian patience and understanding, to work for the fullest realization of the objectives of that statement.

"We believe that Christians have special responsibilities to keep open the channels of communication and understanding among the different groups in this controversy. Our congregations are encouraged to contribute to the solution of the problem by demonstrating in their own corporate lives the possibility of integration."

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN

"We believe the United Presbyterian Church has always believed in the integration of the races. Therefore, in these days when this issue is astride the conscience of the nation we love, we reaffirm:

1. That God hath made of one blood all nations for to dwell upon the face of the earth.
2. That He is no respecter of persons.
3. That men are created equal and meant to live together in a love that means equality of opportunity and privilege.

"In the light of these principles we thank God that the laws of the land have made segregation illegal in education."

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN

"Because of our high calling of God in Christ Jesus, we reaffirm our belief in human brotherhood and the inclusiveness of Christian fellowship. Therefore, we feel we are impelled to promote a Christian society in which segregation is no longer a burden upon the human spirit.

"We accept with humility the Supreme Court decision as supporting the broad Christian principle of the dignity and worth of human personality and affording the opportunity of translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals.

"We believe that the best solutions to our many problems can be reached when people of all races work together toward a common end, and we urge women to make every effort to bring together individuals in free discussion.

"We are all charged with the responsibility of the training and nurture of children and youth. We pray God's guidance upon us as we seek to shape right attitudes in the home, in the church, in the school, and in all areas of life in which we move.

"We desire to build Christian emotional maturity to meet the new challenges to our patience, understanding, and creative action."

—*This statement was adopted by the representatives of the Christian Social Relations Department of United Church Women from 15 Southern states, meeting in conference in Atlanta, Georgia, on June 21, 1954.*

"The message of the Christian faith is to bring wholeness to life, and the road to be traveled is long. The world is not whole; in many places it is broken into tiny fragments—broken by us who are its citizens. While we often give lip service to the dignity and worth of all God's children, we frequently deny to minority groups in every state of the United States the rights and privileges enjoyed by the majority. This inevitably links us with all those other

countries which are faced with the consequences of a refusal to accept all persons as the children of God, destined to be free and to enjoy wholeness of life.

"We recognize that our domestic policies and practices with regard to human rights are inevitably interwoven with our foreign policy. Upon all of us as church women and as Christian citizens lies the responsibility so to act that all groups within our communities will be assured of equality of opportunity, freedom from fear, and equal justice before the law."

—*From resolutions of the Cleveland Assembly,* November 1955

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

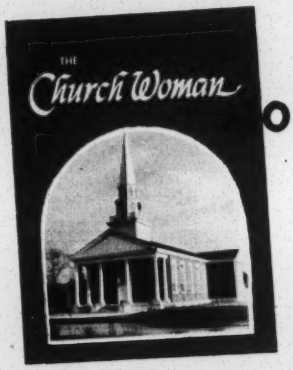
"The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional gives a clear status in law to a fundamental Christian and American principle. The decision will have far-flung effects in the whole nation and the world. . . .

". . . In the period of transition from one pattern to another (whatever the length of the period to be prescribed by the Court), we know that the churches and individual Christians will continue to exert their influence and leadership to help the authorized agencies in the several communities to bring about a complete compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court. The law of neighborliness is the great guide available to Christians as they deal with this situation in their local communities. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' The second part of the Great Commandment contains the potential for lifting men to a new level of social responsibility and for creating new dimensions of human brotherhood."

So far as The Church Woman knows the statements of the churches on the Supreme Court decision on segregation in the schools have never before been gathered together in one place. Perhaps the paragraphs we carry from any given statement may not be the particular paragraphs any one reader might have chosen. But if these paragraphs send any of us back to study the full statements, then perhaps their appearance here is justified. If any reader misses a statement from her church, she should not assume that church has not spoken. We have chosen excerpts from those available to us.

Reprinted from the May 1957 issue of The Church Woman, official magazine,

United Church Women
175 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York



ONTHLY FEATURES

- A Meditation
- "Women in the News" and "Councils in the News"
- Articles of special interest to all church women
- What We Think—a page of correspondence
- A Report from United Church Women's president
- "From the Desk of the General Director"
- United Church Women's Program: World Day of Prayer . . . May Fellowship Day . . . World Community Day . . . Leadership . . . Public Relations
- United Nations Notes

Official magazine, General Department of United Church Women, National Council of Churches.

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yes,

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Zinser, Henry A.
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'Out of Conviction'

A SECOND STATEMENT

on the

SOUTH'S RACIAL CRISIS

signed by 312 Ministers
of
Greater Atlanta

Printed by
GEORGIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

THE SECOND STATEMENT

Three hundred and twelve Ministers and Rabbis of the Greater Atlanta area, acting as individual citizens issued a statement on November 22nd, 1958, calling for the preservation of the public school system. Sixteen different denominations are represented among the signers. The text of the statement follows:

On November 3, 1957, a statement dealing with the racial crisis in the South, and signed by eighty Atlanta ministers, was released for publication. The fact that this statement, often referred to as "The Atlanta Manifesto", received widespread publicity through the secular and religious press, radio, and television, not only in the South but across the nation and abroad, was an eloquent commentary upon the nature of the crisis in which we are involved and upon the failure of many of our leaders to confront the problems of our day in a spirit of realism.

Six principles set forth in this statement as essential to the solution of our problem may be summarized as follows:

1. Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.

2. As Americans and as religious leaders, we have an obligation to obey the law.

3. The Public School System must not be destroyed.

4. Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.

5. Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.

6. Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer and in obedience to the will of God.

The months which have elapsed since the signing of that statement have been a period of deepening danger. The events of the recent past have been such as to call for growing concern on the part of all responsible citizens. In the light of these events, we are more convinced than ever of the fundamental truth of these six principles. It is abundantly clear that they cannot be ignored with impunity.

Because of our involvement in this situation, as citizens and religious leaders, it has seemed to many Atlanta clergymen that some further statement on their part is appropriate. Out of that conviction comes this second statement. Once more we speak as individual citizens of Georgia and of the United States, having authority to represent no one other than ourselves. Once more we speak in humility and penitence. At the same time, we speak out of the deep conviction of our souls as to what is right. We believe some facts are now so clear as to throw additional light upon the problems which confront us.

I. It is clearer now than ever before that, at all costs, freedom of speech must be preserved. During the year which has past, it has not become easier to speak the truth concerning our situation. There are still forces which seek to deny freedom of thought and of expression to all who do not insist upon maintaining a rigid pattern of segregation. Economic reprisals, social ostracism, and even physical violence are constant threats to those who do not conform. Such threats strike at the very heart of democracy. As we insist upon the right of honest conviction — whether right or wrong — to be heard, we would pay tribute to the courageous individuals and groups in various walks of life who have insisted that our problem must be faced in a spirit of realism, of sanity, and of good will.

II. It is clearer now than ever before that we must obey the law. Those who insist that the decision of the Supreme Court on segregation in the public schools has no binding force do great injury to our people. The Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution has the effect of law in our country. It is possible for that Court to err, just as it is possible for Congress to enact bad laws. The citizens of our country have the right to work through legal processes to secure the correction of judicial errors or the repeal of undesirable legislation. They do not have the right to defy laws simply because they personally hold them to be unwise or harmful. A policy of obeying only those laws or those rulings of the Court with which we agree leads inevitably to anarchy. It is time for us to face up to the fact that, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, made in the discharge of its constitutional authority, enforced segregation in the public schools is now without support in, and contrary to, national law. At times in her history the Church has opposed civil law in the name of the claims of the higher laws of God. However, we believe that the Constitution of the United States in its provisions for human rights is in accord with Divine Law, and we must, therefore, learn to live with and under the law.

We do not believe in the wisdom of massive integration and are sincerely opposed to the amalgamation of the races. We reaffirm our conviction that the integrity of each race should be maintained on a basis of mutual esteem and free choice, rather than of force. There are some areas in which some integration in schools at this time would be possible without insurmountable difficulty, as has already been demonstrated in certain sections of the South; while there are other areas where such integration would involve needless hardship and grave danger. We have the hope that, if our leaders will offer evidence of good faith toward providing constitutional rights for all citizens, the federal government will be willing to leave the working out of details in local hands. We believe it is possible, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, for States to take reasonable steps to comply with the law of the land and at the same time give due consideration to local situations and avoid an indiscriminate desegregation of the public schools.

III. It is clearer now than ever before that the Public School System must be preserved. Many of our people have been led to believe that through some ficticious legal device we could close our public schools and still provide for public education through tax funds. Recent developments in Arkansas and Virginia serve to make it abundantly clear that any such hope is based solely upon wishful thinking. The choice which confronts us now is either the end of an enforced segregation in public schools or no public schools whatever. We are alarmed to note that many political leaders are apparently willing to offer no better solution than the closing of public schools and the destruction of public education in order to maintain what has been inappropriately described as "our sacred way of life". It is inconceivable that the South should deliberately destroy its dearly bought system of public education. The results of such action in the impoverishment of countless lives, in the loss to our section, even from a purely economic, ,viewpoint would be a tragedy of the first magnitude. It is not likely that the South would ever recover fully from the consequences of such action. Obviously, the closing of the public schools means a small and favored portion of our youth would be educated in private institutions, while the great majority, White and Negro, would recieve no school training worthy of the name. No democratic society can tolerate that situation, nor do we believe our citizens wish to sacrifice the welfare of our youth.

In this connection we would voice an emphatic protest against any suggestion that church property be used as a means of circumventing the law of the nation. The churches and synagogues owe a tremendous debt to the State and this we believe they would gladly repay in any legitimate way possible. There are times when the educational equipment of the churches should be offered to supplement the public school buildings in providing space for our growing school population, provided that the separation of Church and State shall always be recognized and maintained in such an agreement. We concur that churches and synagogues have the right, as they have always had, to engage as they may deem wise in educational enterprise in the interest of their constituencies. We believe, however, their facilities should not be offered nor demanded as a means for defying the constituted authority of our national government.

IV. It is clearer now than ever before that hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own can never be justified. All hatred between races and groups within society carries with it the constant threat of violence and bloodshed, as has been evidenced by the bombing of churches, synagogues, and schools even while this statement was being prepared. Defiance of one law leads to disrespect for all law. We would call upon our political leaders scrupulously to avoid the type of inflammatory utterance which has characterized too many public pronouncements in recent months and to exert an influence for sanity, for justice, and for kindness. We believe that multitudes of voters in the South as in all America are far more prepared to respond to and support fair-minded and statesmanlike attitudes and policies in political life than these men have realized. In any event, political power is by no means so important as to justify its attainment by the sacrifice of justice, of kindness, and of truth, and by the unleashing of these emotions which threaten the very life of our people.

V. It is clearer now than ever before that communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained. The time of danger is also the time of opportunity. It may well be that we are passing through that darkest hour which comes just before the dawn. Never has there been greater need than now for men of good will in both races to voice their convictions, to exert their influence, and to maintain open lines of communication. We are heartened by the intelligent concern and struggle of an increasing number of groups who are facing the issue and its implications. We are likewise heartened by the constructive results which are coming from those lines of communication which do exist between the races.

VI. It is clearer now than ever before that our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer, obedience to God, and under His blessing. The situation which confronts us is one which calls for sincere penitence, for earnest prayer, for clear thought, and for courageous action.

o

Believing sincerely in the principles set forth in this statement, we therefore propose the following practical steps:

1. We appeal to our churches and synagogues to encourage and promote within their fellowship a free and intelligent discussion of the issues we confront. We believe such discussion should and would give careful consideration to the moral, spiritual, and legal aspects of the crisis we face in our beloved Southland.

2. We appeal to our community and state leaders to give their most creative thought to maintaining a sound public school plan. Such plan must be consistant with the law of the land, respect and preserve the rights of all citizens, and assure the preservation of our system of public education.

3. We request the appointment of a Citizens'Commission to preserve the harmony of our community. The public officials of our city have earned the tribute of the nation for their refusal to condone violence and their efforts to realize worthy race relations. We believe that in the future the need will be great for the support of calm, intelligent public opinion. Atlanta possesses business, civic, educational, legal, political, and religious leadership of the quality to afford this support. We therefore request that representatives of this leadership from the races involved be formed into a Citizens' Commission to advise and assist in maintaining harmony and good will among all our citizens.

Every section of our state also possesses the same able leadership. We therefore believe that the appointment of a similar Citizens' Commission by the state administration would serve to preserve harmony among the citizens of Georgia.

o

We call upon all citizens to unite with us in dedicating ourselves to the solution of our problems humbly, patiently, in a spirit of realism, and with God's help.

Signed by:

Ackerman, Stephen W.
Adams, Hugh
Aiken, Paul
Albert, Allen D., Jr.
Alexander, James J.
Allen, Charles
Allen, L. Clyde
Allen, Reuben T., Jr.
Alston, Wallace M.
Anderson, F. S., Jr.
Anderson, Thomas
Arnold Ernest J.
Arwood, J. C.
Baggott, J. L.
Ball, Raymond J.
Barnett, Albert E.
Barrett, W. H.
Bassett, Hunter J.
Beardslee, William A.
Beverly, Harry B.
Berman, Paul L.
Bell, Wade H., Jr.
Boggs, Wade H.
Bolton, Jack G.
Booth, W. T.
Boozer, Jack
Bowen, Boone M.
Bowman, Keyes, Jr.
Bozeman, Jack R.
Branham, Lee
Brewer, E. D. C.
Broyles, Vernon S.
Brown, Robert E.
Brown, Walter E.
Buck, Raymond
Budd, W. Candler
Buice, Lester
Burns, Robert W.
Byrd, Ralph
Cahill, Edward A.
Calhoun, Murdock McK.
Callaway, Chaudoin, 3rd.
Campbell, E. H.
Campbell, Norton, Jr.
Cannon, William R.
Cargill, E. C.
Carpenter, Cecil W.
Carter, W. G.
Cartledge, Samuel A.
Case, Russell A.
Caudill, O. V.
Cawthon, William L.
Chafin, Harry V.
Chang, Kwai Sing
Cheek, Carl R.
Claiborne, Randolph R. Jr.
Clark, Boswell J.
Clary, G. E.
Clements, Lamar
Cobb, Sam T.
Cohen, Joseph I.
Cole, C. G., Jr.
Cole, William H.
Coleman, Edwin C.
Colhoun, E. Dudley, Jr.
Cook, Walter G.
Corder, L. W.
Cowart, Walter C.
Craig, Kenneth P.
Crowe, Walter Miller
Cuthbertson, Rufus
Davis, F. McConnell
Davis, Lewis C.
DeLozier, O. L. Jr.
Demere, Charles
deOvies, Raimundo
Derrick, C. K.
Dickson, Bonneau
Dimmock, Al
Donnell, Charles L.
Doom, James L.
Drinkard, Eugene T.
Driscoll, Edward A.
Edwards, Charles E.
Enniss, P. C., Jr.
Epstein, Harry H.
Epting, Eugene L., Jr.
Esaias, John R.
Feely, O. Floyd, Jr.
Feldman, Emanuel
Fifield, Harry A.
Fleming, James P.
Floyd, Arva
Floyd, Emmett O.
Floyd, W. R.
Ford, Austin
Ford, J. T.
Foster, John N.
Freeman, Cook W.
Fry, Thomas A., Jr.
Fuhrmann, Paul T.
Fulmer, C. Luther, Jr.
Gailey, James H.
Garber, John A.
Garber, Paul Leslie
Gardner, E. Clinton
Gary, G. Robert
Gear, F. B.
Gibson, Arthur Vann
Grant, Monroe C.
Geren, William H.
Gerkin, Charles
Goe, W. Charles
Griggs, Joseph L.
Grier, Eugene M.
Grubb, Hugh, M.
Guptill, Roger S.
Guthrie, F. C., Jr.
Gutzke, Manford George
Hagood, Thomas W.
Hardman, Alfred
Harper, Marvin
Harris, Albert G., Jr.
Harris, C. L.
Harris, D. D.
Hartzopoulos, Harry
Hawkins, Ralph B.
Hazelwood, W. James
Herndon, J. Emmett
Hite, B.
Hodges, Bob
Holmes, Thomas J.
Holt, Joseph W.
Hope, Montague H.
Howell, W. I., Jr.
Huckaby, Louie F.
Huie, Wade P.
Hyde, Herbert E.
Jackson, Arthur
James, D. Trigg
Jefferson, Hugh M.
Johnson, J. T.
Johnson, James V., Jr.
Jones, Bevel
Jones, Henry H.
Jordan, C. Ray
Kellum, E. Owen, Jr.
Kilpatrick, Ebb G., Jr.
Kirkpatrick, Dow
Kline, C. Benton
Laird, Sam L.
Lance, John M.
Landiss, William
Lantz, J. Edward
Laughlin, John C.
Lawrence, J. B.
Lehman, J. Edward
Lee, Robert E.

in the hearts of men . . .

Like the prophets of old, who forcefully spoke concerning the crucial problems of their day, eighty Atlanta ministers issued a forthright statement giving their views on race relations. We are deeply grateful for the moral and spiritual leadership which they have furnished.

Feeling that their statement will be helpful to others who believe we must solve the race situation in love and on our knees, we are making it available to some of the people whom we think would welcome spiritual guidance.

Officers of the United Churchwomen of Atlanta and the Executive Committee of the United Churchwomen of Georgia.

THESE ARE DAYS OF TREMENDOUS POLITICAL AND SOCIAL TENSION THROUGHOUT OUR ENTIRE WORLD, BUT PARTICULARLY IN OUR NATION AND BELOVED SOUTHLAND. The issues which we face are not simple, nor can they be resolved over night. Because the questions which confront us are in so many respects moral and spiritual as well as political, it appropriate and necessary that men who occupy places of responsibility in the churches should not be silent concerning their convictions.

The signers of this statement are all ministers of the Gospel, but we speak also as citizens of Georgia and of the United States of America. We are all Southerners, either by birth or by choice, and speak as men who love the South, who seek to understand its problems, and who are vitally concerned for its welfare. In preparing this statement we have acted as individuals, and represent no one but ourselves. At the same time we believe that the sentiments which we express are shared by a multitude of our fellow-citizens, who are deeply troubled by our present situation and who know that hatred, defiance and violence are not the answer to our problems, but who have been without a voice and have found no way to make their influence effective.

In presenting our views for the consideration of others we can only speak in a spirit of deep humility and of penitence for our own failures. We can not claim that the problem of racial relationships has been solved even in the churches which we serve, and we are conscious that our own example in the matter of brotherhood and neighborliness has been all too imperfect. We do not pretend to know all the answers. We are of one mind, however, in believing that Christian people have an especial responsibility for the solution of our racial problems and that if, as Christians, we sincerely seek to understand and apply the teachings of our Lord and Master we shall assuredly find the answer.

We do not believe that the South is more to blame for the difficulties which we face than are other areas of our nation. The presence of the Negro in America is the result of the infamous slave traffic - an evil for which the North was as much responsible, as the South. We are also conscious that racial injustice and violence are not confined to our section and that racial problems have by no means been solved anywhere in our nation. Two wrongs, however, do not make a right. The failures of others are not a justification for our own shortcomings, nor can their unjust criticisms excuse us for a failure to do our duty in the sight of God. Our one concern must be to know and to do that which is right.

We believe that the difficulties before us have been greatly increased by extreme attitudes and statements on both sides. The use of the word "Integration" in connection with our schools and other areas of life has been unfortunate, since to many that term has become synonymous with amalgamation. We do not believe in the amalgamation of the races, nor do we feel that it is favored by right thinking members of either race. We do believe that all Americans, whether black or white, have a right to the full privileges of first class citizenship. To suggest that a recognition of the rights of Negroes to the full privileges of American citizenship, and to such necessary contacts as might follow would inevitably result in intermarriage is to cast as serious and unjustified an aspersion upon the White race as upon the Negro race. Believing as we do in the desirability of preserving the integrity of both races through the free choice of both, we would emphasize the following principles which we hold to be of basic importance for our thought and conduct:

1 FREEDOM OF SPEECH MUST AT ALL COSTS BE PRESERVED.

"Truth is mighty and will prevail." No minister, editor, teacher, state employee, business man or other citizen should be penalized for expressing himself freely, so long as he does so with due regard to the rights of others. Any position which can not stand upon its own merits and which can only be maintained by silencing all who hold contrary convictions, is a position which can not permanently endure.

2 AS AMERICANS AND AS CHRISTIANS WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO OBEY THE LAW.

This does not mean that all loyal citizens need approve the 1954 decision of of the Supreme Court with reference to segregation in the public schools. Those who feel that this decision was in error have every right to work for an alteration in the decree, either through a further change in the Supreme Court's interpretation of the law, or through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It does mean that we have no right to defy the constituted authority in the government of our nation. Assuredly also it means that resorts to violence and to economic reprisals as a means to avoid the granting of legal rights to other citizens are never justified.

3 THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM MUST NOT BE DESTROYED.

It is an institution essential to the preservation and development of our democracy. To sacrifice that system in order to avoid obedience to the decree of the Supreme Court would be to inflict tremendous loss upon multitudes of children whose whole lives would be impoverished as a result of such action. It would also mean the economic, intellectual and cultural impoverishment of our section, and would be a blow to the welfare of our nation as a whole.

4 HATRED AND SCORN FOR THOSE OF ANOTHER RACE, OR FOR THOSE WHO HOLD A POSITION DIFFERENT FROM OUR OWN, CAN NEVER BE JUSTIFIED.

It is only as we approach our problems in a spirit of mutual respect, of charity, and of good will that we can hope to understand one another, and to find the way to a cooperative solution of our problems. God is no respecter of persons. Every human personality is precious in His sight. No policy which seeks to keep any man from developing fully every capacity of body, mind, and of spirit can be justified in the light of Scripture. This is the message of the Hebrew prophets as it is of Christ and His disciples. We shall solve our difficulties when we learn to walk in ovedience to the Golden Rule: "Therefore, all things, whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets."

5 COMMUNICATION BETWEEN RESPONSIBLE LEADERS OF THE RACES MUST BE MAINTAINED.

One of the tragedies of our present situation is found in the fact that there is so little real discussion of the issues except within the separate racial groups. Under such circumstances it is inevitable that misunderstandings will continue and that suspicion and distrust will be encouraged. One of the reasons that extreme measures have been so often proposed or adopted by groups within both races is found in the fact that those who are most concerned have seldom faced the

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6 OUR DIFFICULTIES CANNOT BE SOLVED IN OUR OWN STRENGTH OR IN HUMAN WISDOM.

It is appropriate, therefore, that we approach our task in a spirit of humility, of penitence, and of prayer. It is necessary that we pray earnestly and consistently that God will give us wisdom to understand His will; that He will grant us the courage and faith to follow the guidance of His Spirit.

To such prayer and obedience we would dedicate ourselves and summon all men of good will.

SIGNED BY:

Wallace M. Alston
Charles L. Allen
Thomas Anderson
Raymond J. Ball
Wade H. Boggs
Jack Bozeman
Lee Branham
W. C. Budd
A. L. Burgreen
Robert W. Burns
C. W. Carpenter
Randolph R. Claiborne, Jr.
Lamar Clements
Samuel T. Cobb
E. Dudley Colhoun
Vance Daniel
Eugene Drinkard
Edward Driscoll
L. B. Ellington
D. J. Evans
Harry Fifield
Emmett Floyd
Austin Ford
J. T. Ford
Thomas A. Fry, Jr.
John Garber
Arthur Vann Gibson
Victor A. Greene
Joseph L. Griggs
Thomas Hagood
Alfred Hardman
Dick H. Hall, Jr.
Claud M. Haynes
W. I. Howell
Herbert Hyde
Bevel Jones
Dow Kirkpatrick
Robert E. Kribbs
Edward Lantz
Robert E. Lee

Fitzhugh M. Legerton
John Blix Lind
Nat G. Long
James D. Matthews
Roy O. McClain
Harrison McMains
W. Robert Mill
Harold W. Minor, Jr.
Harry L. Mitcham
Walter Murphy
William E. Newton
Stuart Oglesby
Robert Ozment
Roy Pettway
J. Davison Phillips
Paul Renz
J. McDowell Richards
Frank M. Ross
E. D. Rudisill
Lester Rumble
Hugh Saussy, Jr.
Charles F. Schwab
O. Norman Shands
Rembert Sisson
W. Thomas Smith
Wilson Sneed
R. H. Stewart
Monroe F. Swilley, Jr.
James W. Sosebee
W. Earl Strickland
Harry Tisdale
Herman L. Turner
L. F. VanLandingham
Wendell Wellman
Albert Wells
Charles L. Widney
Allison Williams
Eugene T. Wilson
John Womack
Milton L. Wood

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Monday, November 4, 1957

Ministers Provide Guide for Thinking

Yesterday 80 Atlantans, each one a minister of the Gospel, spoke out frankly on the critical problem in human relationships which confronts our generation.

Those 80 ministers represent major Protestant denominations. But they did not speak for their denominations nor for their congregations. They spoke for themselves, as ministers, as Georgians and as Americans.

They began with a recognition of an obligation to speak their convictions on questions which are moral and spiritual as well as political.

Together they wrote a six-point guide for Christian thinking and behavior on segregation-integration.

But before they did, they deplored extremists on either side. They deplored, too, the insistence by many that integration means amalgamation. They confirmed their own belief in preserving the integrity of each race.

At the same time they expressed a firm belief in the right of all Americans to first-class citizenship.

Their code for Christian conduct includes: (1) Freedom of speech, without reprisal, (2) an obiligation to obey the law, as well as a right to try to change laws by legal means, but never by violence and economic reprisal, (3) preservation of the public schools, (4) a condemnation of hate and scorn as never justified, (5) maintenance of communications between responsible leaders of the races, (6) consistent prayer for God's guidance.

The 80 Atlanta ministers have addressed their words to all men of good will. We commend it, especially to those men whose public utterances have been to the contrary. We commend it for its defense of the individual and of free speech without reprisal from those in positions of political or economic power who have opposing views.

The statement comes from men of disciplined minds and disciplined emotions. It is characterized by those virtues on which Georgia was founded—wisdom, justice, moderation.

Eighty of Atlanta's ministers have responded to an obligation and a challenge.

A Southland and a nation will listen with respect.

Ministers' Statement

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SECOND STATEMENT BY THE CLERGY OF GREATER
ATLANTA ON THE SOUTH'S RACIAL CRISIS

On November 3, 1957, a statement dealing with the racial crisis in the South, and signed by eighty Atlanta ministers, was released for publication. The fact that this statement, often referred to as "The Atlanta Manifesto", received widespread publicity through the secular and religious press, radio, and television, not only in the South but across the nation and abroad, was an eloquent commentary upon the nature of the crisis in which we are involved and upon the failure of many of our leaders to confront the problems of our day in a spirit of realism.

Six principles set forth in this statement as essential to the solution of our problem may be summarized as follows:

1. Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.
2. As Americans and as religious leaders, we have an obligation to obey the law.
3. The Public School System must not be destroyed.
4. Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.
5. Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.
6. Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer and in obedience to the will of God.

The months which have elapsed since the signing of that statement have been a period of deepening danger. The events of the recent past have been such as to call for growing concern on the part of all responsible citizens. In the light of these events, we are more convinced than ever of the fundamental truth of these six principles. It is abundantly clear that they cannot be ignored with impunity.

Because of our involvement in this situation, as citizens and religious leaders, it has seemed to many Atlanta clergymen that some further statement on their part is appropriate. Out of that conviction comes this second statement. Once more we speak as individual citizens of Georgia and of the United States, having authority to represent no one other than ourselves. Once more we speak in humility and penitence. At the same time, we speak out of the deep conviction of our souls as to

what is right. We believe some facts are now so clear as to throw additional light upon the problems which confront us.

I. It is clearer now than ever before that, at all costs, freedom of speech must be preserved. During the year which has past, it has not become easier to speak the truth concerning our situation. There are still forces which seek to deny freedom of thought and of expression to all who do not insist upon maintaining a rigid pattern of segregation. Economic reprisals, social ostracism, and even physical violence are constant threats to those who do not conform. Such threats strike at the very heart of democracy. As we insist upon the right of honest conviction - whether right or wrong - to be heard, we would pay tribute to the courageous individuals and groups in various walks of life who have insisted that our problem must be faced in a spirit of realism, of sanity, and of good will.

II. It is clearer now than ever before that we must obey the law. Those who insist that the decision of the Supreme Court on segregation in the public schools has no binding force do great injury to our people. The Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution has the effect of law in our country. It is possible for that Court to err, just as it is possible for Congress to enact bad laws. The citizens of our country have the right to work through legal processes to secure the correction of judicial errors or the repeal of undesirable legislation. They do not have the right to defy laws simply because they personally hold them to be unwise or harmful. A policy of obeying only those laws or those rulings of the Court with which we agree leads inevitably to anarchy. It is time for us to face up to the fact that, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, made in the discharge of its constitutional authority, enforced segregation in the public schools is now without support in, and contrary to, national law. At times in her history the Church has opposed civil law in the name of the claims of the higher laws of God. However, we believe that the Constitution of the United States in its provisions for human rights is in accord with Divine Law, and we must, therefore, learn to live with and under the law.

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We do not believe in the wisdom of massive integration and are sincerely opposed to the amalgamation of the races. We reaffirm our conviction that the integrity of each race should be maintained on a basis of mutual esteem and free choice, rather than of force. There are some areas in which some integration in schools at this time would be possible without insurmountable difficulty, as has already been demonstrated in certain sections of the South; while there are other areas where such integration would involve needless hardship and grave danger. We have the hope that, if our leaders will offer evidence of good faith toward providing constitutional rights for all citizens, the federal government will be willing to leave the working out of details in local hands. We believe it is possible, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, for States to take reasonable steps to comply with the law of the land and at the same time give due consideration to local situations and avoid an indiscriminate desegregation of the public schools.

III. It is clearer now than ever before that the Public School System must be preserved. Many of our people have been led to believe that through some fictitious legal device we could close our public schools and still provide for public education through tax funds. Recent developments in Arkansas and Virginia serve to make it abundantly clear that any such hope is based solely upon wishful thinking. The choice which confronts us now is either the end of an enforced segregation in public schools or no public schools whatever. We are alarmed to note that many political leaders are apparently willing to offer no better solution than the closing of public schools and the destruction of public education in order to maintain what has been inappropriately described as "our sacred way of life". It is inconceivable that the South should deliberately destroy its dearly bought system of public education. The results of such action in the impoverishment of countless lives, in the loss to our section, even from a purely economic viewpoint, would be a tragedy of the first magnitude. It is not likely that the South would ever recover fully from the consequences of such action. Obviously, the closing of public schools means a small and favored portion of our youth would be educated in private institutions,

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while the great majority, White and Negro, would receive no school training worthy of the name. No democratic society can tolerate that situation, nor do we believe our citizens wish to sacrifice the welfare of our youth.

In this connection we would voice an emphatic protest against any suggestion that church property be used as a means of circumventing the law of the nation. The churches and synagogues owe a tremendous debt to the State and this we believe they would gladly repay in any legitimate way possible. There are times when the educational equipment of the churches should be offered to supplement the public school buildings in providing space for our growing school population, provided that the separation of Church and State shall always be recognized and maintained in such an agreement. We concur that churches and synagogues have the right, as they have always had, to engage as they may deem wise in educational enterprise in the interest of their constituencies. We believe, however, their facilities should not be offered nor demanded as a means for defying the constituted authority of our national government.

IV. It is clearer now than ever before that hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own can never be justified. All hatred between races and groups within society carries with it the constant threat of violence and bloodshed, as has been evidenced by the bombing of churches, synagogues, and schools even while this statement was being prepared. Defiance of one law leads to disrespect for all law. We would call upon our political leaders scrupulously to avoid the type of inflammatory utterance which has characterized too many public pronouncements in recent months and to exert an influence for sanity, for justice, and for kindness. We believe that multitudes of voters in the South as in all America are far more prepared to respond to and support fair-minded and statesmanlike attitudes and policies in political life than these men have realized. In any event, political power is by no means so important as to justify its attainment by the sacrifice of justice, of kindness, and of truth, and by the unleashing of those emotions which threaten the very life of our people.

V. It is clearer now than ever before that communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained. The time of danger is also the time of opportunity. It may well be that we are passing through that darkest hour which comes just before the dawn. Never has there been greater need than now for men of good will in both races to voice their convictions, to exert their influence, and to maintain open lines of communication. We are heartened by the intelligent concern and struggle of an increasing number of groups who are facing the issue and its implications. We are likewise heartened by the constructive results which are coming from those lines of communication which do exist between the races.

VI. It is clearer now than ever before that our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer, obedience to God, and under His blessing. The situation which confronts us is one which calls for sincere penitence, for earnest prayer, for clear thought, and for courageous action.

- - - - - -

Believing sincerely in the principles set forth in this statement, we therefore propose the following practical steps:

1. We appeal to our churches and synagogues to encourage and promote within their fellowship a free and intelligent discussion of the issues we confront. We believe such discussion should and would give careful consideration to the moral, spiritual, and legal aspects of the crisis we face in our beloved Southland.

2. We appeal to our community and state leaders to give their most creative thought to maintaining a sound public school plan. Such plan must be consistent with the law of the land, respect and preserve the rights of all citizens, and assure the preservation of our system of public education.

3. We request the appointment of a Citizens' Commission to preserve the harmony of our community. The public officials of our city have earned the tribute of the nation for their refusal to condone violence and their efforts to realize worthy race relations. We believe that in the future the need will be great for the support of calm, intelligent public opinion. Atlanta possesses business, civic,

educational, legal, political, and religious leadership of the quality to afford this support. We therefore request that representatives of this leadership from the races involved be formed into a Citizens' Commission to advise and assist in maintaining harmony and good will among all our citizens.

Every section of our state also possesses the same able leadership. We therefore believe that the appointment of a similar Citizens' Commission by the state administration would serve to preserve harmony among the citizens of Georgia.

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We call upon all citizens to unite with us in dedicating ourselves to the solution of our problems humbly, patiently, in a spirit of realism, and with God's help.

23-M
Marmion, W. H

July 6, 1948

The Reverend Mr. William H. Marmion
1910 Twelfth Avenue South
Birmingham 5, Alabama

Dear Mr. Marmion:

I asked Mr. Fleming to write out some of the items he collected in Birmingham in his trip the other week. I don't know whether they will be of any help to you, but here they are.

As I told Mr. Beittel, the whole matter sounded pretty serious to me. Careful action now by public-spirited citizens could ward off more trouble later on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: Report on Birmingham visit (Fleming)
"Race Riots aren't Necessary (Public Affairs pamphlet)

GSM:eb

23 - M - Marmion, W. H.

July 21, 1948

The Reverend Mr. William H. Marmion
1910 Twelfth Avenue, South
Birmingham 5, Alabama

Dear Mr. Marmion:

Many thanks for your informative letter of July 14.

I should like very much to go to Birmingham and meet with a small group so that we could all think together about next steps.

For the time being, I am free July 26-28, August 2, and August 9-14. Perhaps you have coming up soon some regular meeting of the Social Service Committee of the Protestant Pastors' Union. Alternatively, it might serve as well to meet with you, Mr. Durr, Mr. Price and Mr. Kluge, though I should like to have help from Dr. Henry Edmonds and also, if he should be available, from my friend, Dr. Taggart.

I can see from this distance that the whole matter is made much the more tense and difficult by the political developments in Alabama and Birmingham.

If to those of you who are consulting there seems real danger of widespread and open violence, I should think you would want to unroll some modification of the machinery set forth in the Alfred McClung Lee pamphlet, a copy of which I sent you in my last letter. In any case, I should be happy for the opportunity to consult with you and some of your friends on general measures that would ease the situation in Birmingham.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Saint Mary's-on-the-Highlands
1910 Twelfth Avenue, South
Birmingham 5, Alabama

REV. WILLIAM H. MARMION
RECTOR

MISS HELEN MARIE AVERETT
SECRETARY-TREASURER

MISS ESTELLE DeS. WARREN
DIRECTOR OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

TELEPHONES
OFFICE 3-2925
BUILDING 7-2077

July 14, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

First, let me report to you about my conversation with Mr. Robert Durr, following your long distance call from Atlanta. Mr. Durr stated that he took it upon himself to get the Urban League organized in Birmingham, and that in the process he put himself "out" about $500 including the cost of a secretary to help him in the work. Apparently, he was assured that he would be reimbursed at least to the extent of around $300 as soon as the present financial campaign of the Urban League is successfully completed. However, Mr. Durr is a little vague as to exactly what kind of agreement was made between him and the Urban League. It seems that he does a great deal of work on his own for the betterment of race relations here. He said he wanted to see one hundred other people in the next thirty to sixty days both for the Urban League and for the Southern Regional Council, and that he felt this work he is doing would be a good investment for any organization in this field, and thatnow would be a good time for the SRC to make a contribution to the work he is doing.

I suggested to Mr. Durr that the proper proceedure would be to appeal to the officers of the local branch of the Urban League about his need for immediate reimbursement, and I indicated that any appeal in his behalf to the Southern Regional Council had better be made by the president of the Urban League, who is Dr. Henry Edmonds. I offered to talk with Dr. Edmonds about the matter, but Mr. Durr did not encourage me to do so, and our conversation ended at that point.

The other matter is the report Dr. Beittel asked me to give you on the race relations situation here in Birmingham. The SRC members here have taken no action as a group, but have been meeting as individuals with the Social Service Committee of the Protestant Pastors' Union, which was instructed to make an investigation and bring in a report. Mr. Durr, Mr. Price, Mr. Kluge and I are the local SRC members who have been working on this matter. At the last meeting of the Committee we brought in prominent lay people here to advise us in regard to our next step, and the consensus of opinion was that we should try to get an interracial committee started for Birmingham. What we think we need is a real planning group with official

sanction that will get things done, but we are afraid frankly to ask the City Commission to appoint the committee for fear it will be just a rubber stamp. It may be that the local chapter of the Urban League is the group that is needed to carry the ball here for the time being, but we are not sure of that at the present time, because we are not familiar with the past history of such groups in this area. Another prospect is to set up a working interracial group in the recently reorganized Coordinating Council of the Social Forces of Jefferson County, which now for the first time has a paid Executive Director, financed partly by the Community Chest, the Red Cross, and the University of Alabama. As you see, we are in a quandary as to how to proceed, and we need your advice and help. The group asked me to get in touch with you about this matter. Can you write me at length and given me the benefit of your experience. It might be better for you to meet with us here in Birmingham if you can, advising us beforehand about the size and constituency of the group you would like to talk to. Any help you can give us will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Marmion

William H. Marmion

WHM:pmac

Via sp. del. air mail

RECEIVED
JUL 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

23 - M - Misc -
Marmion, Wm. H.

Saint Mary's-on-the-Highlands

1910 Twelfth Avenue, South
Birmingham 5, Alabama

REV. WILLIAM H. MARMION
RECTOR

MISS HELEN MARIE AVERETT
SECRETARY-TREASURER

MISS ESTELLE DeS. WARREN
DIRECTOR OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

TELEPHONES
OFFICE 3-2925
BUILDING 7-2077

July 30, 1948

RECEIVED
AUG 2 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of July 21, and your offer to meet with a group of us in Birmingham. I was out of town all last week and will be gone during the entire month of August. The Rev. Wayne Drash, Chairman of our Social Service Committee of the Pastors' Union, will also be out of town during August. We do not feel that there is any immediate danger of open violence here in Birmingham at the present time. Also, due to the fact that so many of the ministers are absent we believe it will be necessary to wait until September before calling our group back together. I for one want us to follow through on our program and I am sure Mr. Drash intends to do so as Chairman of the Social Service Committee. I talked to him about your letter and we agreed it would be best to write you again about our plans in September. I hope we can arrange for you to meet with us at that time.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Marmion

William H. Marmion

WHM: pmac

23-Marmion, Wm. H.

January 31, 1949

Rev. Mr. William H. Marmion
St. Mary's -on-the-Highlands
1910 Twelfth Avenue, S.
Birmingham 5, Alabama

Dear Mr. Marmion:

In response to your letter of January 24, we take pleasure in sending you the attached list of Council Board members living in Alabama.

We have for something now been using the leaflet The Southern Regional Council, containing membership application blank on the back for membership promotion and solicitation. Our supply of this leaflet is temporarily exhausted but we have it on order and should be able to send you a supply within a few days. Just as soon as they come in we shall be glad to send you a supply of them.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Saint Mary's-on-the-Highlands
1910 Twelfth Avenue, South
Birmingham 5, Alabama

REV. WILLIAM H. MARMION
RECTOR

MISS HELEN MARIE AVERETT
SECRETARY-TREASURER

MISS ESTELLE DeS. WARREN
DIRECTOR OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

TELEPHONES
OFFICE 3-2925
BUILDING 7-2077

January 24, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

As chairman of the Nominating Committee of the Alabama Division of the SRC I am eager to get the names (especially of the new members) of the members of the Regional Board from Alabama. We want to include them on our Advisory Council and have them elected at our Annual Meeting on February 22. Will you do me the favor of sending me these names in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Marmion

William H. Marmion

WHM:pmac

P.S. – Also, please send me a supply of application blanks for membership and statements of purpose of the S.R.C.

23-Marmion, Wm.H.

March 7, 1949

The Rev. Mr. William H. Marmion
1910 - 12th Avenue, South
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Marmion:

I am greatly in your debt for advice, for assumption of the sizeable burden, for pleasant company, and a delicious luncheon.

For these latter two, particular thanks to Mrs. Marmion.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

P.S. I send along one of the self-survey manuals.
GSM

JOB
3/7/49

NH

November 3, 1950

The Rev. William H. Marmion
St. Andrew's Church
Shipley at Eighth
Wilmington, Delaware

Dear Mr. Marmion:

I daresay Mrs. Huff will write you also. We are mighty sorry to lose you from the South and from Birmingham. Mr. Beittel made your loss dramatic by sending us quite a large check of monies left over from whatever occasion in Birmingham marked your leaving.

I hear from Miss Roberta Morgan that an official interracial committee, helped by the Community Chest, is going to take on in Birmingham the sort of job the Urban League would have done. I know very little about it, but think I would have preferred an Urban League.

I lived in Newark, Delaware, from 1914 to 1920 and came remotely under the kindness of Bishop Kinsman, whose career in the Episcopal Church I am sure you will find revered. He used to come frequently to one of the fraternity houses of Delaware College. The house was under the dictatorship of an elderly Negro called Colonel. Colonel one morning, hearing that the bishop was to come, posted a notice on the kitchen door: "The bishop is coming. No cussing." Bishop Kinsman arrived at an unexpectedly early hour, when the house was empty. He took down the notice, put it in his pocket, and put it upon his episcopal desk at Wilmington.

I do hope you will become a familiar at the College. It is a good one.

As for Board membership, etc. Sadly, you are right. As you have moved out of the "Council area," we do lose you as a Board member, but not as a member, we deeply hope. The for-

mal thing is that you now become an Associate Member. That gives you full voice, but no vote.

Good fortune to all of you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

gsm: your copy
norma has original

RECEIVED
NOV 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

October 31st, 1950

Mrs. Norma Huff, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Huff:

I regret to say that I shall have to resign from the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. On September 15 I took up my duties as rector of St. Andrew's Church, Wilmington, Delaware. I doubt if I am eligible for membership in the organization because of this move, and in any event I should not be able to get to any meetings. However, I shall not forget you and what the organization stands for. Please continue to send me "The New South" and any other publications of the organization you think I would be interested in and bill me for the same at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Marmion

William H. Marmion

WHM/vlm

St Andrew's Church
Shipley at Eighth

Saint Mary's-on-the-Highlands
1910 Twelfth Avenue, South
Birmingham 5, Alabama

REV. WILLIAM H. MARMION
RECTOR

MISS HELEN MARIE AVERETT
SECRETARY-TREASURER

MISS ESTELLE DeS. WARREN
DIRECTOR OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

TELEPHONES
OFFICE 3-2925
BUILDING 7-2077

December 6, 1947

DEC 8 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy,

Thank you very much for your letter of December 2 advising me of my election to the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, to fill the unexpired term of Mr. P. H. Easom. I shall be glad to serve in this capacity and do whatever I can to help in the work of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Marmion

William H. Marmion

WHM:pmac

C
O
P
Y

December 2, 1947

Rev. W. H. Marmion
1910 12th Avenue, South
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Marmion:

This is to advise you that by unanimous vote of the membership at the annual meeting of November 12th, you were elected to the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, to fill the unexpired term of Mr. P. H. Easom. This term has two years to run, being due to expire in 1949 at the time of the Annual Meeting which falls on the second Wednesday in November of that year

We are very happy to welcome you to membership on the Board and shall look forward to seeing you at its meetings. There are two such meetings each year, one being on the day preceding the Annual membership meeting, the other on the same day as, and immediately following, the membership meeting. It has been customary for the Council to issue expense blanks on such occasions and to pay for travel and maintenance of Board members who attend these meetings.

For your further information, I am enclosing a copy of the by-laws, with paragraphs concerning the Board especially marked. Please do not hesitate to write us if we can be of service.

With every food wish, I am

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

AM:EE

April 9, 1957

RECEIVED APR 12 1957

Dear Harold:

Forgive the pen — George ran off to Chicago with the typewriter

I hope you have recovered by now from our last meeting. I guess we have altho we bumped through that tornado - blizzard on the way home. I trust you didn't. Anyway, it was very nice to meet you, not to say fun.

Now - I trust you were serious about the fund raising operation here. I was — and am, and have spent the last few days casting out some lines in a preliminary way. I, of course, read the packet which you had sent and so don't feel quite as ignorant as I did originally, but I still find rather large gaps in my understanding which interfere with my being able to interpret your program sufficiently to be able to sell it adequately.

So please answer the following as soon as possible:

1. Have there been any "action programs"

aside from publications in which the SRC has participated recently. Such as?

2. Would there be any objection to setting up a "Friends" (or something similar) of the SRC out here? It's much easier to flit from prospect to prospect if I can use a locally known name or two. Also, in a few weeks if all goes well, I could line up some meetings of some kind for you to come to. On the other hand, I'm scared to death of the carpet-bagging bit

3. Is there an annual financial report or financial statement available.

4. Could I please have some official statement that I am California representative or something to show I am not just trying to set up a financial paradise for myself. Chances are I'll never need it - but just in case

5. What is your feeling about newspaper publicity? I find a vast expanse of ignorance of the SRC in preliminary approaches. This is a double handicap when allied with my own ignorance. This, of course, would be if I could get a "Friends" set up.

6. Do you want $25,000 for a year or for three years? What for?

7. Do you approve of the approach that while

SRC has been going a long time the increased complexity of the situation requires increased effort and therefore cost. I dont like the negative approach that the Fund is withdrawing support or not giving enough. Most people have the idea that foundations are a bottomless well from which to draw sustenance forever.

8. Who are two or three major contributors? Are there any out here?

9. May I please have about 50 letter-heads and envelopes?

See – I told you I was serious.

Pat

629 South Grand Avenue
Pasadena, California

April 15, 1957

Mrs. George Martin
629 South Grand
Pasadena, California

Dear Pat:

We have an executive committee meeting coming up day after tomorrow, and I am even more than usually up to my ears. So I will have to defer for a few days the full dress answer that your good letter of April 9 deserves.

I am getting off to you today the materials you need. Here are at least a few preliminary answers:

First, you can be sure that I was as serious as you were in our last conversation.(I recognize that my bedraggled condition might have made you wonder.)

There is no objection to setting up a committee. But for the life of me, I can't see any other way for it to work other than by quiet unpublicized gatherings, personal approaches and the like. Any ballyhoo is sure to be used adversely. There is no objection, of course, to legitimate publicity about SRC's activities. Perhaps we could work out some feature stories or news releases that might get used out there.

I agree with you entirely that the approach should be positive. It is all too true that the increased difficulties of the situation calls for increased effort and therefore cost. I would not get into the question of the Fund for the Republic at all, unless somebody raises it.

I will write you soon about the other questions you raised. Meanwhile, all the best to you and George.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director

HCF/mf

enclosures

Dear Harold:

Could I also have a batch of the gray folder and a half dozen of the booklet Changing Patterns?

Hastily —

Pat

RECEIVED APR 15 1957

629 South Grand Avenue
Pasadena, California
April 17, 1957

Dear Harold:

George is back -- so this time you'll be able to read my remarks with somewhat more comfort.

Your letter came in yesterday and I hasten to say I do not intend to pester you unduly with these details, but I am limited in what I can do without them. Momentarily, I am trying to persuade the old man he should let me tag along when he comes down next month to pick up some useful information first hand. So far, I haven't succeeded, but I have faith in the future. Meanwhile, I am continuing to cast out lines and have picked up a couple of items in the process that might be useful to you, although on the other hand, you may already be thoroughly familiar with them.

I have been making some preliminary inquiries about foundation money from out here that might be available for your purposes. There are some good possibilities that I shall develop over the next few weeks. But too, I have found out about some in the South that if you don't know about, I am sure you would like to approach such as the the Conference of Southwest Foundations. A Mrs. William (Maude) Keeling is the executive director and is sympathetic to the cause of peaceful integration in the South. The headquarters is at 806 Weizman, San Antonio 1, Texas. Robert Sutherland, who is on the Board of Trustees of the Foundation Library Center in New York and also active in the (Hogg?) Foundation in the South, is particularly interested in the field of human relations and works with and through this Southwest Conference.

Another foundation particularly interested in race relations is the New World Foundation, headed by Mrs. Nancy Harrison, wife of the publisher of the New Republic, 1201 South La Salle St., Room 932, Chicago 3, Illinois.

I presume you already have copies of the North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare pamphlets No. 15 and No. 25 entitled "A Survey of North Carolina Foundations" some of which, I have been told, are interested in de-segregation but don't know what to do with their dough.

I am having lunch with Phil Kerby next week -- he is the editor of Frontier Magazine, a very liberal sheet published by one Gifford Phillips, scion of Phillips Oil. Phil is an old pal and I expect to wring out of him introductions to a segment of Hollywood to which, at the moment, I have no access. I am also sure, pursuant to your thoughts, that we could get an article published in Frontier about the SRC if you wish to do so. I do hasten to say that it is at least as liberal a publication as the New Republic, but I also hasten to add it

does go to liberals, some of whom are very wealthy, who probably would be interested in the SRC.

One other outfit -- the Schleidei Foundation, Clarence Henson, executive secretary, in Louisiana, I only mention because I heard of them, but I imagine you have long since been in touch with them.

Is there a copy of the U. S. Treasury Department ruling on your tax exempt status that I might have?

Best Regards --

Pat

Fund-Raising

April 23, 1957

Mrs. George Martin
629 South Grand
Pasadena, California

Dear Pat:

Thanks for your latest letter and its account of your good activities to date. You have indeed been busy.

I was glad to get the dope on foundations that you passed along. We know some of them, but others would bear further investigation. The New World Foundation is already helping us in a large way. I think that, as you pursue West Coast leads, you might well keep in mind that foundations are the single best source for work of this kind. If you can do an initial sounding with the executives of some of them to find out which ones are potentially interested and in what terms they would consider a request, we can then institute negotiations through correspondence and formal requests.

It's going to be a problem to give you the real feel of this activity through the mail. The best thing I have sent you is the mimeographed do called "The South of Promise," but I realize that that is very brief and generalized. If you could wangle a trip South with George, this would be by all odds the best way. What would be involved financially?

I am enclosing the 1957 budget that shows our forecast of expenditures and income, including the amount we must find from new sources this year. Also enclosed is a copy of our letter of tax-exemption and information on our staffing that I don't believe I sent you.

An article in Frontier would be most welcome.

I am remiss in not having opened the way for us to work out a businesslike arrangement. It would be unduly complicated, I feel, to establish you as an official representative of the Council. This would get us into policy questions that would have to be formally acted on by our Board. Do you have any hat you could wear, such as that of a fund-raising counsel?

So long as an official staff connection with the Council is not involved, there would be no problem about authorization for you to approach potential contributors on the Council's behalf. Also, we should nail down the commission arrangement. After all, you have professional standing in this kind of thing, so that we should observe professional standards. Will you give me your thinking on these two points?

I am asking Paul Anthony of our staff to assemble some "exhibits" that will help you to understand our operation better and interpret it more effectively to the people you will be talking with.

All the best.

Sincerely

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

April 26, 1957

Mrs. George Martin
629 South Grand
Pasadena, California

Dear Mrs. Martin:

We are mailing to you the materials mentioned by Harold Fleming in his letter of April 23rd, under separate cover.

If you need additional materials of this nature, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony,
Administrative Asst.

PA:cj

separate cover:

Letters of commendation
New South, Dec '56 - Jan, Feb, Mch '57
next steps
3 views
Chronology

May 1, 1957

Mrs. George Martin
629 South Grand Avenue
Pasadena, California

Dear Pat:

It was good to talk by telephone with George last week when I was in New York. Since I got back, I have been trying hard to figure out some way to get you down here with him later in the month. Unfortunately, we just can't manage it. Thus turns the vicious circle.

Maybe we will be able to work it out later on. After all, you could always leave George behind for once. Meanwhile, I would welcome your reaction to the latest batch of stuff we have sent. Please write me quite candidly where this leaves you and what further interpretation and information you need. Then perhaps by judicious use of the mails and telephone, we can close the worst of the gaps.

Tell George I am looking forward to seeing him on May 18th, if not before.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

May 7, 1957

Mr. George M. Martin, Jr.
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Newsfilm Project
1213 North Highland Avenue
Los Angeles 38, California

Dear George:

Thanks for sending me a copy of your letter setting up the date for the Atlanta screening of "Segregation and the South."

I have got the 18th circled on my calendar, and will expect to be with you then unless I hear otherwise.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
NEWSFILM PROJECT
1213 NORTH HIGHLAND AVENUE, LOS ANGELES 38, CALIFORNIA HOLLYWOOD ~~XXXXX~~
9-2724

May 3, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am planning to hold a screening of "Segregation and the South", the film I discussed with you several weeks ago, in Atlanta on the morning of May 18th.

Your reactions to the picture would be most valued and appreciated, just as your thoughts about the written treatment I showed you were of considerable importance in reshaping the film for greater impact. I hope you will be able to join us for the screening.

Will you let me know as soon as possible whether you can be with us ? If the 18th is inconvenient for you, it may be possible to schedule the showing for the 17th or 19th.

Sincerely yours,

George M. Martin, Jr.

GM:lb

HAL - COPY OF A LETTER TO SEVERAL PEOPLE. OKAY BY YOU? IF SO, SEE YOU THE 18TH.

George

MAIN OFFICE: 60 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 12, 1957

To: George Martin:
629 South Grand Avenue
Pasadena California

South of Promise ✓
Grey Leaflet ✓
History of SRC ✓
Changing Patterns ✓
Next Steps ✓
Last issue of New South ✓

March 25, 1957

Mr. John Bartlow Martin
185 Maple Avenue
Highland Park, Illinois

Dear John:

Your welcome letter came just as I was putting one foot out the door for a week of travel. I've passed on your specific questions to John Constable and Florence Irving for answer.

I'm glad to be quoted, but I'm a trifle concerned about the personal tone of the quote; it makes me sound as though I'm bemoaning my own woes, which in fact haven't been very great. Could it read this way: "The price tag on dissent can be awfully high, particularly in small towns and rural areas. A dissenter's children may suffer -- his neighbors may not let their kids play with his. It may be rumored that he's a Communist because he's been 'known to mix and mingle.' He often develops a sense of alienation which is the highest price of all -- he feels alienated from the society in which he lives."

Nothing would please me more than to read your series in draft and to make any suggestions that may occur.

All the best from us Dixie dissenters.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
/signed in absence

April 15, 1957

Mr. John Bartlow Martin
185 Maple Avenue
Highland Park, Illinois

Dear John:

Right after I talked with you last week, another tide of activity submerged me, so that I have to apologize again for being so long about this.

As I told you, I thought your manuscript was extremely well done, and would cheerfully have seen it in print, even without the benefit of the fly-specking that others and I are giving it.

I trust Florence Irving's earlier letter gave you what you needed on your specific queries. Only two supplementary remarks. First, the judge who jailed the NAACP leader in Atlanta, Judge Durwood Pye, wasn't a Talmadge legislative leader, but was appointed by Talmadge to the Georgia Education Commission, the state body set up to carry on Georgia's fight for segregated schools. In this capacity and in his private capacity as a lawyer, Pye has long been a rabid advocate for white supremacy. Second, the bill deplored by the Richmond News Leader's editorial did pass.

On pages 4 and 5, you used the word "apartness" as characterizing Southern segregation. Of course, physical apartness has never been important in Southern racial practices. The central factor has been status. Traditionally, that could be any amount of physical closeness so long as the assumption of Negro inferiority and subordination was present in the situation. I think it is extremely important for the uninitiated to understand that segregation is based on psychological rather than physical considerations. On page 11, you say that Walter Reuther was attacked "because he gave the NAACP $75,000." The charge is generally made that Reuther gave $75,000 of UAW dues money to the

NAACP: actually, he presented a check on behalf of the Philip Murray Memorial Fund. I don't know whether you will feel this is worth making a change for.

Others may already have raised with you the question of Grover Hall reversing himself. Don't let them talk you out of too much. He may not have reversed himself, but he sure backed off of his early strong condemnation of the citizens councils.

On page 16, at the bottom, you refer to Faulkner's statements about fighting in the streets, quoted in the Reporter. As you may know, Faulkner strongly denied that he said this, and it is true that he has said a great deal since that directly contradicts any such pro-[illegible]rate sympathy.

On page 64, the middle paragraph, I think you overstate the unanimity of white opinion. We have found that there is a good deal of variation -- I don't mean just among the handful of liberals -- in the intensity of segregation attitudes, and in the lengths to which people will willingly go to maintain one hundred per cent segregation. The trouble is that the "silent South" was never properly defined. It consists of white people who do not believe in desegregation as such, but who believe that the price of all-out defiance is too high. These people are mostly silent simply because the political leadership has attached such a large penalty to this kind of dissent. Even so, you hear from them once in a while -- as in the case of the great Sugar Bowl controversy, the unsuccessful attempts to re-segregate professional baseball in the South, and Gene Cook's abortive attempt to enforce a state-wide segregation loyalty oath on teachers. As the damage gets greater, I would expect more from the unwilling dissenters. While our own affiliated organizations are weak in the deep South, the very fact that they have been able to continue is a measure of some rational sentiment.

On page 66, you deal with the question of the price, and you ask, "Can the South afford to pay white labor?" The real question is whether the South can continue to industrialize indefinitely without incorporating Negroes into the labor pool? And the answer is no. At the present rate of industrialization, the South's white manpower reserve will be exhausted before very many years have passed. Meanwhile, Negro workers are leaving the South in large numbers. Sooner or later -- and I think sooner -- the industrialists are going to realize that the choice cannot wait until white manpower is scarce, but that steps must be taken sooner to introduce full job opportunities for Negroes. When that time comes, the South will have to start redefining the total status of the Negro, in terms of public facilities as well as jobs.

On page 67, last full paragraph, you say that industrialization may make desegregation harder since it puts whites and Negroes in competition for factory jobs. I think this would be true in a period of depression or recession. But so long as full employment holds up, I think the positive effects of industrialization should greatly outweigh the negative.

Since I talked with you on the phone, I have re-read the fourth section and have thought more about why I felt it was too bleak a picture." I guess it boils down to the fact that you are describing the "Black Belt." So far as that area is concerned -- and I mean the rural, old plantation counties -- your statements are true. But even the deep South contains a lot of territory that isn't Black Belt. And while it is true that the Black Belt, through the warped state political systems, has put a stranglehold on the whole area, I don't think that the north Alabama, north Georgia, and even up-state South Carolina counties are willing to pay the disastrous price that the Black Belts may be willing to pay.

It is in this sense that I think the deep South state officials are in an overextended position and have, within their own states, a "fifth column" of conservative leadership that will betray their great segregation crusade as the chips really get down.

I hope all of this is of some use to you, and that your fifth section has turned out well.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

March 27, 1957

Mr. John Bartlow Martin
185 Maple Avenue
Highland Park, Illinois

Dear Mr. Martin:

Mr. Fleming has been out of the office since March 21, and is expected to return on April 1st. I am answering some of the questions you raised in your letter, and I'm sure he will add other information and comments upon his return.

If you have completed the use of our clippings, we would be glad to have them back as soon as it's convenient for you to send them.

The following answers bear the same numbers as your inquiries:

1. Forsyth County joins Fulton (Atlanta) County to the Northeast. It's rolling piedmont country in the direction of the Blue Ridge Mountains. It generally has an elevation of 1500 feet (Atlanta is 1050 feet) above sea level, but there are elevations up to 2000 feet. In some other North Georgia counties there are elevations up to 4780 feet. The July 1, 1956, estimate of population in Georgia counties list 100 Nonwhites in Forsyth. I do not know about the lynching you refer to. There have been several lynchings in Forsyth. I have a record of one Robert Edwards (Negro) being lynched in 1912 for complicity in murder. For several years following 1918 we don't have a county breakdown of Georgia lynchings.

2. All the references we have in the office point to Pitchfork Ben Tillman as a leader in the disfranchisement of Negroes and as an ardent white supremacist. Perhaps a complete biography is in the Chicago library and would give more information. One is entitled Pitchfork Ben Tillman by Francis Butler Simkins, Louisiana State University Press, 1944.

3. All six of the Nat Cole attackers were members of the North Alabama White Citizens' Council. The Associated Press reported that two, W. R. Vinson and Kenneth Adams, were members of the Board of Directors of the Anniston Citizens' Council. I am enclosing several articles which show the court developments in the case.

Although the appeals case of only one of the attackers is included, you will note that the December 8th article lists a reduction in the sentences for all four who were sentenced in April.

4. It is Eldon L. Edwards.

5. The Imperial Wizard holds the highest position in the Klan - head of the entire organization. The Grand Dragon is the highest officer for a state organization. Edwards is Imperial Wizard of The U. S. Klan, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

6. I know of no state law "forbidding teachers even to believe in desegregation." Several states now forbid the employment of persons advocating racial integration or belonging to the NAACP. Registration of groups or persons promoting racial integration is required by some States. Barratry is broadly defined and forbidden in many Southern states.

7. Durwood T. Pye, the judge who ordered NAACP President Calhoun jailed, was not a member of the Georgia Legislature during or since 1953. I do not know if he was previously a member. In January, 1954, Governor Talmadge named him Executive Secretary of the Georgia Commission on Education which position he held until he became a judge of the Fulton Superior Court. At the time of his appointment to the $500 per month job with the Commission he was an Atlanta attorney. The Commission was created by the Legislature in 1953 to study ways of continuing segregation. It has drawn up most of the segregation legislation passed in the state.

8. The Virginia Legislature (1956 Special session) had seven Anti-NAACP included in the segregation laws passed. See page 16 of the October Southern School News which is enclosed. Registration of groups advocating racial integration or segregation is required. The laws prohibiting running and capping and barratry define these activities so that most NAACP activities would be illegal. Penalties for violations of the laws are fairly stiff. The NAACP has initiated a court attack against these laws in Virginia.

I do not have the News-Leader editorial, but I expect the reference was to the creation of the "Committee on Offenses Against The Administration of Justice" (HB 62), though several of the bills seem to infringe on freedom os speech.

9. Telfair County is in south central Georgia in the middle of a section called the "coastal plains". It's a little higher than the area to the east of it, but still low country, since its elevation varies from 120 to 360 feet above sea level.

10. I do not know whether Gene Talmadge was a Phi Beta Kappa. Both Gene and Herman were members of the Phi Kappa Debating Society at the University of Georgia.

Sincerely,

Florence B. Irving,
Research Assistant

FBI:fc

Gilbert
Glassboro Junior Sch
MADE IN U.S.A.

HAROLD OBER ASSOCIATES
INCORPORATED

London Address
FORTY FLEET STREET

Cable Address
LITOBER, NEW YORK

OFFICES: 40 EAST 49TH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

March 26, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Under separate cover I have had Ian Ballantine send you John Bartlow Martin's four-part Saturday Evening Post series on segregation. I have a letter from John Martin saying that he hopes you will read it for errors and return it to him as soon as possible at Highland Park. I imagine the manuscript has already reached you. Mr. Martin's address, in case you don't have it, is 185 Maple Avenue, Highland Park, Illinois.

Sincerely yours,

Ivan von Auw Jr.

IVA:G

HAROLD OBER ▼ DOROTHY OLDING ▼ IVAN VON AUW, JR.

JOHN BARTLOW MARTIN
185 MAPLE AVENUE
HIGHLAND PARK, ILLINOIS

March 18, 1957

Dear Harold,

At last the series is finished, or nearly so. I'm doing some rechecking now and also looking into the border states briefly for inserts or an addition. But the mainbody of the story is done---four parts on the resistance movement.

I need some rechking help from you:

1.Is Forsyth County, Georgia, hilly? Is it true there are no Negroes, or almost none, in it because they were run out about 40 years ago after a rape case and lynching?

2.Did Pitchfork Ben Tillman put together a coalition of Negro and poor-white votes?

3.Were the 6 men who beat up Nat King Cole all Citizens Council members? Do you know how many were convicted, of what, and what fines or sentences were assessed?

4.Is it Elton L. Edwards or Eldon Edwards? (Various sources disagree.)

5.Is the grand dragon the head of a state or r gion in the Klan? Is imperial wizard head of the whole shooting match?

6.Has any state passed a law forbidding teachers even to believe in desegregation?

7.Was the judge who jailed the NAACP leader in Atlanta for contempt formerly Talmadge's segregation leader in the Georgia legislature?

8.Re Virginia legislation: The News-Leader ran an editorial while a bill was pending protesting aga nst infringement of free speech and assembly; the heading was "Not For Free Men." Did the bill thus protested

JOHN BARTLOW MARTIN
185 MAPLE AVENUE
HIGHLAND PARK, ILLINOIS

pass? Did the Virginia legislature pass seven bills aimed at the NAACP and prohibiting among other things advocacy of desegregation and lobbying in behalf of a race? Was one of these bills the one the News-Leader objected to?

9.Is Telfair County, Georgia, where Talmadge was born (near McRae) hilly,upcountry,southcentral?

10.Do you know whether Gene Talmadge was a Phi Beta Kappa?

11.Have there been any substantial changes in the situation since I was down there?

I hope all this isn't too great a nuisance. If I could impose on you once again, I'd like to send a carbon of the manuscript, so soon as I get one, toyou and ask you to read it and check it for errors.

How is your nice wife? I wish you would both come to Chicago so Franand I could return your hospitality.

Needless to say, I can't thank you enough for your help.

Sincerely,

John

PS: I nearly forgot. The story quotes you ~~xxxxxx~~ by name as saying, "The price tag on dissent is awfully high. Your children may suffer---your neighbors won't let their kids play with yours. It may be rumored that you're a Communist because you've been 'known to mix and mingle.' You develop a sense of alienation which is the highes price of all---you feel alienated from the society in which you live." Is this ok? You are identified as "head ofthe Southern Regional Council, which favors desegregation.

J.C., FI — (F.Y.I.) HCF

JOHN BARTLOW MARTIN
185 MAPLE AVENUE
HIGHLAND PARK, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED APR 24 1957

April 22, 1957

Dear Harold,

Again, ever so many thanks to you and John Constable and Florence Irving---please thank them for me.

Separately, I'm returning some things that belong to you; and I'm sorry I've kept them so long.

Good talking to youtoday.

Best,

JBM

RECEIVED JUN 10 1957

JOHN BARTLOW MARTIN
185 MAPLE AVENUE
HIGHLAND PARK, ILLINOIS

June 7 57

Dear Hal

Thanke ever so much. The series starts in the Post next week. A paperback book will be out six weeks later.

Hastily

Jack

December 16, 1959

Via Air Mail

Mr. John Bartlow Martin
185 Maple Avenue
Highland Park, Illinois

Dear John:

Greetings to you, after so long a time. We Southerners are discovering, as you might expect, that fighting for all we hold dear is costing us dear in some things we may hold even dearer. Which is to say that we'll give it all up one day for the sake of those engravings done by the Treasury Department -- precisely when, I refuse to predict.

I'm delighted to hear that your daughter is eyeing one of our proud Southern institutions; I only wish it were Chapel Hill, where I know a few interesting people. Unfortunately, I am blank on Duke. Of possible interest to Cindy, if not to you, is a suggestion made by Paul Rilling, a fellow staff member here. He allows that the Campus YWCA director, a Miss Barbara Bendict, is a keen, personable young lady who could be very helpful to you-all in sizing up the university. (With typical modesty, he claims that a mention of his name will enlist her eager cooperation.) She has an office on the campus in -- of all things -- the Faculty Women Apartments; fortunately or not, the office is on the first floor.

I am sorry to be so barren of suggestions. But if you return to Atlanta -- which I earnestly hope you will -- I'll try to make up for it.

My very best regards,

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

JOHN BARTLOW MARTIN
185 MAPLE AVENUE
HIGHLAND PARK, ILLINOIS

December 10, 1959

Dear Hal,

Greetings! And how goes the fight for the preservation of all we hold dear, or deah?

My daughter Cindy will enter college next fall (providing she gets out of high school) and she's interested in Duke. I am stuck with shepherding her around to schools between Christmas and New Years, and our first stop will be Duke, on December 28. It sticks in my mind that you have friends there, people I know by reputation, who might make the expedition less dreary for me and who might be helpful to Cindy; and I wonder if you could put me in touch with them.

I may be in Atlanta later on in the winter and I'll hope to see you.

And I'll be ever so grateful for any help you can provide on this present project.

All the best,

John

April 5, 1961

Mr. John Bartlow Martin
185 Maple Avenue
Highland Park, Illinois

Dear John:

The race relations climate in the South generally, and Georgia specifically, has taken a marked turn for the better in recent months. One overall index is the finding of the Gallup Poll that 76 per cent of Southerners sampled now view desegregation as inevitable, as compared with 53 per cent in 1958 and 45 per cent in 1957.

The exceptions to the trend are Mississippi and Alabama, where the leaders are still saying, "Never", and Louisiana and South Carolina where they say, "Well, hardly ever." Yet even in these states, there is more creeping realism under the surface.

Enclosed are two documents that illustrate the changes in Georgia. The first is the report of the Sibley Commission; headed by a leading banker, this legislative body held hearings throughout the state and paved the way for the "local option" laws passed by the 1961 Legislature. A summary of the new laws and Vandiver's speech retreating from massive resistance are summarized in the other enclosure.

It is safe to say that the formal power structure of Georgia is now pretty firmly committed to compliance with, rather than defiance of, court rulings. Of course, every effort is being made to hold desegregation

to a minimum and few people of any importance profess to be happy about the changes. And there is a vocal die-hard element, represented at the state level by Roy Harris and at the local level by a restaurant owner and former candidate for mayor named Lester Maddox. But these extremists are no longer calling the shots in Georgia and are complaining in the tones of an aggrieved minority.

The die-hards suffered their biggest blow with the admission of two Negro students to the University of Georgia earlier this year. Closing the university was politically unthinkable (as contrasted with Atlanta's schools, some of which might have been closed with impunity by the Governor). To allow the university situation to be dominated by howling mobs was also unthinkable -- particularly for a governor who had (still has) his eye on a national appointment in the new Administration. So the dam broke.

So far only the university and Atlanta are affected, and there's no cause for unlimited optimism about the rest of the State, particularly the more rural areas, and most particularly South Georgia. But Georgia has retreated from monolithic resistance, as Virginia did earlier; if Atlanta's high schools are successfully desegregated in September, resistance here will never be quite the same again. The prospects for the Atlanta change are good, measured in terms of preparation by the police, the business community, and the school authorities.

Suitable notes to be sounded on Law Day:

(1) The Supreme Court's '54 decision gave the Federal district judges in the South a huge and difficult assignment. With few exceptions, they have carried it out ably and honorably (also almost alone). The legal profession has a special responsibility to support and defend the courts, and to uphold the integrity of the law of the land. This duty is imperative precisely when the courts and the laws are caught in emotional cross-fires, as in the school integration controversy. Lawyers also have an individual contribution to make -- through their willingness to provide legal defense for unpopular causes and controversial persons. (Racial controversies in the South produce many such unpopular defendants, and getting legal counsel is often a major problem.)

(2) Everyone recognizes that desegregation of the public schools throughout the South is a complex and difficult task to accomplish. That is why the Supreme Court ordered it done "with deliberate speed." Assuring every qualified citizen the right to vote presents no such complications. This is a simple and elementary right, easily granted, and there is no justification for delay or evasion. This occasion would be a suitable one for the Attorney General to commit himself and the Justice Department to a total and unremitting effort to guarantee the ballot to every American who is legally entitled to vote. There are now two legal tools -- the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. A pledge to use these tools to the full would be timely, and perhaps a carefully worded promise that if the tools prove inadequate, new ones will be sought. This could be followed up quickly by a statement of confidence that respect for the law and the "American spirit of fair play" will make it unnecessary to resort to widespread coercion.

(3) Some praise for Georgia's new turn toward compliance would be in order. This might be tied in with our heavy responsibilities abroad, to demonstrate the vitality of our free system of government under law. By meeting its ancient problems responsibly and justly, Georgia strengthens the hand of the United States in its partnership with the newly emerging nations of Africa and Asia.

John, this is both hasty and corny. But the enclosures and the report I mailed you yesterday should be of some help. If further talk by telephone will be of any use, call me.

Best regards,

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

Sibley Report
L-Report #24-A "New School Laws in Georgia"

JOHN BARTLOW MARTIN
185 MAPLE AVENUE
HIGHLAND PARK, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
APR 12 1961

4-10-61

Dear Hal,

Ever so many thanks. Your letter and material were most helpful. I'm now hard at it. My only thought so far is that he ought to cancel out!

Best.

January 30, 1967

Social Service Careers

Although this memorandum is directed at the question of training for social service careers, a very strong caveat is entered at the outset. There is good sense in what S. M. Miller has argued, that most of the poor (including those of minority groups) need nothing except more money - that they are stable people, whose needs are a job, or a better job, or an adequate family allowance or other assured income.

Put differently, most of the poor do not need a lot of trained people worrying about them and trying to serve them. Put still differently, a wise emphasis would be on those organizing measures that make the poor better able to demand and get what they really need - i.e. income -- and not on those measures to increase the training of professionals or semi-professionals. As some would put it, the presently needed emphasis should be on organizing the poor, not on servicing it.

delete

But these are matters of emphasis, and having established them we turn to the lesser but still urgent need of training.

This is a memo in five parts. Its conclusions and recommended actions are in parts "D" and "E".

Those conclusions and recommendations heavily stress the need for study. In part that may be because the author is a foundation executive, and the foundations are today being pressed to make decisions on all these matters.

There is more at issue, however, than the caution of a foundation executive, though the remainder of this essay will have to argue and demonstrate that point: it will be contended that there are a number of interconnected problems which peculiarly and urgently at this time require deliberate thought, before large scale programs are undertaken.

A.

What seems clear is that, at least for a generation or so, a large portion of our national energy will go to the care of the minority poor. Poverty being nothing new in this country, nor depressed ethnic minorities anything new, we might look for the reasons behind the above assertion in considerations such as the following:

- Despite the numerous reforms coming out of the civil rights struggle, nearly all indices show that the conditions of life for Negroes grow relatively (if not absolutely) worse. (At the same time, there appears to be a steady movement of a healthy number of Negroes into middle-class affluence, comparable to the experience in earlier times of other ethnic minorities: but, the masses of those earlier depressed minorities trailed behind, progressing slowly in the same direction their leaders took. This historic pattern is reversed in the case of Negro Americans: leaders go rapidly one way, masses seem by some

indicators to drift slowly in the other. Although it is probably a fact that the need for public care of the Negro poor is as large as it is because of the weakness of intra-group effort, that fact does not entirely reflect on the civic mindedness of the Negro middle class. No other minority came to its "day on the stage" at a time when the whole of American life was so ordered by gigantic institutions, by the processes of the welfare state, and thus so permeated by a sense that the whole public is responsible for individuals needs. Moreover, to a peculiar degree, Negroes have historically been and felt themselves to be the objects of public policies.)

- By and large, the above statement is applicable to the Puerto Rican, Indian, and Mexican-American minorities also.

- We are quite clearly faced with problems of urban congestion and growth that exceed our present comprehension - or, at least, exceed the problem-solving capacity of our political institutions. The special handicaps of the minority poor are interlocked with these puzzles of urban development. This is true even for those numerous minority poor now living in the Southeast and in the Southwest: their acute needs ought to be satisfied where they are, because the traditional recourse of migration to the cities is at the present neither individually helpful or socially desirable. Furthemore, we may as well recognize that our ability to solve these immense urban problems is progressively threatened by circular forces. Cities have historically been the reservoirs of culture and intelligence, and their present plight cuts not only at their own social life but at the nation's nerve centers of thought and compassion.

- Although fears of unemployment because of automation have probably been exaggerated, it is nevertheless obvious that full employment would require extraordinarily large national objectives: larger than, or at least as large as, for example, the combined size of a war in Vietnam (which itself absorbs much manpower), a space program, and a civilian economy characterized by widespread affluence. Stated differently, we seem to have more people than we need in order to produce the quantity of goods and services that we are at present willing and prepared to pay for out of public or private purses. There are several ways, perhaps, of changing that. One is, assuming the necessary will to do so, to increase demand for services by closer attention to the needs of the poor, and to put the poor themselves to work supplying those services. (In other words, and put somewhat crassly, these people not needed by others can be useful to themselves.)

B.

A theme of this memorandum is that the present is a time of emerging occupations. This is already happening, and the questions raised by this memorandum have to do with the rationalization of these occupations and the preparation of people for them. New and old, the occupations include:

- the profession of social work - buttressed by traditions, graduate schools, professional societies, and certification procedures;

- the multitude of welfare workers - not specially educated, most of whom are within state or local civil service, many of whom are unionized and who have as well a semi-professional status through the American Public Welfare Association;

- specializations are emerging within established professions. Some teacher training schools, e.g., are offering special curriculum in teaching the disadvantaged, and one or two law schools are developing courses in social welfare law;

- the rapidly increasing numbers of intergroup relations (or anti-discrimination) staffers employed by federal, state, and local governments. There are said to be, e.g., some 300 state, county, and municipal governments now with some sort of staffed anti-discrimination agency; in the federal government, large bureaucracies have grown up, including specialized agencies such as the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, the Commission on Civil Rights, and the Community Relations Service, but also including perhaps as many positions that exist by executive order. All these public officials are sought to be embraced by a professional society, the National Association for Intergroup Relations Officials;

- NAIRO seeks also to embrace the staffers of private agencies. These are too numerous and diverse to be listed, but their range can be suggested by mention of the American Jewish Committee, American Friends Service Committee, CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, the Community Relations Service of the U. S. Conference of Mayors, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, Southern Regional Council, and National Urban League;

- the OEO has bred a large number (25,000 is an estimate) of community organizer jobs. These are persons drawn from the so-called "target population"; i.e. they are supposed to have a self-identity with the poor;

- OEO's Headstart program has stimulated greater attention to pre-school teaching. If we assume that we shall now be putting much greater emphasis on pre-school instruction - bringing in children, as some have urged, even as young as three - one of the crucial questions to be thought out is the qualifications of pre-school "teachers". Moreover, the Headstart guidelines establish two new job categories: family assistant and family worker; the differences between them seem rather vague, but both are to be, according to the guidelines, persons recruited from the neighborhood;

- every days's mail (almost) at a foundation brings proposals from private civil rights, community action, and similar groups for intra-group programs of "leadership training";

- finally, there is keen interest in expanding job opportunities for sub-professionals (e.g. teacher or welfare worker aides), drawn from both middle and lower class backgrounds, but especially from the latter.

C.

All of this represents some urgent concerns. Among them are:

- the organized strength of welfare workers and school teachers is not infrequently a barrier to experimentation and needed change;

- the danger that the anti-discrimination bureaucracies of federal, state, and local governments will find ways to grow and grow, even if they have to become protectors of institutionalized, socially accepted, patterns of discrimination;

- the danger that colleges and universities will rush in with curricula in intergroup relations, and that these will in time lead to monopolies of the occupation by their graduates, as teaching and social work are now monopolized. The justification for monopoly in any field is that there does in fact exist a body of information and skills which must be learned by all practitioners; this is no more true in the case of intergroup relations than it seems to have been in the cases of social work or teaching;

- the danger that existing educational systems will capture the pre-school programs prematurely; i.e. before full experimentation as to their social role;

- the danger that the community organizers being spawned by the anti-poverty program become primarily precinct or ward political bosses. For minority people who now lack political organizations, that would not be an unadulterated misfortune, unless it would mean throwing away an opportunity to skip that stage of development;

- but, overriding all other dangers, is the danger that we will not do enough in the way of enlarging the cultural and family services available for the poor - and they will require people supplying them. - why?

D.

Among the steps that would be, therefore, in order are:

- an evaluation of social work education, the large changes now seemingly underway within it (especially the new emphasis on "community organization"), and the profession's capability of absorbing such new emphases;

- an evaluation of existing collegiate schemes of intergroup relations training: these would include the Dodson graduate program at NYU; the course for special students now being given in the Columbia School of General Studies; the proposed center in the Columbia School of Social Work; the proposed mediation training in the University of Wisconsin Law School: the proposed human relations center at the University of Oklahoma; and undoubtedly others;

- evaluation of existing programs of pre-school teacher training (e.g. Bank Street) and proposed ones (e.g. those of the Child Development Group of Mississippi and the Chicago Institute of Early Childhood

Education); also, evaluation of regional approaches, such as those of the Southern Education Foundation;

- examination of the need for and role of specialists in established professions: in, e.g., law, economics, all the mental health professions, and diplomacy.

A statement from a recent address by Mr. Justice Fortas is suggestive for professions other than law:

> Perhaps more important is the observation that we have moved into a different concept of legal services for those who cannot afford to pay for them. No longer can we look upon them as charity, largely private. We have begun to regard them as a state obligation - within a perimeter which is beginning to take definition, as a service, which the government is obliged to furnish and to which the individual who, by hypothesis, could not otherwise obtain legal service, is entitled... This concept, startling in its boldness, does not, of course, emerge only with respect to legal services. It reflects, and is part of, a new concept of public welfare: that it embraces duties of the state, and not just benefactions and that it vest rights in those eligible, not merely privileges. Professor Charles Reich, in a perceptive article, has called it "The New Property";

- an examination of the complex question of the use and further development of sub-professionals and community organizers. It is probably a net good to build more "status" jobs into our economy; consequently, the burden of proof should be made to rest heavily on those who may contend that professions such as teaching, social work, and law cannot go fully as far as have medicine, dentistry, and engineering in delegating important functions to technicians; *

- an evaluation of whether existing professional societies, unions, and civil service regulations help or hinder, and in what ways, the supply of services;

- finally, programmatic planning for getting far larger numbers of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Indians, and Mexican Americans into the social service occupations.

E.

The best research is probably done by individuals, but the best prescriptive studies are probably done with the help of committees. ~~The boards of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation and the Field Foundation~~

---

* A recent study done for the N.Y.C. Board of Education and Department of Welfare states: "The social worker and psychologist will have to give up some part of their customary roles. - -The psychologist or social worker has a new role as consultant to the family assistant and family worker who give direct service to the children and their families.--Even if sufficient manpower were available, it would not be desirable that all supportive services be furnished by professional staff. "Edgar S. and Jean Camper Cahn, writing recently in the Notre Dame Lawyer, say: "lawyers spend only a small portion of their time performing functions which cannot be performed equally well by less thoroughly trained persons".

~~contain persons who could well be the nucleus of a committee.~~ One can visualize a procedure where an individual, chosen by the committee, directs a study which

1. would eventuate in a comprehensive report;

2. but would also issue occasionally interim reports of pamphlet length that would express guidelines for sound development. These interim reports should reflect committee discussion of the study director's findings and interpretations;

3. through its interim reports, would offer guidance to universities, foundations, the governments, and other groups for program decision in the critical present.

THE NEW MAN measures up to our six-footer. Six feet of a wool muffler from England. Handsomely striped in assorted colors, it's the kind of fling we recommend going on very soon now. By Handcraft, Inc., its 7.00, first floor in

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Eric Hoffer Flunks Student Rebels

By JEAN M. WHITE

WASHINGTON—Eric Hoffer, the longshoreman-philosopher, seathingly dismisses campus protesters with the observation that "it is much harder to write a good paragraph than start a revolution."

Hoffer, wearing his standard garb of sports jacket over workshirt, told a New Left spokesman that he wasn't going to take him seriously even if his fellow members on the President's violence commission did.

"They're having a ball, he said of the students. "They're having the best time of their lives . . . We have a lot more civilized society on the waterfront of San Francisco than you have on the campus of Berkeley."

Hoffer exploded his views after testimony from Henry Mayer, a leader of the demonstrations at the University of California at Berkeley two years ago.

The Hoffer commentary came as other commission members tried to open up a dialogue with some of the spokesmen for student and antiwar protests yesterday.

Except for the self-educated philosopher—who left for an early lunch after the Mayer testimony—the panel members tried hard to find out what the student activists thought and proposed. It was a lively dialogue, but not without frustrations on both sides.

It was almost with relief that the commission heard in the afternoon from Kingman Brewster, Yale University professor.

"Once you leave out the small pathological or malevolent fringe, I am convinced that the urge to violence rises in proportion to a person's frustration with peaceful change," the Yale president told the commission.

He pointed out that antidraft violence did not become widespread until the reform recommendations of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service was sent to "political limbo by a failure of executive leadership."

Los Angeles Times-Washington Post

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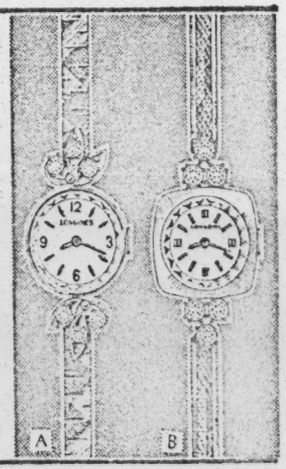

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Pa

November 4, 1968

Mr. Henry Meyer
112 - 5th Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Meyer:

Leslie Dunbar has informed me of his interest in supporting your work with the Social Services Careers, which he has shared with me.

At your earliest convenience would you please give me a call so that we can discuss details of this arrangement. We need to discuss, particularly, the method by which your consultant fee is to be paid.

I look forward to this association and to the results of your work.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

FUNDS RECEIVED BY Henry Mayer

DATE 2/21/69

February 19, 1969

Mr. Henry Mayer
112-5th Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

Dear Mr. Mayer:

There was a slight confusion on my part about the role SRC would play in support of your work. Enclosed is our check for $3,000 representing the second and final payment of the research grant in support of your careers study.

I would appreciate it if you would keep us informed and hope to have an opportunity to talk with you in Washington in the spring.

Please acknowledge receipt of these funds on the enclosed copy of this letter.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

FUNDS RECEIVED BY Henry E Meyer

DATE 11/13/68

November 12, 1968

Mr. Henry Meyer
112 - 5th Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

Dear Henry:

Enclosed is our check for $2,000 representing a first payment for your research dealing with Social Services Careers.

We shall provide the remainder of the funds to support this project as soon as we know the total amount we will be able to raise in support of it.

At your convenience, please sign the enclosed carbon copy of this letter and return it to us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures
cc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

January 9, 1964

Mr. William Howland
Office of the Mayor
City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.

Dear Bill:

Many thanks for the copy of the Mayor's good address, and for your warm wishes to SRC. Have a good New Year; let's try to get together some time soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

RECEIVED
MAY 14 1951
Southern Regional Council

CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER

MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RELATIONS

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GERALD W. FRUMESS, M. D.
CLARENCE HOLMES, D. D. S.
JOHN H. JACOBS
HARRY LITZENBERGER
MICHAEL LIVODA

May 7, 1951

Recently the City Council unanimously passed the ordinance which establishes this agency permanently in the city government and makes it a Commission. We thought you would be interested to know of this development and are sending you herewith a copy of the ordinance.

As you may know, Mayor Newton on taking office appointed a "Mayor's Interim Committee on Human Relations" which was charged with the responsibility of gathering and analyzing facts concerning ethnic groups and intergroup relations and tensions in Denver. Dean Paul Roberts was chairman of that Committee which made its report and recommendations to the Mayor late in 1947. Its assigned task completed, that committee was dissolved.

In May, 1948, at the close of Freedom Week Activities, the Mayor appointed this Committee--the permanent Committee on Human Relations. A sub-committee on finance secured contributions from Denver businessmen to equip and establish an office in the City and County Building and to employ a full time director beginning August 1, 1948. In the fall of 1948 the City Council appropriated funds to finance the agency beginning in January, 1949. The budget for 1949 provided by Council was $8,500. For 1950 the budget was $8,900. For 1951 Council increased the budget to $14,000 to permit the appointment of a second professional staff member. The staff of the Commission now consists of the director, an education and research assistant, and an office manager.

This Commission and the Mayor feel that real progress has been made in eliminating racial and religious discrimination in city employment and in the provision of city services to the citizens of Denver. In addition the Commission has cooperated fully and continuously with the private agencies in intergroup relations on community problems and has tried to help in finding some better answers to the problems of the Spanish-Americans in the community.

We appreciate the materials and help which we have received from other cities and hope you will let us know when we can reciprocate.

Very sincerely,

Helen L. Peterson

Helen L. Peterson, Director

William Grant

William Grant, Chairman

BY AUTHORITY
ORDINANCE NO. 11

COUNCILMAN'S BILL NO. 12, SERIES OF 1951. INTRODUCED BY COUNCILMEN MARRANZINO, CAVENDER AND McWILLIAMS.

A BILL

FOR AN ORDINANCE ESTABLISHING A COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS; PRESCRIBING THE POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE SAID COMMISSION; AND PROVIDING FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A DIRECTOR AND OTHER EMPLOYEES.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER:

Section 1. **Establishment; Membership.** There is hereby established a Commission which shall be known as the Commission on Human Relations, hereinafter referred to by the single term "Commission", consisting of eleven members to be appointed by the Mayor. Members of the Commission shall serve without compensation.

Section 2. **Employees.** The Commission shall appoint and prescribe duties of a Director of Human Relations and such other employees as may be necessary from time to time.

Section 3. **Chairman; By-Laws.** The Commission shall adopt its own by-laws and rules of procedure and shall elect its own officers except the chairman, who shall be appointed by the Mayor. Such by-laws and rules of procedure shall prescribe the times and places of meetings and the manner of keeping records of such meetings.

Section 4. **Powers and Duties.** The Commission shall, as directed by the Mayor and City Council:

(a). In cooperation with the other departments of the City seek to promote the employment and promotion of all employees in the City and County Government and the provision of County and City services to the public without discrimination on account of race, religion or national origin; and

(b). Act as an advisory, conciliatory, and investigating agency on all matters threatening the general welfare by reason of such discrimination

Section 5. **Emergency Clause.** In the opinion of the Council this Ordinance is necessary for the immediate protection and preservation of the public health, safety, convenience, and general welfare, and it is enacted for that purpose and shall be in full force and effect immediately after its passage and final publication.

Passed by the Council and signed by its President this 29th day of January, A.D. 1951.

JAMES FRESQUES
President

Signed and approved by me this 31st day of January, A.D. 1951.

QUIGG NEWTON
Mayor

Attested by me with the Corporate Seal of the City and County of Denver.

MAE HYNES
Clerk and Recorder, Ex-Officio Clerk of the City and County of Denver
By SIEWERS FINCHER
Deputy Clerk

(Seal)

Form Approved:
ABE L. HOFFMAN
Attorney, City and County of Denver

First publication January 27, 1951
Last publication February 3, 1951
Published in The Daily Journal. 368

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Stein Printing Co.

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Craftsmen

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WILLIAM B. HARTSFIELD
MAYOR

W. W. BURNS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

CITY OF ATLANTA

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December 28, 1955

RECEIVED DEC 29 1955

gen-
Ha

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your nice letter of the 23rd in regard to the golf ruling. I appreciate very much your kind remarks.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

W B Hartsfield

Mayor

WBH:CBW

December 23, 1955

Mayor William B. Hartsfield
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Hartsfield:

Please accept our commendation and thanks for your fine statement on the golf ruling, as reported in this morning's Constitution. Your declaration that Atlanta will comply in good faith with the court order is in Atlanta's best tradition of statesmanship and progress.

I was gratified to note the recent endorsement of your forward-looking position on this question by both the Methodist and Baptist ministerial groups of Atlanta. I am sure that they and a host of other Atlantans will applaud your decision and will assist in every way its orderly and effective implementation.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 3, 1959

The Honorable William Hartsfield
Mayor
City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mayor Hartsfield:

I thought you would want to know that the excerpt from Governor Almond's speech has been printed and distributed to legislators, various county officials, and local chambers of commerce over the state.

Enclosed is a copy of the printed leaflet, under HOPE's imprint. Although bearing HOPE's Atlanta office address, many of the copies were mailed out by their chapters in Rome, Columbus, and so on.

I understand HOPE intends to get out several more mailings of this kind before the Legislature convenes.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

Personal

June 6, 1960

Honorable William B. Hartsfield
Mayor
City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Hartsfield:

Reading the Constitution's story of this morning on SRC's latest report of the lunch-counter situation, I was sorry to see the reference to you in what appeared to be a critical vein. If you have had a chance to look at the report, you know that it voiced no criticism of your position on interracial committees. We did take note of it, indicating that it was a view to be regarded with respect.

Enclosed, for your information, is a copy of the news release we issued to the press along with the full report.

As you know, I have the highest regard for your handling of Atlanta's racial problems, and I regret that our material should be used as a basis for implied public criticism.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Ralph McGill

All Staff
MF (file)

CITY OF ATLANTA

OFFICE of the MAYOR

Atlanta 3, Georgia

WILLIAM B. HARTSFIELD
Mayor

W. W. BURNS
Executive Secretary

June 7, 1960

PA
PC
SM ✓
LWD ✓
MA ✓
RHA
LCC ✓
JC ✓
BC ✓
MeT
MM ✓
EW
WF ✓
RD ✓

Return to MF

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have yours of the 6th. I am used to having my statements on the race question distorted, especially in the morning paper city room.

We have used biracial committees many times and intend to do so in the future. However, the idea of an overall biracial committee to which all problems could be sent would, in my opinion, be impractical in a city as large as Atlanta, with divergent elements and state hostility.

In the first place, outstanding white citizens do not wish to incur the ire of the State administration. Those who would probably serve would carry the liberal stamp and be discounted in advance. Possibly in states where there is no danger of reprisal from state officials, leading citizens might be persuaded to serve. I have done some sounding out on this in the past, and came regretfully to the conclusion that the type of people who would make an effective committee which would be respected in the community simply will not, at this juncture, give their service.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

W B Hartsfield

Mayor

CITY OF ATLANTA

OFFICE of the MAYOR

Atlanta 3, Georgia

WILLIAM B. HARTSFIELD
Mayor

W. W. BURNS
Executive Secretary

August 12, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

In reply to your letter of August 11, I am sorry I found it necessary to decline the invitation to speak to the Save Our School organization in New Orleans because of an already heavy schedule.

With best wishes,

Yours very truly,

W B Hartsfield

Mayor

BC to Helen Bullard

August 11, 1960

Honorable William B. Hartsfield
Mayor
City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mayor Hartsfield:

Through friends in New Orleans, I understand you are going to be invited to address a public meeting there on the school issue. The sponsoring group - SOS - is comparable to HOPE in makeup and purpose -- the difference being that they got a much later start than HOPE and have only till early September to avert school closing.

This is merely to say that we know the leaders of SOS to be sincere and responsible New Orleanians. They feel, correctly, that you represent the kind of positive leadership on this issue that New Orleans needs to emulate. Your appearance on the Murrow show, "Who Speaks for the South," won much admiration in New Orleans, as it did elsewhere.

I wouldn't presume to judge the wisdom of your making such an appearance in New Orleans -- you can judge that far better than anyone else. But whether or not you feel you can accept it is gratifying to see this further evidence of the esteem in which you are held in other Southern cities.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CITY OF ATLANTA

OFFICE of the MAYOR

Atlanta 3, Georgia

WILLIAM B. HARTSFIELD
Mayor

W. W. BURNS
Executive Secretary

H F

December 20, 1960

file for Educ clips

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I enclose herewith a very fine circular sent out by about a hundered students of Tulane University with reference to the New Orleans situation.

I think it would be wonderful if this were mailed out of New Orleans to every member of the incoming Georgia Legislature.

Yours very truly,

W B Hartsfield
Mayor

agree - its excellent
only wish it could be mailed
to the students themselves
to send it out, yourself
to Ga ?

File

CITY OF ATLANTA

OFFICE of the MAYOR

Atlanta 3, Georgia

WILLIAM B. HARTSFIELD
Mayor

W. W. BURNS
Executive Secretary

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1961

January 4, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

During the Christmas holidays the National Broadcasting Company presented a one-hour documentary program on the sit-ins at Nashville. Since I missed this when it was aired over WSB, I asked the station to get the tape of the show so that I might see it. They are going to show it for me in the main studio at White Columns at 4 P.M. this Friday, January 6.

It occurs to me that, since this came at the height of the Christmas Season, you might have missed it too. If you did miss it, I would be delighted to have you join me at the studio for this special showing.

My having it re-run is merely to be fully informed, and carries no intimation of criticism or endorsement, or side-taking in this highly controversial matter. Your presence will be with this understanding.

Sincerely,

Wm B Hartsfield

Mayor

July 17, 1961

The Honorable William Hartsfield
Mayor
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Hartsfield:

Thanks again for giving our group of foreign correspondents such an entertaining and edifying hour with you.

We had a bad time there for a while when we thought you had passed us by. However, when we finally got hold of you, the usual lively and candid Hartsfield performance melted everybody's irritation. I think our visitors were tremendously charmed and fascinated by your brief and comprehendive history of Atlanta, and delighted with your ideas on race progress and southern proggpects.

Gratefully,

(Miss) Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML:lec

COPY

October 10, 1961

Personal

Hon. William B. Hartsfield
Mayor
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Hartsfield:

I am writing to outline further the proposal which I made to you last Friday.

The activity which we hope that you will find it possible to undertake in some of your time falls within a branch of the Southern Regional Council organization which we call the Southern Leadership Project. This is a special undertaking, financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, aimed at advising and aiding Southern leaders largely by personal approach in surmounting the present crisis in race relations.

I undertook to direct, or rather to develop, this activity about two and a half years ago. I have been quietly visiting and making a widening circle of friends among leaders in journalism, business and politics who are disposed to discuss the matter with me. I may add that I have found a surprising number even in the Deep South who are glad to talk and are eager for information and advice.

I also engaged J. J. Brewbaker, the superintendent who saw Norfolk through the trying school-closing period and presided over school desegregation there, to visit Southern school superintendents from time to time and advise with them. Everett Tucker, Little Rock school board chairman, and Boyd Ridgway, manager of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, visited Atlanta two years ago under the auspices of this project.

We have long wished that a situation might develop which would free some individual at the statesman level to give some of his personal time and effort to this

work. The prospect of your retirement as Mayor of Atlanta has led us to look hopefully to you. I could think of no one better qualified to advise mayors and others who are faced with this problem.

Your achievement in Atlanta has been, not only a service to that city, but by example to the entire South, and to the nation. We in the Southern Regional Council join with a large element in the United States in looking upon you as one of the truly great leaders of this era in the South. We also feel that the relinquishment of your responsibilities as Mayor of Atlanta will enable you, by occasional consultation of the type contemplated in this project, to render a further public service of the highest order.

When and where your experience and influence can best be brought to bear will be largely a matter for you to determine, with due consideration for the other demands upon your time. I can think of no city which is more in need of your help now than the one which you mentioned.

I operate from my home in Manassas, Virginia, (P. O. Box 312, Phone EM 8-3517) and spend much of my time traveling through the South by automobile. When in Atlanta, which is about once a month, I would like to have an opportunity of discussing plans with you. In special situations I will be available at other times. You may also wish to read some of my confidential reports. Our executive director, Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, will, of course, be happy to confer with you at any time and our Atlanta office will be glad to furnish information.

In view of your expression of interest in undertaking this service -- with which I was delighted, you may be sure -- it would seem that we should have a further talk at some early date. I can fly back to Atlanta at your convenience for this purpose, but suggest for instance, that we meet in your office Wednesday or Thursday, October 18 or 19. Will you kindly advise if that time is convenient for you, or if another date is better, and at what hour I may call upon you?

Very sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse
Director
Southern Leadership Project
Southern Regional Council

CITY OF ATLANTA

Office of the Mayor

Atlanta 3, Ga.

COPY

October 13, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Director
Southern Leadership Project
Southern Regional Council
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Va.

Dear Mr. Muse:

I have yours of the 10th.

I am right now in the process of considering several offers which may take several weeks.

I am still interested in the idea you have advanced and know of several places where such work might be useful or at the very least informative to us. May I suggest that we discuss this sometime in November when I will have a better idea of my own activities since this, of course, must be part-time work.

Yours sincerely,

W. B. Hartsfield

Mayor

WBH:sh

October 20, 1961

The Honorable William B. Hartsfield
Mayor of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Personal

My dear Mayor Hartsfield:

Col. Muse has kept me informed of his discussions and correspondence with you, and I wish to express our deep gratification over the prospect that you may be able to give some of your time to our work, after you leave office. There are few persons, indeed, whose statesmanship has contributed so greatly to the South these late years. We should be honored by your association with us.

I learned last night that Col. Muse has been suddenly taken ill and is in a hospital. He possibly may not be sufficiently recovered to see you in Atlanta during November, as you suggested in your letter to him of October 13. As soon as I learn more clearly what his condition is likely to be, we shall be in touch with you in order to find a time to discuss this matter again.

In the meanwhile, I would like most warmly to invite you to be our guest for dinner on November 8, at 7:00 p.m., in the dining hall of Atlanta University. The occasion will be the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council. I am sure that all members of the Council would be delighted if you could come.

For your information, I am enclosing a list of our Board Members (most of whom can be expected to be at the dinner) and a copy of Harold Fleming's last Annual Report.

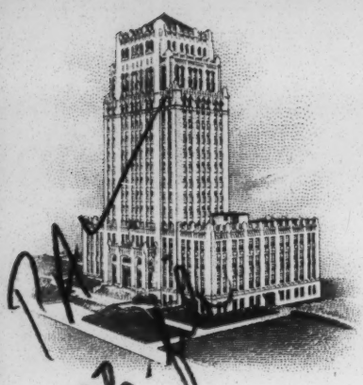
Please let us know whenever we may be of service.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb



CITY OF ATLANTA

OFFICE of the MAYOR

Atlanta 3, Georgia
October 23, 1961

WILLIAM B. HARTSFIELD
Mayor

MRS. CLANCIE WOOD
Executive Secretary

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have your letter of October 20th.

I appreciate your invitation to dinner on November 8 at the Atlanta University. However, I am very sorry that I will be out of the City and cannot be with you on this occasion.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Mayor

WBH:sh

PA ✓
MMB-file

COPY

November 20, 1961

Hon. William B. Hartsfield
Mayor of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Hartsfield:

You have not heard from me sooner owing to an illness -- a mild stroke which hit me on October 19 and from which I have been recuperating since. I believe Dr. Dunbar mentioned this in his letter to you of October 20, 1961.

We are, of course, still looking forward to your giving some time to consultation with officials of other cities and other leaders on the race problem after your retirement as Mayor of Atlanta. We are more than ever convinced that your counsel in this matter can be immensely helpful to them and to the South.

This doctor-ordered rest will terminate at the end of November, when I shall begin to travel again, with Atlanta as an early destination. Is it possible for you to fix a time convenient to you when I may call during the week of December 4?

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse
Director, Southern
Leadership Project

RECEIVED
MAR 11 1954
Southern Regional Council

City of Cincinnati

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE

EDWARD R. WALDVOGEL
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
SIMON LAZARUS, JR.
CHAIRMAN

ROOM 105, CITY HALL GA. 5700 - LINE 404
CINCINNATI 2, OHIO

MARSHALL BRAGDON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. VIRGINIA J. COFFEY
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JANET E. SMITH
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

March 9, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Our chairman has been attempting to win for us tax deductibility on donations to the agency. We receive occasional contributions and could get a good deal more if they were deductible for income tax purposes. Several mayor's committees have this exemption, but for some reason we were refused it.

Among the organizations listed as tax exempt, was Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., of Atlanta. Our chairman asked if this organization was similar to ours, and we thought it might be because we knew you had been urging the mayor of Atlanta for sometime to establish a "mayor's committee." Hence this note to you: Is the Commission Atlanta's official intergroup relations agency?

I'll appreciate an early reply very much. Also, if it is an official agency, we'd like to know a little bit about it, but if you can supply the executive's name, I can write to him direct.

Thanks, George, and best wishes to you from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Marsh

Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

City of Cincinnati

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE

MAYOR
EDWARD N. WALDVOGEL
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
SIMON LAZARUS, JR.
CHAIRMAN

ROOM 105, CITY HALL GA. 5700 - LINE 404
CINCINNATI 2, OHIO

MARSHALL BRAGDON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. VIRGINIA J. COFFEY
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JANET E. SMITH
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

March 25, 1954

RECEIVED
MAR 29 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Bill & note sent 3/29/54 CS

We see such frequent reference to worth-while articles in The New South that we think we ought to subscribe to it. Could you send us the subscription rates?

We would like very much to have a copy of the December, 1953, issue, containing the article, "The Last Round of Debate." If there is any charge for this, let us know.

Marsh asks me to give you our sincere thanks for your prompt and very helpful response to our plea regarding tax deductibility on donations to organizations such as ours. We do appreciate it.

Sincerely,

Janet E. Smith

Janet E. Smith
Administrative Assistant

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
105 City Hall - Cincinnati 2, Ohio
Board of Trustees - Thursday, April 15, 1954

Present: Mr. Vincent H. Beckman, Jr.
Miss Jenna Birks
Mr. Rowland Dietz
Mr. Walter Grainger
Mr. Joseph Hall
Mrs. Jerome Jelin
Mr. Donald Jones
Mrs. Joseph Lambert
Mrs. Irving Magorian
Mr. Wendell Pierce
Mr. Charles Posner
Mr. Frank T. Rhoad, Jr.
Mr. John A. Scanlon, Sr.
Mrs. Donald Spencer
Mr. Henry Trounstine
Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Mrs. Virginia Coffey
Miss Janet Smith
Mr. Simon Lazarus, Jr., Chairman

The meeting at MFRC's office was called to order at 12:50 P.M., Mr. Lazarus presiding. There were no corrections on the March minutes, and no questions or comments on the March Report.

Mr. Dietz reported for the subcommittee on foreign visitors. He said that there are several types of groups which come to Cincinnati. Most of these are molders of opinions in their own countries. In the Council on World Affairs, he said, an effort is made to give them a cross-sectional picture of Cincinnati, particularly of agencies and other phases of city life which they will not see in other cities. Much of what they do depends upon what they have already seen and what their basic interests are. It was the opinion of the MFRC subcommittee, he said, that something should be done to expose them to the problems with which MFRC concerns itself. The committee proposed (1) that such groups spend some time with Mr. Bragdon and that MFRC Board members might act as guides to show them some of the problems on which MFRC works; (2) that MFRC should explore with other agencies in Cincinnati to see what are the possibilities of finding a common program for visitors to the city.

Following discussion of these proposals, Miss Birks moved that MFRC explore what can be done with the Council on World Affairs and other organizations. The motion was seconded and passed.

Mr. Bragdon then reported on plans for a workshop to examine the problems of the southern mountaineer in Cincinnati, to be sponsored by MFRC and the Social Service Association, Thursday, April 29, from 9:00 to 11:45, to be followed by luncheon. He said the response has been good, and asked the Board to suggest possible persons to be invited.

Mrs. Coffey presented a proposal from the staff that there be an evaluation of MFRC's reports. It was moved, seconded and passed that a subcommittee should be appointed to evaluate MFRC's reports. It was also suggested that this committee consider (1) a possible column in the daily press similar to the one in the Negro press; (2) the possibility of issuing some publicity to the papers after Board meetings. Mr. Posner further suggested that MFRC consider inviting a couple of city officials to each of its Board meetings.

Mr. Bragdon then reported on the Philadelphia conferences. He said that Chief Schrotel could not be present at this meeting, but he hoped

he could come next time to give fuller details on the Police conference. The conference was a significant success, bringing together for the first time police officials and intergroup relations workers from 27 cities across the country. Col. Schrotel was co-chairman of the section on Problems of Changing Neighborhoods, and was also a panel member of the section on Complaints Affecting Police. In the latter, the Chief was one of the top hits of the entire conference. Mr. Bragdon said he thought MFRC should be grateful to the six agencies whose contributions made it possible for the Chief to attend the conference, and to Mr. Posner for suggesting the "chipping in."

Mr. Lazarus said there was one further item to report to the Board: A large housing project is planned for North Greenhills, by the Warner-Kanter Company, which is asking the city to supply the water. A request has been made that a clause be inserted in the water contract to the effect that there shall be no restrictions on occupancy in the project. A newspaper editor asked Mr. Bragdon to arrange a conference for the interested parties, which he did. Mr. Lazarus asked Mr. Jones to give the Board a statement on this.

Mr. Jones said that the NAACP has an interest in the North Greenhills development and a great deal of concern about the occupancy pattern. It was felt, he said that although this project of 11,000 units will considerably relieve the housing pressure for the entire city, if it was definitely understood that Negroes would be barred from purchasing any homes there, the very size of the project would write the policy for future housing here. Other developers would take this as a cue and would build on a restricted basis. The NAACP, he said wants to consider what is best for the city as a whole, so long as no considerable element of the city was injured. He described several of the reasons which have been advanced as to why it would be impractical to have a clause barring racial restrictions in the water contract, and gave the point of view of NAACP on these. The NAACP, he said, does not want to see the project abandoned, because it will mean so much for the city, but at the same time it does not want to see the development built with a discriminatory occupancy policy, because Negroes thereafter might just as well resign themselves to having to take hand-me-down housing in Cincinnati.

Mr. Lazarus said he thought that since MFRC had been called into this the Board should hear about it from Mr. Jones. Mr. Beckman asked what there was for MFRC to do. Mr. Jones said he saw nothing now for MFRC to do. Mr. Posner and Mrs. Spencer asked if it were not possible that if this matter became a public issue, MFRC would be placed in the position of having to take a stand. Mr. Lazarus replied that this question would be considered by the Board when and if it came up.

Mr. Lazarus thanked Mr. Jones for his presentation, and the meeting adjourned at 1:52 P.M.

April 20, 1954

Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Marshall:

The Mayor and Council of Rock Hill, South Carolina, last week appointed a twenty man committee to explore human relations in the city. It is the second officially sponsored such body in the South. They are casting about for suitable By-Laws. I have caused the By-Laws of the Dade County Commission on Community Relations to be sent to them. I assume you have some sort of By-Laws or Constitution, or whatchama callit. Would you be so good as to send me a copy of them which I could send on to our friends in Rock Hill?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE

105 City Hall - Cincinnati 2, Ohio GA 5700, Line 404

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR APRIL, 1954

WORKSHOP ON THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINEER IN CINCINNATI One of the high points of our 1954 work was the Workshop on the Southern Mountaineer in Cincinnati, held April 29 in cosponsorship with the Social Service Association. Its unmistakable success launched an important new work for MFRC, for reasons that will appear.

Attendance exceeded expectations. Nearly 200 persons crowded the morning sessions. Those who could not stay for the summary session at luncheon were replaced by as many newcomers. Participants included social case workers and group workers from many varied agencies; school administrators, counselors and home visitors; church leaders; industrial personnel men; and citizen leaders.

Decision to hold the workshop was based on several facts and assumptions: (1) Migration of mountain people to Cincinnati has been substantial; (2) indications are that it will increase rather than decrease, due to decline of lumbering and mining on the one hand, and high birth-rates on the other; (3) these people's labor is important in our economy; (4) as more middle and upper income people move into the county, these newcomers will comprise a growing proportion of the population of the city itself; (5) their successful adjustment to city living as workers, neighbors and citizens is a vital concern of the community; (6) at present too many of these newcomers make a poor adjustment in Cincinnati, to their own detriment and to that of social agencies, city services, schools, churches, employers and other organizations; (7) an "intergroup relations problem" marks this situation, the chief factors being the gap and conflict between the living-ways or "culture" of Harlan County, say, compared to Hamilton County, with resulting misunderstandings and antagonisms between new and old residents here; (8) consequently we ought to study this situation like any intergroup tension--systematically collecting available information, enlisting all organizations and persons who can contribute to that continuing study and will at the same time be most benefited by it.

For those reasons SSA and MFRC tried this exploration on April 29. It clicked. It worked, partly because almost all "concerned" agencies and organizations were well represented--but also because Roscoe Giffin of Berea College brought exactly what we needed in his interpretation of the mountain people's ways, characteristics and values. A sociologist, he did this without jargon, with sympathy and penetration and humor. He showed why they act as they do in urban situations. (For example, a veteran educator called us afterward to say that one of his points--that hill culture lacks the competitiveness of the city--helped her much to understand children in her charge.)

Dr. Giffin's opening presentation was followed by 1½-hour discussion in four sections, which elicited the varied experience and observations of the participants. The luncheon program presented section reports with commentary by Dr. Giffin.

Tape recordings or shorthand notes were taken on all discussion and speeches. From these it is hoped that a fairly full report of the Workshop may be published by SSA and MFRC. The Workshop record will

be important in charting the continuance of this study (which many persons are urging us to organize and carry forward).

Though much program planning was done by MFRC, SSA provided nearly 90% of the participants from its membership, and bore a generous share of the workshop expenses. To SSA should go much credit for a venutre which has won for both organizations wide praise and thanks.

POLICE CONFERENCE: COMMUNITY RELATIONS Police Chief Schrotel attended the first Conference on Police-Community Relations in Philadelphia on April 8-9. (His travel expenses were contributed by the six intergroup agencies; MFRC gave $15 from its special fund.) Mr. Bragdon also attended the conference, which assembled for the first time police executives and intergroup officials from 27 major cities. Nine national agencies, three police associations and the FBI were represented too. With the outstanding leaders of both specialties present, conferees discussed such questions as handling complaints against police; joint study and treatment of changing-neighborhood tensions; police training; responsibilities of intergroup agencies, etc.

Called by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, the conference was successful in (1) breaking stereotypes ("flatfoot" vs. "do-gooder") that often hinder contact and cooperation of these specialists; (2) pooling instructive examples of teamwork in many cities; (3) analyzing urban trends that demand alert attention; (4) defining roles and responsibilities of police and intergroup agencies. Frank but friendly give-and-take marked the discussions.

TRIP'S BYPRODUCTS (1) Enroute to Philadelphia, Mr. Bragdon spent nearly a day in Pittsburgh studying the operations of its two official agencies, the FEP Commission and the Civic Unity Council. Then he spent a full day at the Philadelphia Human Relations Commission, interviewing its large staff (14 professionals; 10 clerical workers) and digging into its procedures. (2) At Philadelphia, he also attended the NAIRO Board meeting April 9-10, as chairman of the Local Public Services.

MISCELLANEOUS (1) A report on the Parents' Conference went to 360 unit representatives. (2) Told of a businessman's "gypping" of Negro customers, we advised the complainant as to steps he might take. (3) We answered an inquiry from the Columbus commission about treatment of Negroes in the courts.

SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS U.C. Education classes (4/1 VC); Congregational Association (4/2 MB); Siverton Kiwanis (4/15 MB); Federation of Settlements (4/21 MB); Police recruits (4/26 MB); U.C. Social Problems class (4/26 VC); Fellowship House study course for parents (4/27 VC); U.C. Education classes (4/28 MB); Ohav Shalom Men's Group (4/29 MB).

MEETINGS School-Community Committee on Intergroup Relations (4/1 MB); Adult Education Council committee (4/1 MB); Meeting at Ohio State Employment Service (4/7 VC); Welfare Advisory Bd. (4/12 VC); Interagency Council (4/13 MB & VC); Riverview Neighbors House Bd. (4/20 VC); Urban League Bd. (4/20 MB); Better Housing League annual meeting (4/22 MB & VC); U.C. YWCA Bd. (4/26 VC); Delegate assembly, Council of Social Agencies (4/27 VC); Fellowship House annual meeting (4/28 JES); Council of Church Women, Fellowship luncheon (4/30 MB & VC).

File

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
105 City Hall - Cincinnati 2, Ohio
Board of Trustees - Thursday May 13, 1954

RECEIVED JUN 7 1954 Southern Regional Council

Present: Miss Jenna Birks
Rev. B. B. Evans
Mr. Dowdell (for Mr. Joe Hall)
Mrs. Joseph Lambert
Mrs. Irving Magorian
Mr. Charles Posner
Mr. Wendell Pierce
Mr. Robert Reckman
Mr. Benjamin Schwartz
Mr. Crosby Smith
Mrs. Donald Spencer
Rev. Lawrence Walter
Mrs. Virginia Coffey
Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Mr. Simon Lazarus, Jr., Chairman

Chairman Lazarus opened the meeting at 12:35, asking for corrections in the April meeting minutes. There were none. He then said the agenda would cover (1) criticism of the Encampment for Citizenship; (2) budget matters.

He described an attack on the Encampment by the American Legion's Americanism Commission, which declared that some members of the Encampment staff had been connected with subversive organizations; and films had been shown that were written or produced by persons of doubtful connections. Because MFRC had been offered a scholarship to send one young citizen to the Encampment, MFRC's officers discussed this development and sought clarification. Information was sought also by the Adult Education Council, which is taking applications for five scholarships.

From several trustworthy sources, Mr. Lazarus said, came reports that such criticism of the Encampment was unfounded and ridiculous. Father Walter cited an inquiry and report made by Dean Paul O'Connor of Xavier, for the Adult Education Council; and Mr. Lazarus and Mr. Posner reported their inquiries to New York agencies and contacts produced similar replies. After hearing these reports, the Board's consensus was that the criticism should be disregarded. Mr. Lazarus said that the national commander of the Legion had been invited to attend and address the Encampment this summer. He added that local applicants for scholarships would be fully informed of the criticism and subsequent investigation.

Mr. Judd as treasurer requested the Board's formal approval of the 1954 budget of $20,770 allotted as follows: Salaries, $19,095.94; Social Security, $262.96; Reproduction, $200.00; Postage, $300.00; Office Supplies, $175.00; Books, Pamphlets, Subscriptions, $75.00; Expense Account, $90.00; Telephone, Telegraph & Miscellaneous, $21.10; Travel, $350.00; Equipment, $200.00. It was approved. He then presented the proposed MFRC budget for 1955, which must be submitted to the City Manager on May 19. After considerable discussion of individual items, and increases in several of them, the Board approved a proposed budget totalling $21,420.00.

During the budget discussion Chairman Lazarus said the officers at an earlier meeting had urged consideration of increases in staff salaries. However, he added, the staff after careful deliberation

recommended that this was not the time, considering all factors, to submit to the city manager a budget request carrying pay raises.

General discussion of the question followed. Mr. Pierce said he thought that a study should be made, with Civil Service Commission staff, of salaries for comparable jobs in the city's service, and salaries of race relations jobs in other cities. Mr. Schwartz felt that some city employees were getting raises. Mr. Bragdon said the MFRC staff had received all cost-of-living increases given to city employees after 1949. He said there isn't time before the budget deadline to make a study such as Mr. Pierce suggested. Mr. Judd cautioned that the city's financial problems are not solved; that MFRC has to live in the city family and not get out of step, or seem to. Mr. Reckman said that the MFRC had fared well at the hands of Council this year. Discussion was concluded by Mr. Lazarus's appointing a special committee to study the question; naming Mr. Judd, chairman, Mr. Pierce and Mr. Smith.

Mr. Bragdon reported briefly on the last meeting of the School-Community Committee on Intergroup Relations, which had discussed problems of special transfers; vocational counseling; and a proposed program to extend more widely through the schools and the community the intergroup information which the committee collects. Mr. Posner supplemented Mr. Bragdon's report on the latter item, emphasizing that many school administrators know too little about intergroup agencies and their work, and recent developments in the city. The meeting adjourned at 1:20 P.M.

August 2, 1954

Mr. Marshall Bragden
Islesford,
Maine

Dear Marshall:

I emphatically think Cincinnati would be an excellent place for Summer workshops on the problem of integration. I think it is altogether possible that the NCCJ will have a small sum in the near future to enable them to assist with workshops of this kind.

You might explore that. But it would be best if the teachers colleges just did it on their own.

One of the things to be cared for is the matter of interstate exchange of competent Negro teachers from Southern communities, who will here and there be out of jobs. Under present circumstances, they will be thrown on to the mercies of their own state superintendents. If even a goodish trickle could be offered jobs north of the Line, that does a little for morale; educates the Northern communities; and will cause Southern school officials to think twice: "We have got thirty-thousand dollars tied up in Mrs. Velmeela Jackson, and she is working North of the river. Wouldn't it be wise for us to use her in this state?"

Incidentally, the week Spencer Shank is going to be here, is the time when I have got to be in Charlottesville, Virginia. But let him come by and talk with Harold Fleming or Grace Hamilton of this office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

City of Cincinnati

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE

MAYOR
EDWARD N. WALDVOGEL
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

SIMON LAZARUS, JR.
CHAIRMAN

ROOM 105, CITY HALL
CINCINNATI 2, OHIO
GA. 5700 - LINE 404

MARSHALL BRAGDON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MRS. VIRGINIA J. COFFEY
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

JANET E. SMITH
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

July 29, 1954

RECEIVED
AUG 2 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I've had an interesting experience meeting an Atlanta teacher at the University of Cincinnati summer school. She is Mrs. Bonnie Holmes, a second grade teacher in West Haven School, in an area she describes as changing racially. She was sent here on school funds by her superintendent to learn all she can about race relations, school integration techniques, etc., etc. Virginia Coffey and I admire her, first for her honest recital of her early-acquired racial attitudes--and second because she has survived the consequent rough adjustment to an Ohio city and campus, and is capable of remarkable flexibility and growth.

This has set me thinking, and wondering whether our border-city Teachers College can help Southern educators in any special way, in meeting the adjustment of the next few years. You know Cincinnati's southern exposure. You would not be so familiar with the establishment of interracial faculties in eight schools in nine years; human relations workshops; regular monthly meetings of school executives and intergroup agencies executives on school-community problems; regular annual lectures by Mrs. Coffey on intergroup problems and progress in Cincinnati, to every crop of Teachers College students; and many other climate-changing practices.

We also have here six intergroup agencies that work well together with each other, with school people, and in various educational conferences (for PTAs, social workers, new pastors, etc.).

George, as you see the job ahead of your region, do you think that a Cincinnati summer workshop on integration steps and techniques for southern teachers especially might be helpful to you and yours? (Let's assume that competent leadership for the workshop is to be had.)

I've just barely mentioned this to the Dean and a couple of others at U.C. Teachers College. They are interested; are willing to discuss it further.

I have also talked to Spencer Shank, director of the U.C. Summer School, and that talk led to this letter. He tells me that he will be in Atlanta for about a week beginning on August 29 or 30. He's willing to hear more about the workshop proposal; wants something more specific before having an opinion. When I learned that he'd be in Atlanta, I asked him to look you up and chat about this with you--if you are available and interested. Anyhow, I've given him your address, and you may hear from him.

Of course I'd be glad to get a reaction from you before then if you are so inclined. I'm beginning my vacation today, but can be reached at Islesford, Maine, until I return to work August 30.

All best wishes from Virginia, Janet, and myself.

Sincerely,

Marshall

Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

September 7, 1954

Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Room 105
City Hall
Cincinnati 3, Ohio

Dear Mr. Bragdon:

Good job that Mountaineer study.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

City of Cincinnati

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE

MAYOR
EDWARD N. WALDVOGEL
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

SIMON LAZARUS, JR.
CHAIRMAN

ROOM 105, CITY HALL GA. 5700 - LINE 404
CINCINNATI 2, OHIO

MARSHALL BRAGDON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MRS. VIRGINIA J. COFFEY
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

JANET E. SMITH
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

October 27, 1954

RECEIVED
10/29/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Can you supply us with any information as to the nature of the organization called the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans? We have had an inquiry about it from the Urban League here, because the Public Health Federation received one of the fund's brochures on discrimination in Southern hospitals and wanted to know whether it was a bona fide organization.

We are looking forward with much pleasure to seeing you in Boston, George. I hope nothing prevents your getting there.

Sincerely,

Marsh

Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

Avoid by phone

THE BRAGDONS' YEAR

Dear Friends:

This is the 1954 Chronicle of Marshall and Elspeth Bragdon, set down for friends from Los Angeles to Little Cranberry Island, Maine; friends who really deserve a personal letter (though some owe one)--but being friends, and busy too, you will accept this generously.

This was a year of effort, and of achievement; lived in troubled times yet giving some refreshment and direction. People, all kinds of people, gave us a varied grist of satisfaction, frustration and (we hope) growth. People are more various than anybody, we guess.

MARSH'S JOB It's 9½ years since Marsh left the Springfield (Mass.) Republican to become executive of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, Cincinnati's official intergroup relations agency. As consultant both to officials and community organizations, heading a staff of four and working with a Board and General Committee totalling 115 citizen leaders, he deals daily with racial, religious and cultural group frictions. From tensions, education; from problems, progress--that's the standard miracle which is expected of MFRC. It's trying in both senses; and Marsh wouldn't swap it for any other job!

The year has included the first workshop and report on a little-noticed cultural minority, the southern mountain whites who migrate to Cincinnati in numbers; workshops or institutes for PTA leaders, new pastors, new social workers; work on the racial problems of relocating families for slum clearance and expressway-building; easing tensions in "changing" neighborhoods; tackling restaurant discrimination; working with schools that try to teach and live democracy; counseling important organizations on their intergroup problems; talking to 35 visible audiences and several unseen radio and TV aggregates; besides cooperating with five other intergroup agencies in the city.

A JOB WITH A VIEW The work is something more than local. A Supreme Court decision, desegregation of armed services, foreign visitors' questions about the Negro's status in America--these suggest interrelations and implications across the nation and the world...In the National Association of Intergroup Relations, Marsh served as head of the Department of Local Public Services; and at the NAIRO conference in November he was named president-elect for 1955, to become president in 1956. (Beth went to Boston too, visiting Marsh's sister, Marion Gunn; great fun!) MB's NAIRO duties took him in April to Philadelphia, where 27 cities' police chiefs and intergroup specialists discussed common problems; to Washington in June for the President's Committee on Government Contracts workshop on reducing discrimination by employers who supply Uncle Sam...Moreover, there was much reading and correspondence to keep up with other agencies' work across the USA.

TWO OPERATIONS On May 17 Beth had a knee operation, and the Supreme Court held segregated schools unconstitutional. Both were delicate deletions of calcified material. Beth's convalescence was speedier! (MB's bachelor cooking slowed his recovery.)

WE WENT TO MAINE In August, refreshment was served as usual on Little Cranberry Island, near Bar Harbor, Maine. It made us whole again. In the "big house" which we share with a Cambridge cousin, Margaret Gifford, we had meals and fun with visiting kin and friends;

and to the little house perched on rocks nearby we escaped to enjoy the sunsets, then the evening fire in the Franklin stove, and sleep in luxurious bunks. Beth enjoyed walks--the knee felt better and better--to gossip at the store, to meet visitors at the dock, to paint the profile of Mount Desert Island from the boathouse beach.

Marsh rowed around the island, collected driftwood for craftwork to bridge the winter in Cincinnati, chopped wood, carpentered, relaxed. Both played fatuous grandparents when Jack and Jean Reynolds arrived with Christine, aged 18 months, from Washington. Marsh's mother came from Middletown, Conn., and loved the island. Many others too. But the best came last, when visitors left the Bragdons alone with the sea and sky; the mornings shining, afternoon for hobbies, evenings by the fire.

RIVERSIDE WEEKENDS Before Maine days and after, our cabin on the Ohio River (30 minutes drive from our apartment) was a delightful satisfaction too. From May 1st through October we've gone there almost every weekend since buying it in 1951. Great barges and impudent speedboats (Marsh prefers his German kayak) passed between us and the Kentucky shore. Days off there were mixed to suit; a little gardening, shopwork, painting; visitors & hamburgers at the grill; a paddle up the river; a frivolous book and then a serious one; a pipe and a friendly argument with old Joe Parker on his houseboat; going to sleep to towboat whistles, waking to the cheerful yelling of the birds. A good way to forget a week of city frictions, and gird for another.

OUR CHURCH We belong to West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas Church; and we mean, belong. It's a rich church on a poor street; rich in colorblind acceptance of all people; noisy with children; lucky in "Mr. Mac" who is fearless in bringing Christ's way into "practical" questions, a rock in time of trouble--and a fount of fun at parties, which we are partial to in our church. People come here from across the city, seeking what they've missed in "homogeneous" churches: calm, and wholeness. To us it gives strength and joy; and a sense of what a Fellowship of the Concerned can do to remake our society.

The church operates a Neighborhood House nearby, and Camp Joy. Again this year Beth led the fund-raising drive for the camp, which gave 350 kids of the area two memorable weeks in the country.

BETH'S BOOK In that church, Beth used to tell the children stories. About three years ago the accumulation of her original tales appeared as a book, Story Time. And that started her writing another book, "about a lighthouse keeper's little girl on an island." Early in 1954 it was accepted with kind words by Viking, one of the best juvenile publishers, and titled Fairing Weather will appear early in 1955. Marsh is intemperately proud of her. His own writing is very voluminous, occasionally luminous (he hopes), but confined chiefly to MFRC monthly and annual reports, case studies and records, and so on. He knows very well that a couple of books and many magazine pieces are potential in his work experience. But how to find the hours and oomph with which to write them?...

In this 1954 Chronicle we've reviewed the good things we like to remember. Just assume we've had dips and doldrums too, but nothing dramatic. And we too have seen in the world around us the forces of confusion, unreason and evil. Our personal answer to them is to find some countervailing task, however small, to do. William James said: "The great use of life is to spend it on something that outlasts it."

The Season's Greetings from Marsh and Beth Bragdon

921 Wm. Howard Taft Road
Cincinnati 6, Ohio

MFRC The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall - Cincinnati 2, Ohio GA 1-5700

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR AUGUST & SEPTEMBER, 1955

POLICE-CITIZENS CONFERENCE HELD Because clogged communications almost always mark unsound intergroup relations, and problems related thereto, MFRC prepared with great care and hope for the conference on September 29 between police executives and some 35 representative Negroes, aimed to improve police-citizen understanding. Readers will recall that after West End crowd incidents in July, our report urged a conference. The City Manager asked us to arrange one.

We asked several widely acquainted persons to suggest conferees, then selected a cross-section--tavernkeepers and pastors, teachers and union men, social workers and merchants, a PTA leader, a postal worker, two morticians, press and radio men, and so on. (It was varied enough to elicit in the meeting a few whispers, "What's he doing here?" That was a good sign!) A big majority of those invited were on hand when City Manager Harrell opened the meeting, urged that we all seek facts when opinions differ, pledged that city departments would be run in the best interests of all, thanked the conferees for the help they could give, and turned the meeting over to Mr. Bragdon as chairman.

After Mrs. Coffey introduced everyone (citing the role of each in the city's life), Mr. Bragdon expressed hope the meeting would begin to achieve these aims: Give to citizens more facts on police practices, and understanding of their problems; give to police facts on instances of poor police work; make clear that valid complaints are invited; establish continuing communication and shared responsibility. MFRC's executive also sketched adverse living conditions in the West End that produce frictions. Mrs. Coffey then reviewed recent police efforts to train its men, assign Negro police widely, and promote on merit. Police Chief Schrotel then spoke, saying that most policemen did their work with little friction--but he needed abler men in numbers to meet these complex situations; and higher pay was needed to attract them.

General discussion followed. Some heat, but somewhat more light, was produced before time ran out. Two or three made major criticisms of police practices, and a few others cited anti-police feelings they had noted. The rest offered suggestions to improve conditions, such as: (1) Assign recruits with experienced men. (2) Have teams of Negro and white men wherever possible in Negro or mixed areas. (3) Devise and promote favorable contacts of young people with police. (4) See that police get to know "solid citizens" of areas they patrol, to help them on problems. (5) Inform people of police progress and problems, through churches, schools, PTAs, civic groups and radio. And so on.

The conference, we felt, was only a start; but a good one. We know that some conferees are still skeptical of the police--and of MFRC's desire to get at the facts and promote fair play. However, the majority want constructive teamwork. That asset we will utilize by working

their suggestions into projects that will involve them further. Difficulties we expect, but we have no doubt that real progress can be achieved.

MFRC GETS BIG JOB OF POLICE TRAINING In September our executive was offered a role in police training probably not matched in any U.S. city; namely, to give a two-hour presentation to every policeman during the next nine months, on "Community Relations and Intergroup Tensions." Each Thursday for 40 weeks he'll meet 20 to 25 men from all divisions; giving information, getting questions and gripes (police are a minority, too!), analyzing typical problems. In preparation for this, Mr. Bragdon was privileged to meet with all lieutenants and sergeants, in six meetings Sept. 19-30, and got their invaluable suggestions as to desirable material and presentation.

CONSULTED BY AGENCIES Four group-work agencies requested our services. (1) The Boy Scout "downtown" district's staff man came for all possible information on his area, and to discuss the problem of finding men to head troops (90% of present volunteers come from outside the area). We took an initial look at his situation, suggested other resources to tap, and agreed to meet again soon. (2) The Camp Fire Girls executive consulted Mrs. Coffey for somewhat similar reasons, and felt greatly assisted by information given. (3) Mr. Bragdon spoke to the Girl Scout staff on community changes affecting their program, and indicated the kinds of situations in which MFRC might help them. (4) A YWCA volunteer came for facts and advice on achieving greater "inclusiveness" in the program.

CIVIL RIGHTS (1) We wrote to a well-known restaurant, not downtown, regarding its refusal to serve a doctor from India who was here under official auspices. MFRC interviewed the doctor, found him gracious and calm; but puzzled that "the warm hospitality" shown him by many Cincinnatians was tarnished by rejection in a public eating-place. We found it hard to explain. But we discovered a number of people, on staffs of institutions in the vicinity, who wanted an end to such actions. So we wrote the manager. The reluctant reply was that if "forced," the restaurant would serve everybody--"...but how do you feel about intermarriage?" That irrelevance shook us; we suggested talking it over soon. The invitation was noncommittally received. It will be pressed. We want to help ease exaggerated fears of the "cost" of an open policy. But the costs of such discrimination, to our city and country, are getting exorbitant. (The Indian embassy has probably heard of this case.)...Any reader who would like to help erase such practices is invited to phone our office. (2) A citizen's report of taxicab discrimination was sent to the Public Utilities director, was investigated and a report sent to the citizen. (3) Another restaurant discrimination case was reported. The complainant lacked "court evidence" but gave us the facts for possible later use.

HOUSING (1) Mrs. Coffey visited the Family Relocation office to view the efforts to find new homes for "DPs" from Expressway and redevelopment areas. (2) She visited Millvale North housing project on Beekman Street, and vicinity, to estimate present and future problems. (3) Another changing-neighborhood tension was added to our agenda. (4) John McDermott, housing specialist of the Philadelphia Human Relations Commission, on vacation, came to talk shop. Busman's holiday!

CHURCHES (1) Chairman Judd wrote to 39 pastors who have come here in the last year, offering our services and urging them to come to the fall workshop. (2) We advised a layman who wanted his church to shelve plans for a blackface minstrel. (3) The executive attended the Episcopal laymen's conference. (4) We continued work with the Presbyterian Social Education & Action committee, on its program plans.

SCHOOLS (1) A principal consulted us about interracial friction among students, and joint study was started. (2) A second inquiry in five months about private business schools that refuse Negroes reminded the busy staff that this situation calls for more energetic attention.

MFRC ITEMS The staff shaped its fall-winter agenda, discussed it with the officers and presented it at Board meeting...The 1954 Annual Report was published and mailed.

NAIRO Mrs. Coffey, head of the Education Commission of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, with the aid of Janet Smith and Mr. Bragdon neared completion of a study of intergroup agencies' work with schools in 28 cities... Mr. Bragdon attended NAIRO's Board meeting in Toledo, September 9-10.

SKIM OR SKIP (1) We sent a requested story on MFRC to the Boston Globe and another to the American Israelite. (2) We presented A. J. Pasqualini, Brazilian editor, to City Council and told him of our work. (3) We suggested names for participation in the citizens' meeting on the schools, October 10, and others for the UN anniversary meeting. (4) Four requests for diverse information were handled.

SPEAKING DATES: Police Recruits (9/19 MB)
Police Sergeants and Lieutenants (9/19; 9/21; 9/23; 9/26; 9/28; 9/30 - MB)
Girl Scout staff (9/30)MB

MEETINGS: Better Housing League (9/7 VC)
Welfare Advisory Board (9/12 VC)
School tax levy meeting (9/14 MB)
Fellowship House Bd. (9/15 MB)
Council on Health and Welfare Bd. (9/19 VC)
City Manager's breakfast (9/20 MB)
Urban League Bd. (9/20 VC)
Better Housing League (9/21 VC)
Riverview Bd. (9/26 VC)
Interagency Council (9/27 MB, VC, JS)
Recreation Federation committee (9/27 MB)
Whitehouse Conf. meeting (9/27 VC)
QCA (9/29 MB)
Old Barn Conf. (9/30-10/2 MB)

Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

OCT 31 1955

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
105 City Hall - Cincinnati 2, Ohio
Board of Trustees - Thursday, October 13, 1955

Present: Miss Jenna Birks
Mr. William Decatur (for Mr. Hall)
Mr. Douglas Hoge
Mr. Simon Lazarus, Jr.
Mr. Frank Magrath (for Mr. Chandler)
Mr. Webster Posey
Mr. Leon Render
Mr. Frank Rhoad, Jr.
Mr. Stanley Rowe, Jr.
Mr. John A. Scanlon, Sr.
Mr. Leonard Slutz
The Rev. Lawrence Walter
The Rev. Joseph B. Woods, S.J.
Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Mrs. Virginia Coffey
Miss Janet Smith
Mr. Charles M. Judd, Chairman
Guest: Miss Mary Corsi

The meeting at the MFRC office was called to order at 12:45 P.M., Mr. Judd presiding. Miss Smith presented a request from Mr. Joseph Hall for a correction in the September Board minutes. Regarding the statement on Coney Island, he asked that it be corrected to read: "Mr. Hall replied that on the whole, everything went well from the point of view of management and of those few Negroes who attended. He said he believed the most encouraging thing was the cooperation of organizations. Demonstrations in general would have been most unfortunate this year. But the pool and the ballroom were unresolved problems." The correction was accepted, and the minutes stand approved as corrected.

Mr. Bragdon and Mrs. Coffey reviewed the police-citizens conference as given in the monthly report, and reported on reactions they had obtained from participants afterward. Mrs. Coffey said that the meeting had been a cross-sectional group, but one minister had been critical of the fact that there were tavern-keepers there. Some of the participants, she said, felt the meeting was a good beginning; some felt that they had not had a chance to say anything. Some felt that the police chief had emphasized too much that there were incompetent men on the force, and that the emphasis should have been upon how to make the best of what we have. Another comment, she said, was that there was need for a broader point of view, that Negroes tend to think of everything as racial. Another felt that a similar conference should be held when there is no tension situation.

Mr. Bragdon reported that one conferee had developed a five-point list of things she was going to do to inform the groups with which she was in touch and to get reactions of people in the vicinity of her agency toward police. Another felt that the Juvenile Court in some measure contributed to the feelings toward police. A social worker thought there was an unconstructive tendency in the press to pick out extreme cases and play them up. She was also interested in the possibility of better selection of men and discussed the possibility that the Civil Service Department and Central Clinic might devise ways of spotting men whose attitudes might be a liability to the police department. Mr. Bragdon said the suggestions would be analyzed, members of the conference would be consulted, and an effort made at establishing better communication.

Mr. Bragdon then described the first session of the in-service training course, attended by a good cross-section of the police force.

Mr. Bragdon asked Mr. Posey if he wished to comment on the conference. Mr. Posey said the conference in some ways served a good purpose. It could have been more useful, he felt, if it had been limited to the question of how to handle the individual problems created by certain members of the police force. He said he did not feel it was proper to take the attitude that the whole police force is being indicted because something happened to a certain individual in relation to certain police involved. The course for police officers is very good if it is acknowledged that we do have problems with individual men.

Mr. Judd asked if the City Manager was planning additional conferences. Mr. Bragdon said he had not yet talked to him, but that Miss Smith had given him a brief report on how the conference went. He added that he was concerned that the Negro weekly papers had not carried a line about the conference, although one paper was represented there, and a story was supplied to the other which had not sent anyone to the conference. Mr. Bragdon said he was concerned about the very complex communications problem and the responsibility of MFRC and the NAACP to give people an adequate balance of information and understanding of these matters so that they have a proper perspective.

Mr. Slutz asked if Mr. Bragdon felt the police department was sincerely trying to cooperate and do something about the situation. Mr. Bragdon said he had not been as actively involved in the complaints of alleged brutality as Mr. Posey and Mr. Jones have been, but that as far as his discussions with the upper leadership went, he had seen every intention to promote human relations training, and there had been no prod from MFRC to get the in-service training course.

Mr. Render said there is a question as to whether the same credence is given to a citizen as to a police officer; and there is also the feeling that it depends upon who you are whether or not you get a fair hearing. Mr. Bragdon said there are bound to be such suspicions. Mr. Render mentioned also the problem of behavior in police court--the way prisoners are handled and the statements made to them by police.

Mr. Slutz said it was important to keep attention focussed on these problems only as they produce a minority situation.

Mr. Lazarus said that as he saw it, MFRC's function was first to try to enlighten the police as to proper intergroup relations--to continue what Mr. Bragdon is doing in the in-service training. He said he gathered that the conference had been called to air the complaints the Negro community has about treatment by police. Mr. Bragdon replied that it was an effort to give police any facts on instances of improper behavior that anyone might want to report; and to give citizens more understanding of police work. MFRC wanted to get beyond the complaint stage to the point of how police and citizens can achieve better understanding and communication.

Mr. Judd pointed out that MFRC can function to promote communication but cannot act as a judge.

Mr. Rowe suggested that after a few more sessions of the in-service course, Mr. Bragdon discuss the whole problem further with the chief of police. Mr. Scanlon suggested that after the course, there might

be a chance to confer on matters of general policy. When Mr. Judd pointed out that the course would not end until next June, Mr. Bragdon said it might be possible after three or four sessions of the course.

Mr. Judd asked the Board what it wished to recommend to Mr. Harrell. Mr. Posey said he hoped for another conference--a small group of those who come face to face with these problems from day to day, to see in what areas they could agree. If MFRC could serve as liaison for such a group, it would be an important service.

Mr. Slutz moved that a conference similar to the first be scheduled, but not until after the next MFRC Board meeting. Mr. Lazarus seconded the motion, and it passed.

Mr. Judd said that MFRC has a very full calendar and he thought the Board should be cognizant of this. Mr. Bragdon read the schedule of workshops and meetings.

Mr. Judd reported that there have been additional developments in the Evanston housing situation. Mr. Bragdon said the Board would recall the general problem which started last winter with the first move-in east of Montgomery Road. The Evanston Civic Association has been trying to persuade residents not to sell to Negroes, but the white market has virtually disappeared. He thought that perhaps some Board members and the staff should meet with the officers of the Civic Association. Mr. Hoge asked if there was any past experience that would be helpful. Mr. Bragdon said there was nothing that would be a very helpful guide; the same dilemma is being faced in other cities. Mr. Rowe asked if the major frustration were in not having established lines of communication since neighborhoods aren't usually organized in a way that makes them easily reached. Mr. Bragdon said there are often very cohesive groups when people are anxious, but in some situations that is a factor of difficulty.

The meeting adjourned at 2:00 P.M.

December 30, 1955

Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
City Hall
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Marshall:

I think if you will get in your auto and get out and see Mrs. Spitz, you will want to arrange things better for her.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:maf

January 3, 1956

Mrs. Felix Spitz:
890 Clinton Springs Road
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Spitz:

The two people with whom I got in touch last Wednesday: Walter Langsam, President, University of Cincinnati; and Marshall Bragdon, Secretary to the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, City Hall.

As luck had it, I saw neither person, but explained the matter in detail to each's secretary, and I have more faith in secretaries than in bossmen.

I hope each will be in touch with you.

If nothing works out, write to me.

Alice and the girls were delighted to have news of you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Commissioner in
Human Relations -

Mayor's

January 17, 1956

Mr. Marshall Bragdon, Executive Director
The Mayor's Friendly Relation's Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Marshall:

I should have known that you were busy and would handle that matter as soon as you could. I will tell you the truth: I got corrupted in my ten years in the Government and every now and then a bad habit of trying to be sure that this person or that is put in the right place overcomes me. I repress it but it pops out.

Very nice to have your more encouraging news.

Some day I'll tell you the whole Spitz story as far as I know it.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

City of Cincinnati

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
105 CITY HALL
CINCINNATI 2, OHIO

MAYOR
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HONORARY CHAIRMAN
CHARLES M. JUDD
CHAIRMAN

MARSHALL BRAGDON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. VIRGINIA J. COFFEY
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JANET E. SMITH
ADMINSTRATIVE ASSISTANT

January 13, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 16 1956

Mr. George Mitchell, Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear George:

I had a talk with Mrs. Spitz today, by phone, and got pleasantly acquainted with her. She is in better spirits than when you saw her. Just after writing you she got a job, hand-sewing, for a firm at 809 Walnut. Though it may last only four or five weeks, it gives her a chance to look around more calmly, and gives me a chance to try my contacts and think of possibilities. I gave her my phone and address; she can call me at any time; and I'll keep in touch with her. She seemed grateful and cheered up. Nice person. I'm glad you let me know about her, and I'll put my mind on her needs.

Janet gave me your message fully. She had no further responsibility for it. I carried the memo with me, but since Christmas I've been over-working nights and week ends during this ruggedest part of our year; I hoped at first to steal time to visit Mrs. Spitz personally; then had to phone her instead. Actually it worked out just as well. I did not "forget" the request.

Warm regards to you and Fred.

Faithfully,

Marsh

Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

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September 27, 1956

Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Director
Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Marshall:

I came busting through your city the other day on the way back from taking my daughter to Oberlin to stick her in. My busting through was at 4:30 p.m. and I carefully avoided the confusion of City Hall traffice and headed for the Kentucky bridge. But the way in brought me past Mrs. Spitz's home, so we stopped. She had gone to Toledo on account of somebody died.

Today she writes me a letter and says she is sorry she wasn't there. She sent a letter from some bird named Kinney who had turned her down on a job, and says, "I also called a few times Mr. Bragdon, without result, he said to me; I will hear from him. That what I wanted to discast with you Dr. Mitchell. Of course I have been working only temporarery, never stady and that is what makes me very sad."

Marshall, daggonnit, you are not so busy but what you can't go out there and pay that nice lady a visit and put your mind on her problems! You have been stringing me along for a year, saying you were going to take care of this. Come on pay off!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 30, 1956

Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Director
Mayors Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Marshall:

Hate to bother you again, but this is a new topic. I went, in a money-raising way, to visit two very nice principal persons at Foley's Department Store in Houston. The officials told me that by agreement with their parent and owning company (which lives in Cincinnati), the seven, eight, or nine local department stores confine their official contributions to causes in their own cities or in their own counties. Understandable, and wise.

Pari passu the outfit in Cincinnati is the one to appeal to for gifts having a more general application. By name it is the Federated Department Stores, living at 707 Race Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. I believe I heard that a Mr. Lazarus, father to a young man high in the hiarchy of Foley's is president of the Federated Department Stores.

Can you be so kind as to peep around the edges of this matter for me and tell me what turns up? I make no faintest request that you ask them for money for me or for anybody else. But I merely want to know who, what, why, when, etc.?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

November 5, 1956

Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director
The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Marshall:

I wrote Mr. Lazarus straightaway. Hope it will do some good. If you have a way to get in any licks, we will be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. cc Ltr to Mr. Lazarus

City of Cincinnati

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
105 CITY HALL
CINCINNATI 2, OHIO
GA 1-5700, LINE 404

MAYOR
CHARLES P. TAFT
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

CHARLES M. JUDD
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PENN W. ZEIGLER

MARSHALL BRAGDON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. VIRGINIA J. COFFEY
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JANET E. SMITH
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

November 2, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Federated Department Stores, 707 Race Street, Cincinnati, is the parent company you refer to. Its president is Fred Lazarus, Jr., a mercantile genius. He's a brother of Jeffrey Lazarus, president of Shillito's, here (J.L. was instrumental in bringing me to Cincinnati in 1945). I don't know Fred Lazarus, Jr., very well; but his nephew, Simon Lazarus, Jr., was chairman of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, 1953-54, is still on the Board, and is a good friend of mine. Fred Lazarus is a potent member of the President's Committee on Government Contracts. He is also a big-shot in the American Jewish Committee.

In general I'd say that the Lazarus family are public-spirited and disposed to support work such as yours. I do not know, however, what is the working policy of Federated with regard to philanthropies. I could inquire of Si Lazarus if you like. Tell me how I can help.

Cordially yours,

Marsh

Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

RECEIVED NOV 5 1956

January 11, 1957

Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director, The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Marsh:

Indeed I do think it would be helpful for our state affiliates to receive your monthly and annual reports, and other occasional publications you put out. I am enclosing a list of their names and addresses.

Regarding your proposed trip to Miami to be the speaker at the annual dinner of the Dade County Council on Human Relations, I have this to say: Go! Seriously, I know that you would do a bang-up job, and Miami, after all, is not the deep South, but is a community made up largely of people from the North and the Midwest. But, one more word on this subject in general. I am not one of those who hold the position that only Southerners should make speeches to Southern audiences. The South is back in the main stream of American life and any American should be able to speak his mind in the Southern area. A sensitive person such as you are would, of course, take into consideration "where his audience is," but the truth is basically the same in Columbia, S.C., in New York City, or in Cincinnati.

I am glad that you thought well of Ed Murrow's program on the Clinton situation. It is being shown fairly widely in the South, in fact, it is scheduled here in Atlanta Sunday, the 13th.

As you probably know, I have been approached several times about the Detroit job and though the challenge of the job and the salary connected with it are enticing, I could not in good conscience leave the South at this point. I still believe that we will demonstrate here that a democratic society is capable of granting first class citizenship to all of its people, or is unworthy of the support of any.

Best wishes to you and Mrs. B, and also my good friends, Jenny and Janet.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
105 City Hall - Cincinnati 2, Ohio
Board of Trustees - Thursday, March 14, 1957

Present:
Mr. Al Bilik
Mr. Wallace T. Collett
The Rev. George Curran, S.J.
Mrs. Philip Dreifus (for Mr. Posner)
Mr. C. E. Israel
Mr. Charles M. Judd
Mrs. Irving Magorian
Mrs. Sol Parkin
Mr. Wendell Pierce
Mr. Leon Render
Mrs. Harold Scheele
The Rev. Lawrence Walter
Mr. Penn W. Zeigler
Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Mrs. Virginia Coffey
Miss Janet Smith
Dr. Carter V. Good, Chairman

The meeting at MFRC's office was called to order at 12:40 P.M., Dr. Good presiding. The February Board minutes were approved as sent.

Mr. Judd reported that the Intergroup Agencies' Committee on Housing had met twice; each agency has appointed about three Board representatives and the executives to serve on the committee. They are still seeking ways in which to work. The need to become informed on the many issues and dilemmas of the housing picture is important to setting objectives. The ultimate goal, of course, is to achieve open occupancy in all housing, but there are many hurdles to be crossed first. The Board briefly discussed possible avenues of approach to the problem.

Mr. Bragdon introduced the need for plans for activation and evaluation of General Committee members. The establishment of the rotation or retirement plan makes it necessary to have more regular, year-round effort to find people for the committee, and to do a better continuing job of involvement and evaluation. No procedures have been set up. Part of the difficulty lies in lack of time for proper staff servicing of the General Committee. In the discussion, more frequent meetings of the General Committee were proposed, and assignment of members to active sub-committees. A motion was made by Mr. Pierce that a subcommittee of the Board be appointed to examine the whole problem of present staff activity and the need for more involvement of members to see what might be done. The motion was seconded and passed.

Father Walter reported on the matter of the "Christ in Christmas" campaign discussed at the January Board meeting, and the appeal which the campaign advertising and the mayor's proclamation made to people of all faiths and creeds to join in keeping Christ in Christmas. He had discussed the unintentional offense with a member of the campaign committee, who said he would take it to the committee when it met again to make sure that more care was given to public relations.

The Board then turned to discussion of annual meeting plans. The date has been tentatively set for Thursday, April 11. The staff was instructed to develop a feasible program from the suggestions made.

The meeting adjourned at 2:00 P.M.

MFRC THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
105 City Hall - Cincinnati 2, Ohio GA 1-5700, 404

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR MARCH, 1957

TWO VERSIONS OF 'THEY'RE COMING DOWN THE MOUNTAIN' No greater contrast could be found than in the Chicago and Cincinnati approach to the matter of in-migration of Appalachian and Ozark hill folk. On March 3 the Chicago Tribune began curling the hair of its readers with an expertly sensational series on the "hillbilly invasion" of the city. First planned as a one-two punchy description of strange, degraded, lawless newcomers, the series was extended when it set off a flood of reactions including (a) the alarm of urbanites; (b) crude threats from the lower element of migrants; (c) self-respecting migrants' protest against sweeping and lurid generalizations.

Example of generalization: "Authorities...agree that the southern hillbilly migrants...have the lowest standard of living and moral code (if any) of all, the biggest capacity for liquor, and the most savage and vicious tactics when drunk, which is most of the time." Some latter articles did mention a few solid citizens from the hills, with an air of showing both sides--but the Skid Row vignettes that first appeared were undoubtedly burned into the minds of readers of "The World's Greatest Newspaper." It should be emphasized that the responsible social agencies of Chicago had no part in this kind of journalism.

Meanwhile, Cincinnati worked at this adjustment problem without drama. Certain solid achievements went forward. The Woman's City Club drew a substantial audience for Dr. Roscoe Giffin's interpretation of these people. MFRC reprinted his article, "Cinder Hollow to Cincinnati," was getting many calls for it from community leaders, schools, courts, churches and social agencies. While here, Dr. Giffin continued his consultations (started months ago) with clubwomen, sociologists, educators, court staff and MFRC, regarding further fact-findings here. He interested a big-business executive, who offered the help of his ace researcher... Nothing exciting here. Just honest work and study.

FINALLY WE GOT OVER THE IDEA: 'A SIMPLE SUMMARY ON HOUSING' A's for push and patience go to all the staff and board representatives of the six intergroup agencies who continued their joint safari-survey into the housing situation. Like the first meeting in February, the second on March 4 was a struggle to sort out such a complex, many-sided subject. However, it began to take shape when Reid Ross of Better Housing League gave a résumé of local, factual developments. The group then saw its way to call upon other sources for more facts. At the third meeting on the 19th, new maturity was seen in the wry chuckles which met a proposal to draft a "short, simple" fact sheet on housing, for community distribution.

We were laughing at ourselves, having learned the hard way that housing is, in Damon Runyon's lingo, "more complex than somewhat." Wisdom of sorts had been attained... Moreover, we began to separate those things about which we could do little, directly (need for relocation housing,

mortgage discrimination, etc.) from feasible possibilities having to do with general education, work in changing neighborhoods, and aid to officials in meeting human problems.

We agreed to list "what we can do" at the next meeting, and study the block-organization plans being shaped for the renewal area. Fellowship House was praised for the Avondale information meeting it held on the 6th. MFRC's ex-chairman, Charles Judd, is taking responsibility for calling these meetings, but the actual work and hard thinking are widely shared by nearly 20 people. Other partners in this study are Fellowship House, Jewish Community Relations Committee, NAACP, Conference of Christians and Jews, and the Cincinnati Urban League.

Other housing items of MFRC work included Mr. Bragdon's tour of a changing area with a resident, and a talk about it with a real estate salesman; advising a citizen on starting a neighborhood club; aiding the membership drive of the Avondale Community Council.

CHURCH ACTIVITIES MFRC's executive was involved in reviews and plans following the Council of Churches February 28 Workshop on "The Church and the Changing Community." CC's Community Relations Department analyzed the workshop, then directed a subcommittee to work up a published summary of it. The subcommittee began that job--and also considered relevant future activities of CRD. Following are some of the suggestions which emerged, tentatively: (a) Develop more consultation among downtown pastors on common problems; (b) seek closer ties between "store front churches" and the Council of Churches; (c) keep the churches in touch with the intergroup agencies' joint housing study; (d) serve as a stimulus, interchange and informational instrument to the several "social education and action" committees of the various denominations, some of which are relatively ineffective; (e) enlist more Negro leadership in Council affairs; (f) assist other agencies, and enlist church aid, in neighborhoods where extra intergroup education is needed in view of present or probable future changes. These are just ideas at present; but they reflect growing concern and realism.

The six intergroup agencies' work and roles were described to more than 200 key women at a citywide "Information Day" program held by the Council of Church Women on the 28th. (They were invited by a CCW officer who heard a panel of agencies at a UC workshop last year).

Other items: (1) We promised to assist a Methodist survey of changing areas, to be made here this summer. (2) Downtown population estimates were supplied to a new pastor. (3) Mrs. Coffey agreed to help promote UC Negro students' participation in Methodist activities on campus.

SCHOOLS & COLLEGES (1) In our continued support of the Youth Incentive and Training project in the public schools, Mrs. Coffey prepared 10 more "success stories" of local Negroes who have prepared for and achieved desirable jobs. These are to be variously used to convey to children, their teachers and parents, evidences of opportunity now open. Plans for securing more biographies were made. (2) We attended a large meeting of school executives called on March 4 by Supt. Courter to describe to them this effort to conserve manpower, and then to initiate discussion of it throughout the schools. It was made clear that all underprivileged youths were ob-

jects of concern; that any "drop-out" should alert educators to review both the school and community factors that let some children face life ill-equipped.

(3) Mrs. Coffey spoke to one of the leadership training groups of the Cincinnati PTA Council. These picked women from many areas, who are learning group and discussion skills to share in their own PTAs, were glad to get intergroup information as well. They cited attitudes they encountered back home, and seemed to feel better fitted now to deal with them. Thus MFRC tapped another channel into people's lives.

(4) Our annual lectures at UC Teachers College, begun in February, were completed. A Fact Sheet will be given the students in April. (5) At Purdue University, Mr. Bragdon spoke at the training conference of the Panels of Americans, student speakers from 13 campuses across the nation. He was impressed by their quality and their determination to improve relations in their cities. The University of Cincinnati was not represented, though a Panel had been active here in the past. (6) We were asked to help resolve a problem in one school, gave time to it, and will continue until a frictional situation is worked out.

CINCINNATI AIDS MIAMI On the 26th, MFRC's executive spoke in Miami to the Dade County Council on Community Relations at a capacity dinner meeting in Bay Front Auditorium. John Kasper's recent visit there probably increased the turnout, the press and TV coverage of the Cincinnati message. Dade County people heard a simple account of Cincinnati's 13-year experience with an official intergroup agency. Its citizens and leaders were left to decide what was worth borrowing and adapting to their problems, such as: the schools' future; tourists' reaction to group frictions; the human costs of unplanned metropolitan growth; hoped-for new industries' desire to locate where tensions are low; necessity of changing local practices if Miami is to become the major gateway to Latin America; the real potentials for intergroup adjustment which Miami possesses and is not using; and so on. In many small conferences while in Miami, MFRC's executive answered hundreds of questions. His questioners seemed most impressed that racial problems can be calmly eyed and worked on. His dominant feeling was thankfulness for the communications our city has on tap.

SPEAKING DATES: UC Education I classes (3/1 MB & VC)
Women's Division of Christian Service, Methodist Home (3/5 VC)
Northminster Presbyterian Church (3/8 MB)
Bloom Jr. High School girls (3/12 VC)
Mt. Auburn Presbyterian Women's Association (3/13 VC)
Industrial Physicians (3/14 MB)
Panel of Americans national conference (3/16 MB)
Junior League Provisional Members (3/19 VC)
Lions' Club (3/20 MB)
PTA Leadership Group (3/25 VC)
UC Wesleyan Foundation (3/28 VC)
Council of Church Women's Information Day (3/28 MB)

--Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

MFRC

The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee

105 City Hall, Cincinnati 2

Phone GArfield 1-5700, Line 404

FBR

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR DECEMBER 1958

AVONDALE: POLICE & PEOPLE: PROTECTION & CIVIL RIGHTS

No kin of Solomon, we don't feel equipped to judge totally the controversy regarding the extra policing of a part of Avondale from November 17 to December 9. But certain observations are in order. For the record, MFRC's executive was told of plans for the policing, a week in advance, and his advice requested on interpreting it to citizens. He suggested three leaders to contact in the area and also urged that superior officers talk to key groups. So far as we know, the suggestions were not followed.

Second, the publicity was a factor not determined by officials. The 5-column headline on the first story November 18 was attention-getting, then radio-TV newscasters followed after. The publicity "hurt our pride", Avondale people told their friends. Many still feel that the Police can somehow decide the "play" given to news stories. This is far from a fact; but when the Chief cited other areas which had gotten extra policing—Hyde Park, Price Hill—they wanted to know why the press and radio had not played them up. The question was unanswered.

To understand the dynamics of this situation, we must remind ourselves of certain facts, and emotions. Avondale's population change has been complicated. Relocation needs have pressed upon it. Renewal plans have been snagged; housing inspections suspended; overcrowding has threatened some parts of the area. The recession has not helped folk facing extra odds in employment. So in November the people of Avondale had a number of anxieties, not ignoring an increase of certain crimes. Despite all this, partly because of it, there had been an admirable effort to develop organization and leadership and to realize the will of most residents for a sound community. This leadership was on tap.

Emotions were involved in at least two ways in what happened. First, people who are striving against odds to achieve success and dignity—they take hard what seems to them a publicized over-generalization about their community. Second, over the years Negroes from the South have a group memory of police who were short on justice, and long on white supremacy. A tendency to be suspicious of police may be touched off by "hurt pride" even in those who know the Cincinnati force to be, on the whole, worthy of their respect. Such reactions widened the gap. Yet it is clear that a very large number wanted effective protection. In our opinion, if the technical purpose of "questioning citizens" had been fully interpreted to some community leaders, and their ideas of safeguards weighed, then the reaction would have been different.

The 'town meeting' on December 4, at which the Chief spoke, answered questions and took criticism, had some constructive effects despite the hot arguments and confusion. It gave folks their say; it was the best answer to cries of a "police state." Even the misunderstandings did spur leaders in and out of

Avondale to work for better communications.

After the meeting the Chief worked further with Community Council leaders toward understanding and future cooperation. Before and after Dec. 4 he welcomed frank discussions with five intergroup agencies' executives. He deserves credit for this. At the same time, MFRC and other agencies were increasing their contacts with leaders of the Avondale Community Council, offering advice and support to promote its effectiveness... This controversy will have been educational—the hard way—if everyone involved in its sees how he'd "do it different next time."

CHURCHMEN AT WORK In early December the St. Lawrence Deanery of the Council of Catholic Men (covering 42 parishes in the western part of the metropolitan area) held a meaty program on race relations. A Negro priest stated the Church's doctrinal position on race, a newspaperman summarized the recent statement thereon by the Catholic Bishops, and a Cincinnati Councilman got down to specifics which concerned citizens can take hold of in our changeful city. The meeting had a real impact. Laymen reported it to us, proudly, and talked of seeking similar programs in DeSales and Cathedral Deaneries. Two MFRC members were active in planning the program. They are to be congratulated.

An Episcopal laymen's "Urban Strategy" committee continued to study and aid parishes which are or may be facing area changes. Especially they discussed the future of a Negro congregation which may be displaced by the Expressway. They met with its lay leaders, and began thinking of next steps in terms which would forward integration in the denomination, not hinder it. They'll meet again early in 1959...The committee's interest stirred another clergyman to discuss with it, and with MFRC, his parish's effort to serve both mountaineer and Negro youths.

New administrators in 1958 arrived in the Methodist and Presbyterian organizations here—Dr. Raoul Calkins and the Rev. Stanley Boughton—and the Rt. Rev. Roger Blanchard was ordained an Episcopal Bishop in November, to assist and then in mid-1959 to succeed Bishop Hobson. We look to these three men to lead creatively the enlistment of their churches' moral force at the crucial points of community life, where traditional barriers and practices mock all religions' basic values.

Re: MOUNTAINEERS (1) The possibility of a training workshop for those dealing with mountain migrants in various cities was explored here. Meeting with a large foundation's envoy were a local school executive, two men from Berea College, and MFRC's director. Further talks here, aided by the visit of a workshop expert of a national intergroup agency, began to shape a proposal to the foundation for financing the project.

(2) We noted two articles in the weekly News-Reporter about Harlan County families' desperate straits as a result of mine closings, had a long talk with the author, James Jordan, and enlisted him on the team of local agencies and persons who are working on the migrants' problems.

(3) Chad Drake of Berea College, having seen material prepared in Puerto Rico to help its emigrants 'find their way' in U.S. cities, proposed a joint project to prepare similar information for migrants from the hills. His detailed suggestions will be well studied here.

THE NETWORK WORKS

"Kansas City calling"...It was the executive of the 'MFRC' there, with a problem and a need. Five department stores were being picketed because their restaurants did not serve Negroes. He had set up a conference. Now he needed facts from other 'border' cities like Cincinnati and St. Louis. Could our experience help Kansas City? ...Quickly, by phone, we gave him the main facts; then checked files, made three calls, and dispatched a detailed letter the very same day.

We told him that two of our four department stores had public eating facilities (five units) and served all customers. We described some of the special efforts made to achieve this since World War II, including consultation with the Urban League and MFRC. Finally, we relayed one store executive's offer to give direct information to Kansas City merchants. We hope that picketers and picketed will be aided to agree.

This item shows an informal network at work. We receive as well as give. A few years ago, a quick call to colleagues in 15 cities gave us invaluable facts on amusement parks' practices. Right now we're eyeing police-citizen programs elsewhere. The Detroit Commission in asking Cincinnati agencies about their workshop for new pastors. So it goes. Very practical: Another city's success aids us, its errors warn us. The NAIRO conferences and subsequent contacts keep the network working.

INTERN AT WORK

In his third month of apprenticeship, Jerry Turner had more "listening" contacts with agencies and persons whose operations he needed to understand. In interviews he got information from executives of Urban Renewal and Better Housing League, and a Negro real estate broker. He visited the Municipal Court Clinic, and listened to several agencies' consultation about a problem family. From a Catholic leader he heard about interracial education projects. A taste of interagency committee work involved him. And from the interns' seminar at Pittsburgh in November he was harvesting letters and information from interns in other cities. But his main debt, and MFRC's, is to the busy Cincinnatians who generously share their experience with him.

YOURS FOR $1: THE GIST OF A $400,000 MINORITY HOUSING STUDY

An important event near 1958's end was the publication of Where Shall We Live?, a 77-page report of the Commission on Race and Housing. An independent group of citizens, many of them rather conservative business leaders, the CHR spent $400,000 from the Fund for the Republic on the broadest and deepest research study ever made of housing segregation. It found that one-sixth of the US population is subject to housing restrictions because of race, color or ethnic origins, though the 1949 Housing Act set as a goal of national policy "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."

A whole cluster of studies by objective researchers conveyed to the Commission the detailed way in which the housing industry—builders, brokers, lenders—and government at different levels have supported this anomaly of American life. Specific recommendations are directed to all the responsible parties.

Where Shall We Live? capsules the findings, documented in component studies, and thus offers busy people the essence of an historic assessment. Selling at $1.50 a single copy, it has been secured by MFRC in quantity so that you can get it for $1. Write early to be sure of your copy.

BRIEFING SOCIAL WORKERS

Six intergroup agencies held the sixth annual information session for new social workers on December 10, drawing 51 from 14 agencies. Highlights of intergroup progress and problems were presented tersely by a panel, leaving plenty of time for questions. These evoked more information on such topics as: minority employment and income trends; FEP; public housing & race; NAACP's aims; youth and adult work of Fellowship House; changing neighborhoods; interreligious problems; schools' role in reducing discrimination and prejudice; etc.

Attendance included 26 from the Welfare Dept., 4 from Family Service, 3 from the Housing Authority, 2 each from Anti-Tuberculosis, Children's Home, Cincinnati Health Dept., Domestic Relations Court, Adult Probation staff, and Rollman's Hospital; 1 each from Red Cross, Catherine Booth Home, Committee on Youth, Sheltering Oaks, Social Hygiene Society. The sponsors were: American Jewish Committee, Fellowship House, Jewish Community Relations Committee, Urban League, MFRC, NAACP.

MISCELLANEOUS:

(1) A nominating committee led by Judge Gilbert Bettman worked many hours in December developing representative lists of names to propose to the Mayor for new appointments to MFRC's Board and General Committee in January. The Trustees voted to raise from 30 to 36 the maximum size of the Board.

(2) We discussed Police supervision, training and report methods with top officers.

(3) A Korean student at UC who had been a guest in many homes here, was aided by Mrs. Coffey in contacting some Negro families.

(4) We talked to the young Indian, relocated here and living at the YMCA, who accidentally set fire to a mattress, fled in panic and landed in Police Court. An understanding judge placed him on probation. The Indian Relocation Office was very helpful in this and other problems facing the newcomers; but the case reminded us that MFRC and others might be more alert to aid members of this group in the small personal ways which could make Cincinnati seem less strange, more welcoming. Add to New Year's resolutions.

--Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

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ATTENTION: PROGRAM PLANNERS

For the fourth year the Public Library and the local intergroup agencies will co-sponsor a Brotherhood Week observance.

This year we will present a sample film forum using Brotherhood of Man. Purpose is to give program planners help in arranging similar discussions in their own groups.

Time: Wednesday afternoon, February 18, from 1:30 to 3:00 p.m.

Films and Recordings Center,
Public Library
The Intergroup Relations Agencies,
Cincinnati

M F R C

The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee

105 City Hall, Cincinnati 2

Phone GArfield 1-5700, Line 404

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR FEBRUARY 1959

LAST CALL FOR THE ANNUAL MEETING MARCH 12

As February ended, the mailman was bringing fistfuls of reservations from an interesting cross-section of folks eager to join the "Building Bridges" Dinner & Discussion Meeting at Walnut Hills High School, 6 P.M. Thursday, March 12 (dinner $1.75). Others were telephoning—to GA 1-5700, line 404—to sign up. Nearly every group and walk of life were already represented. Early leaders of MFRC, its newest members, and friends we had made in pleasant or problem-solving circumstances—a fine gamut was coming.

This 15th "town meeting" of MFRC is unusual in that guests make an advance choice among the six concurrent discussion groups, to participate in following the dinner and keynote speech by John V.P. Lassoe, Jr., NAIRO executive secretary. The returns already indicate that every group will have a number of especially informed citizens and specialists, of varied views, to tackle their topic with penetration and gusto (while the discussion leader sees that everyone shall have his say).

In returns thus far, "Changing Neighbors" was attracting the most choices, but "Government & the Citizen" and "Intergroup Communications" were not far behind; and there were already a number of interested discussants signed up for "The Schools' Role" and "Equal Opportunity" and "Helping Our Newcomers."...We expect every topic group to provide, not only a stimulating exchange for its members, but also ideas which MFRC will thereafter strive to share widely in future work on each of the topics...If any group gets over-crowded, it will be divided into two sections to maintain good discussion conditions.

This is the last call to you who may have meant to join up, but...Also, it's a reminder that husband-wife reservations are much encouraged. Third, we ask you to tell any friend who would relish this program, reminding him to phone or mail his reservation, not later than March 9.

POLICE-RECRUIT TRAINING IN HUMAN RELATIONS

MFRC's director visited the Police Academy's recruit class to hear Lt. Paul Steuer's four hours of lectures on "Human Relations". Having lectured to all patrolmen on intergroup relations in the 1955-'56 refresher course, Mr. Bragdon was interested to see what the rookies are getting. He took notes to report to our Board and to other agencies.

Lt. Steuer, an excellent teacher, gave a scientifically sound and humanly warm summary of child development and adult interaction in society. With homespun examples he depicted the child and man learning life's Yes-No, Do-Don't,

Right-Wrong lessons; seeking recognition and affection; trying to think his way past obstacles; if stymied, meeting his need by distorted, perhaps anti-social substitutes. (Example: "A gang is a group of left-out kids who find each other mainly to discuss their problems, which don't seem to interest anyone else.")

Lt. Steuer's ideas of healthy intergroup attitudes were the more effective because they came naturally from his emphasis upon honest self-knowledge, and striving to understand all people. ("Too many parents are unfit to raise kids"... "Most prejudice is learned in the home"..."The failure seeks 'someone lower than I am'; he has to belittle, to be big"...") After depicting the bully's nature, he paid his acid respects to some police departments which treat some people very badly. He told the young men they might face citizens' prejudice and mistrust caused by actions of incompetent, brutal men at other times and places. They must understand even this, sympathetically..."The policeman should be one person anyone can trust, and go to with his problems...Kids and adults watch you. It's a responsibility!"

After the class graduates on March 10, the recruits will go on learning, from sergeants and lieutenants, and civilians, and the many rubs of city life. For all this, Lt. Steuer has given them solid advice, an appealing challenge.

P.S.-The above visit with future police emphasized to us the importance of state legislation that would enable cities to set minimum requirements for civil service job applicants, especially as to education. After questioning Police and Civil Service executives we see much merit in it. Policemen and Workhouse guards are two categories where the examiners should seek the best possible personnel, and not waste time and effort processing the unqualified.

(advertisement)

WANTED: A WOMAN FRIDAY

Dear Report Reader: MFRC is starting a Treasure Hunt, in which you might helpfully join. We seek a part-time staff member, to work with Mr. Bragdon, Mrs. Coffey and MFRC members in the umpteen never-dull facets of our office and community operations. We seek a woman, age unspecified, who has had office experience—typing essential, shorthand desirable—and would now like a part-time position which would require above-average competence and flexibility—and give her a chance to contribute to an interesting program. (The word "contribute" doesn't mean a skimpy salary.) Some ability in writing, and in handling case records and informational materials would be desirable. Interest and general ability are basic. Somewhere there's such a woman. Do you know her? Please think about it. Call us if you have a clue, and let us make further inquiries. Your friend may be the Treasure we seek.

PRESS & RADIO MATTERS

(1) The Enquirer's five-part series on Avondale's promise and problems (Feb. 22-26) was a careful and competent treatment of a very complex situation. To the editors who conceived it and to George Amick who dug out the facts and set them down, we think that Avondale residents and thoughtful citizens generally are substantially indebted. When such information is made available to many Cincinnatians, it is at least possible for sound policies to be shaped—and then, we hope, supported and implemented.

(2) News executives of The Enquirer met with three envoys of the Intergroup Agencies Council to discuss news reporting as it affects minorities and

intergroup relations. From analysis of specific articles they moved to a clarifying of each other's roles, a look at the difficulty of reporting touchy issues, and then considerable agreement on how they would consult in the future. It was a profitable consultation. MFRC's Board got a report of the conference.

(3) A radio newscaster came for information he might use in a "Background" program. (4) Complaint of slurs on two minorities in a telephone participation program led to our phoning the station's head, then talking to the program's MC. (5) Perley Ayer of Berea College was interviewed by a reporter in our office regarding Appalachian trends and his studies of migration in Columbus.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

(1) MFRC's Board of Trustees at its February meeting adopted a position favoring an enforceable state fair employment practices law, and sent its statement to all MFRC members, legislators from Hamilton County, and the press. This position was derived from the study of local discrimination which MFRC made in 1952-'53 (by request of City Council) based on research by Dr. Alfred Kuhn of UC. Since then, MFRC's Board has twice reviewed minority employment trends and has reaffirmed that legislation was still necessary to reduce the economic, human and community costs of unequal opportunity.

(2) With another agency, we investigated a woman's complaint that she was not given a fair interview for a city job, though she stood at the top of the eligible list. Such complaints have been rare in recent years. We are probing this thoroughly, determined to convince all parties that justice is done.

DESERVED RECOGNITION

(1) Three fine men were honored for their contribution to brotherly relations in Cincinnati, at the Jewish War Veterans' annual ceremony February 12, at Ohav Shalom Synagogue in Roselawn. Most impressive was the array of representatives from scores of veterans' groups and auxiliaries throughout Greater Cincinnati. The impressions they took home were perhaps the best fruits of a truly American event. Those honored were: Dr. Henry Ryder, president of the Better Housing League and active in varied other community teamwork programs; Charles Messer, active in Jewish affairs and also a generous supporter of the West End YWCA's new building; the Rev. Lawrence Walter of the Catholic Telegraph-Register, who on the MFRC Board and in many other ways has built bridges of new understanding and cooperation between the faiths and races of our city. This was a ceremony which was more than just another goodwill gesture.

(2) Less designedly, similar values were also served in the testimonial luncheon on February 9, to Dr. Nelson Glueck of Hebrew Union College, on the occasion of publication of his new book, Rivers in the Desert (describing his archaeological discoveries in the Holy Land). His remarks on the invincible power of our common spiritual heritage will be long remembered by the friends from across the whole community who came to do him honor.

HOUSING ITEMS

Lots of thought and work, but little news to report, describes this salient. Conferences with other agencies about social planning needs in change areas, and about research possibilities, were held and will continue. There were assists to the Relocation staff; attendance at the Queen City Association's program on relocation; and aid to the Ohio Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, in planning a hearing on housing here. Etc...

INTER-CITY LINKS

(1) The new executive of Indianapolis' Commission on Human Rights visited us, and attended Board meeting. (2) A member of the Grand Rapids agency came for advice on preparing for future relocation needs. (3) Visiting Kansas City, Mrs. Coffey checked with its 'MFRC' on a problem. (4) To Detroit's commission we sent data on Negro police personnel here.

SPEAKING DATES

On the 25th and 26th, MB & VC gave their annual lectures to UC Teachers College's freshmen classes, on intergroup relations, and were greeted with keen interest and many questions. The Child Conservation League unit in Westwood applauded VC's talk on "Rearing Our Children Without Prejudice" (2/25). Other dates: Grace Church women, College Hill (MB 2/10); NAACP Women's Auxiliary (VC 2/10); Frontiers Club, Dayton (VC 2/16); UC Social Problems class (VC 2/18); Junior Chamber of Commerce (MB 2/17).

MISCELLANEOUS

(1) MFRC was among seven services cited in the Junior League's magazine, in a quiz to test members' civic knowledge. Question: "What is the purpose of MFRC?" Answer: "...to enlist our city government, citizen leaders and skilled professionals in a continual effort to improve intergroup relations --racial, religious, ethnic--by the use of fact-finding, information-giving and problem-solving approaches."

(2) With one minister we discussed ways of keeping track of rapid changes in his neighborhood; with another, and his lay leaders, MFRC was represented in a profitable interracial discussion of their church's future.

(3) Mrs. Coffey visited the new Millvale Primary School. (4) With others, we met Mr. Gordon Hall, authority and speaker on hate groups.

--Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

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REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR SEPTEMBER 1959

'INCIDENT CONTROL' IS A DIFFICULT COLLABORATION

Movement of low-income people from the Expressway area and the early displacements from Kenyon-Barr--these were marked in September by a few 'incidents' in the upper Basin. They were not numerous or explosive frictions; but they illustrate the nature of the change and of the problem involving displaced families not eligible for public housing and unable to rent middle quality housing. We must accurately understand the process in order to know the possibilities and limits of easing the frictions.

'Invasion' is not an apt description, though the people in the change areas see and feel it as such. Actually the newcomers have decided nothing. They have waited for a signal as to where they may seek shelter. Nor do Relocation staff people set the direction, really. They just deliver the message from the real decision-makers--who in turn will disclaim great power, and convincingly argue that they are controlled by economic circumstances.

The decisions are made by the owners of tenement property, hundreds of them, but by each one separately. Mr. X eyes the income, costs and vacancies in his building on Elm (or Pendleton, Republic, East Liberty, etc.) and ponders whether to change it to Negro occupancy. On the streets named above, and nearby, decisions to change over have increased lately. Thus, by many owners' deployment of their property for better returns, is a kind of substitute found for new relocation housing which has not notably attracted the same investors.

So by a myriad of business decisions the pattern of change is determined. In the process, a certain number of properties are improved, to meet inspection by the Relocation staff; and rents are usually raised. Diminishing attraction for white renters is the main pivot of decision. One building lately 'changed' had 4 of 6 units vacant; another, 3 out of 5...Realistically, we may expect that most of the low-income displaced families will find shelter wherever and whenever this and that landlord decides they are the best (or only) tenants he can find.

Racial frictions in a spotty pattern may be expected to accompany a process so unplanned in its advance. We are not alarmist about this prospect--but we do emphasize alertness, understanding of people's feelings, and collaboration of official and unofficial resources, as essential in handling frictions effectively. In the few occurences of recent weeks, district police handled the overt incidents competently, then notified the Race Relations Detail and MFRC. We at MFRC talked to police executives about the general trend, and with district men about the specific cases. We also checked the Relocation staff's records and knowledge of recent and expected Negro move-ins, and tapped other persons' acquaintance with particular streets or sections. The teamwork has been gratifying.

No painless formula for transition exists. We must remember that both parties to such conflict (verbal or physical) are people who feel ill-used by the community. In each case, the police, MFRC's staff and the Relocation staff must play it by ear; learning from failure and from occasional success in easing the pangs of change in a block. Meanwhile we hope that residents in other parts of Greater Cincinnati remember that these people are paying a kind of special assessment for public improvements which will benefit the entire population.

'HE CALLED ME A HILLBILLY'

When a native Cincinnatian gave that reason for slugging the other driver in a post-collision argument, the Police Court judge was unconvinced: "90 days!" (See Sept. 29 docket)...Frankly we don't know if that punishment fits the crime, and move on hastily to other September efforts to check such name-calling; namely, sequels to the "Urban Adjustment" workshop at Berea, and the auxiliary bus tour. There were some reportable benefits.

First significant products were an adult course, and a pamphlet. Back from the bus tour, Robert Finch organized a class for grownups, to get the 3 Rs they missed back in Kentucky and Tennessee. As the adult education director in the public schools, he knew the shy resistance upon which such efforts founder. Yet somehow he enrolled nearly 35 men and women. Wil they continue? We'll see. ...Lt. Robert Roncker's 25-page manual, "The Southern Appalachian Migrant," was published by the Police Department for study and use by all supervising officers, and to share with other agencies and cities. Lt. Roncker packs in a lot of facts about mountain life as it shapes the migrant's reaction to city ways and rules. The author's own growth of understanding at Berea is implicit, and contagious, in a manual of use and interest to workers in 'helping' agencies as well as those performing enforcement and correctional functions.

Other sequels included (1) the workshop-tour team's first meeting to plan its presentation to social workers in November, to report individual activity, and to map a year of diverse information-giving to local groups. (2) Also held here was a meeting of the workshop's planners, with the people from six cities who promoted it locally. Together they planned an energetic nine months of visitations, exchange of activity reports, and varied experimentation in the re-education of hill and city folk. Nearly a quarter of the Ford Foundation grant has been saved for such follow-up. All this promises to benefit our city and others in their dealing with hill people—and other migrants, too.

HOUSING, MISC.

(1) The Better Housing League guided members of the Cincinnatus Association through Basin homes such as they had never seen before, just before their September meeting tackled housing problems. This realism spurred a vital discussion, and agreement on the need for relocation housing. The speakers' talks will be reproduced, and presumably made available to other interested groups.

(2) The ACTION-Citizens Development Committee pilot study of Cincinnati housing got under way as ACTION's Michael Lescander began interviews, and organization of existing local data. His many contacts included MFRC. The investments by CDC and ACTION in this project increase the possibility that recommendations when published next spring may be acted upon by community leaders and interest groups.

(3) Hearings on petitions to upgrade zoning in the Avon View and Crescent areas were held by the Planning Commission and City Council, respectively. They reflect the residents' effort to maintain sound occupancy standards in Avondale.

(4) Even the psychologists' convention here discussed "changing neighborhoods."

WEEKLY 'TALKS' TO NEGRO READERS

To several thousand readers of the Call-Post MFRC's column continued to report and interpret a variety of human relations matters. For example: the July columns summarized the "Basin Area" study of social services and recommendations for future efforts in that changing area; told the story of Rev. Edward Jacobs' open-door church and civic services in Avondale; discussed "race and crime" reporting; cited individuals' 'bridge-building' in many areas; and described Emanuel Community Center's color-blind services to all children.

The August columns quoted a paper by Dr. Chester Pierce, UC psychiatrist, on how to help Negro children to be part of the 'maturing society' toward which we move gropingly; announced a workshop at Grailville; cited the St. Louis schools' all-out project which helped several thousand colored youngsters to overcome their academic lag; reported intergroup trends at Cincinnati playgrounds, pointing up responsibilities of Negro parents; told of the visit of a British Parliament member, Anthony Wedgewood Benn, and his keen interest in intergroup work here.

In September the sudden death of Winton Moeller moved Mrs. Coffey to review his fair-minded leadership at Old Woodward H.S. and her collaboration with him in identifying the special problems of some of his Negro students. Other items were: a mother and little daughter's adventure in the Star Theater; a little-publicized work of the Committee on Youth, aiding problem youth; practical advice to minority members from Dr. S. I. Hayakawa's paper, given at the psychologists' convention here; Avondale's promising trend of citizen organization and cooperation...Most of these columns gave the readers new information, a positive approach to problems, a basis for optimism—and a personal challenge to help the good work.

TWO STORIES FOR CHILDREN

Two Cincinnati women have just published books which convey to youngsters that different backgrounds are interesting punctuations of all we have in common; not 'queer' barriers. "Class President" is the story of a junior high school class of varied races, faiths and nationalities, written by Mrs. Margaret Strachan, until recently on the staff of the Better Housing League. "All on the Team" by Frances Fox Sandmel is an interfaith story of two boys; for readers aged 8 to 12. Wife of a teacher at Hebrew Union College, Mrs. Sandmel unwittingly began preparing for this book in Nashville—they came here in 1952—while contributing to publications for Methodist Sunday School teachers. To her theme of "people talking to each other" she added real-life experiences of her own and other children to build the narrative...Both books are on sale here.

THREE FAITHS

(1) A member of the Catholic Interracial Council came to us for information about an area which the group is studying. (2) Our opinion was asked regarding a proposal to start a nationwide fellowship for racial unity, within a Protestant denomination. (3) A young minister came in to discuss issues facing a sister church in a transition area. (4) The Council of Church Women was addressed by Anna Hedgeman, noted Negro leader, at its first fall meeting.

(5) Informally we discussed with a Jewish agency the question of how to prepare rabbinical students for community relations problems the future holds for them.

THIS AND THAT

(1) An envoy came from the Fellowship House youth group to seek activity ideas for its program. She left with enough suggestions for two years. (2) Our Board heard Ralph Zeigler describe "Operation Clean Sweep" in Avondale. (3) A March of Dimes leaders secured contacts for canvassing in certain areas. (4) A pleased housewife phoned us that a "nice Negro man" was the new assistant manager of a nearby supermarket. The Urban League had a hand in selecting him for training, we told her—but the company gave him the opportunity. (5) Mention of the 'Friends of the Indians' in our last Report produced some calls and offers to help the group's program.

(6) Mrs. Coffey worked with the Police Juvenile Bureau on a clash of teenagers, talking to adults in the home neighborhood of one group and seeking to help them meet almost insoluble problems. (7) Various inquiries about FEP were answered or referred to other sources. (8) To us from old and new contacts came (a) report of more For Sale signs in one area; (b) poor communication between the races in another; (c) reactions to a home-seeker in a third. These we duly noted, and gave advice or encouragement or information as needed.

SPEAKING DATES: Mt. Washington E. & R. Women's Guild (VC 9/2)
Lutheran Human Relations Association (VC 9/25)

'MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK' It's time we gave you a plug for the magazine of that name, published by the Council of the Southern Mountains, Berea, Kentucky, (Box 2000) . It's an attractive, informative quarterly, full of information about the area and its people, and the various constructive programs which city folk do not hear about. Most important, it's a cheerful, entertaining magazine—and how it sells for one dollar a year we don't know. We think you'll like it. Try it!

—Marshall Bragdon
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REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR OCTOBER 1959

OPEN BOARD MEETING STARTS A GOAL-SETTING DISCUSSION

Instead of the usual 2d-Thursday lunchtime, 19 MFRC Trustees gave a full evening, October 28, to setting work priorities for the year ahead. All 98 members of the General Committee were also invited; ten came and enriched the discussion with their experience and ideas. A memo from the staff was passed out, listing examples of recent or current activities under the eight general functions of MFRC as defined in its agreement with the City. After study of the memo, Chairman Leonard Slutz called for suggestions, questions and relevant information.

A wide range of suggestions poured in. Many of them clustered about housing and its divers aspects: relocation; neighborhood changes and tensions; need for constructive citizens organizations; overcrowding, inspection and zoning. At one point a Trustee emphasized that MFRC's job is not to plan or build housing, but to ease tensions. Another stressed that not all changes calling for attention are racial, citing his own area. An effort was made to view the proposals with a realistic eye to what a limited staff, and the members, can handle.

Other suggestions touched MFRC's relation to the Ohio FEP law; review of hospital and medical services; work with religious groups; also, promoting freer interfaith communication; keeping informed of school practices and problems; continuing study of news reporting of crimes committed by minority members; the emerging need for more adequate budget and staff in these trying times; etc. Near the end, heads nodded when a Trustee emphasized preventive, early work on tensions as MFRC's most vital contribution; and again when he called for more utilization of members' talents and energies in small working subcommittees.

All these ideas will be shaped by the Board and staff, which feel fortified by the session, especially the facts and feelings from General Committee members. The meeting itself exemplified the interaction of people of different groups, which is of course a basic problem-solver, and the cement of a sound community.

INVITING YOU to a Report on Mountain Migrants, at a luncheon meeting of the Social Service Association on Tuesday, Nov. 17 at 11:45 A.M. at the Metropole Hotel. Participants in the Urban Adjustment Workshop and the Appalachian bus tour held in July will present their findings, and local applications. For lunch reservations phone Mrs. Arnette Wright, DU 1-8650.

WORKSHOP FOR NEW PASTORS

Pastors from 16 churches attended the 8th annual orientation given by the intergroup agencies, on October 26, for newcomers to pulpits in Greater Cincinnati. They came from Hyde Park, Mariemont, Price Hill, Westwood, North Fairmount, Avondale, Clifton, Norwood, Oakley, Wyoming, Mohawk, Over-the-Rhine, Brentwood, Kenwood—from varied congregations and situations, but all seeking to understand the broad patterns and dynamics of Cincinnati's growth and change. The agencies' executives sketched the picture and indicated their available services. Dr. Raoul Calkins, Methodist district superintendent who attended the 1958 workshop, dropped in to stress the agencies' usefulness.

The discussion evoked varied questions, also the suggestion that a workshop offering laymen methods and techniques of meeting prejudice and discrimination would be welcomed. Agency materials were given out. A majority of the clergy stayed for more talk at lunch...The next week MFRC's staff began phoning them for an evaluation of the program, and to learn more about their special needs and situations...Other cooperating agencies were: Fellowship House, American Jewish Committee, Jewish Community Relations Committee, Conference of Christians and Jews, Cincinnati Urban League...This workshop is unique in the USA.

GENTLEMAN FROM JAPAN

Mr. Yasuyuki Seki, an official from Fukuoka, Japan, came to City Hall for a week to study the budget and other 'housekeeping' functions of Cincinnati. Steered to MFRC with his interpreter, he showed a keen interest in our work, carried away a load of materials. His knowledge of American trends was seen in the question: "Do you have any Puerto Ricans here?" Our answer: "No yet, but Cincinnati will meet them with understanding when or if they come."

MOUNTAIN MIGRANT MATTERS

(1) Local members of the Berea workshop, its planning committee, and the Appalachian bus tour met at the home of Mrs. Dorothy Dolbey—who spoke at the workshop—to compare notes on their back-home activities and to prepare their presentation to the Social Service Association on November 17 (see notice elsewhere in this Report). (2) A speakers bureau for groups interested in this subject has been set up; Mrs. Richard Forberg will handle inquiries; a page announcement will run in the Program Planners Directory issued by the Library. (3) Besides several speaking dates by workshoppers, a report by Miss Pat Callison was made to a seminar course at the UC Teachers College.

NAIRO MEETS; CINCINNATI NEXT

"The Decade Ahead" was the theme, October 13-16 in Puerto Rico, of the 13th annual conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. From almost every part of the intergroup field came leaders and workers for information and discussion packed into nearly 50 meetings, a look at Puerto Rican migration problems, and a taste of its people's hospitality. Mrs. Coffey led a clinic on state-local agencies' relations, was elected Secretary of NAIRO, attended three Board sessions, and reported Cincinnati preparations for the next conference, here in mid-November, 1960. Mr. Bragdon drafted the annual Statement of Concerns, spoke at three sessions, worked on the Resources & Planning committee, was named to the editorial board of NAIRO's new Journal of Intergroup Relations...it is expected that the 1960 conference here will break attendance records because of this city's central location.

SOMETHING NEW ADDED IN AVONDALE, TO SPUR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

October brought announcement of an interesting new venture, a privately financed community organization project in South Avondale. Its purposes are: (1) to encourage citizen participation in urban renewal, and (2) to stimulate citizen activity aimed at the physical and social improvement of the area. The two-year project has been made possible by an $18,000 grant from the Schwarzhaupf Foundation of New York to the Better Housing League, by grants and contributions from the Community Chest & Council and local foundations and churches, and by contribution of office space, equipment and staff time by several agencies.

A Board of Project Trustees includes: from the Better Housing League board, Dr. Henry Ryder, Rev. B. B. Evans, Charles Levinson; from the Avondale Community Council board, Ralph Zeigler, Calvin Conliffe, Marvin Kraus; from Fellowship House, Mrs. Alexander Ehoodin. The Trustees have employed Miss Margaret Moogan as executive director, with an office at Fellowship House, 937 Lexington Ave., (phone UN 1-6217). Early attention will be given to neighborhood problems about which the residents feel strongly. Hence, staff work and program planning will be developed in close concert with the Avondale Community Council.

The genesis of this project is as interesting as its purposes. Nearly a year ago the Cincinnati Committee on Youth, concerned about Avondale's needs, called into a series of meetings spokesmen of the Better Housing League, the Avondale Community Council, the Health & Welfare Council, the Urban League, the public schools, the Recreation Commission, the Adult Education Council, and MFRC. The analysis of problems, design of collaboration and (hardest of all) searching for funds was a process running from December into summer. The Schwarzhaupf grant to the Better Housing League for this project was the key that unlocked the rest.

A community resources committee will be set up, of representatives from all public and private agencies that provide health, educational and welfare services in the area, to work with Miss Moogan so that they can more quickly and effectively meet community needs...We are impressed by the conception and implementing of this venture. In attempting to orchestrate the resources of so many services and in finding private funds to launch it, its architects deserve great credit. We wish it success against all the tests it faces.

HOUSING ITEMS

(1) At October's end Mrs. Coffey and Mr. Bragdon took a tour of areas of current interest, escorted and briefed by Mrs. Wanda Dunteman and Mrs. Sarah Young of Urban Renewal's relocation staff. In the Over-the-Rhine and south Mt. Auburn areas they got a wealth of information on racial changes in rental and sales property. Then they visited the big relocation project on Baltimore Avenue, and scanned smaller units in Fairmount, as well as Millvale public housing and trends in its vicinity. Then a swing through the Laurel-Richmond renewal project, a look at Expressway demolitions, and an inspection of the big Kenyon-Barr area. It was a visual aid, a check on recent trends, and a reminder of the complexity of urban life. We hope to set up tours like it for Board members. (The Cincinnatus Association did that in September.)

(2) We received from the Erie (Pa.) 'MFRC' a manual of information for home-buyers, and asked a real estate broker to check it for variations from local conditions, with the thought of possibly circulating it in Cincinnati.

(3) We attended the session on code enforcement at the convention of housing and renewal officials. (4) MFRC's executive was interviewed by the staff of ACTION, inc., in its collection of information for its big housing study here.

MISCELLANEOUS

(1) Another hospital has admitted its first two Negro doctors to use of its facilities. (2) Cincinnatus Association's executive committee requested us to send a 3-months 'trial mailing' of our Monthly Reports to its members, after which they could individually request its continuance.

(3) The Disciples of Christ sent a researcher to MFRC for community-trends information needed in its denominational planning. (4) With Ira Gissen of American Jewish Committee, Mr. Bragdon had a conference with a staff member of the Panel of Americans (a national agency that trains students on a score of campuses to speak on intergroup topics) and suggested resource people for its annual training conference, to be held in Columbus next February.

(5) We sent data on MFRC to Seattle, which is considering setting up a like agency. (6) Continued aid was given to the Friends of the Indians, which is trying to find ways and means of helping relocation families to adjust to city life.

SPEAKING DATES: Kenwood Christian Church's women (MB 10/21)
Miami U. student conference (Wallace Collete 10/10)

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PR

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR DECEMBER 1959

MFRC COMMITTEES WORK HARD

More members took an active hand in MFRC's work in 1959's last weeks than in any previous period. The work reported to the Board, and some later activities, may be briefly summarized under the names of the committees, as follows: Changing Neighborhoods: After staff review of housing literature, and a planning huddle, the full committee met, discussed its job, and set subgroups to (1) review informational material, (2) map change-points in city, (3) study re-zoning activities, (4) enlist 'cool heads' in areas of tension. Budget: Chairman Heekin led consultations with Councilmen; Trustees Slutz, Higbie and Walter made presentation at hearing; budget increase granted.

Nominations: Began developing a strong balanced list of community leaders to recommend to the Mayor for 1960's new appointments to Board and General Committee. Sought representation of more diverse groups, also individuals to develop for future leadership of MFRC. Press-Radio-TV: Met to review recent news handling by the media, then made four recommendations to the Board, which discussed them at length. Hospital-Medical Services: studied Negro doctors' access to hospitals; reported to Board its conference with one hospital on question of appointments.

Mailing: This group, which helps the staff to send out the Monthly Reports, reported efforts to get more volunteers among women members and friends of MFRC. Annual Meeting: Chairman Redfern and Mrs. Coffey crystallized alternatives of program content and form, for the full committee to choose among in mid-January. ...Other committees were being shaped but did not meet in December. The twofold aim of Chairman Slutz is to have every Trustee and many General Committee members active in a small work group, and thus to supplement what the staff can do. It's an ambitious apparatus to keep moving, but obviously worth doing.

UC LENDS US 700 IMPORTANT EARS

At the University of Cincinnati, in six 2-hour sessions December 8-9, 350 students in Teachers College introductory course heard Mr. Bragdon and Mrs. Coffey. Subject: "Learning and Teaching Healthy Human Relations in our Changing Community." This being our 9th annual dialogue with future teachers at UC, we'd like to 'think out loud' about this rare opportunity which Dean Good and his staff have given MFRC to reach, early in their training, so many hundreds of teachers who in turn will touch so many thousands of lives.

Our aims are fivefold: to sketch the city's history, of people coming and living here; to convey its state and trend of intergroup relations, cultural, racial and religious; to illustrate its problems and progress with examples fresh from our work experience; to describe its schools' crucial contribution to inter-

group health; and most important, to convey how much more than average the fine teacher must know, feel and be, in order to start all kinds and conditions of children toward attainable goals of a stable livelihood and a good life.

In doing this we sketch the rubs and issues of employment, housing and civil rights. We cite the present and potential contributions of government, social agencies, schools, churches, industry, unions, etc. Besides racial work, we cite the city's pioneer work with mountain migrants--emphasizing the teacher's intercultural insight as hardest to achieve...Creditably, Teachers College has provided optional field experience with community agencies to the students, and the mind-stretching effects are evident in their discussions.

Questions come briskly and fairly frankly. Not all disagreement is voiced, of course. Among reactions reported later, we heard of one class's interest in our jobs as a career; the Kentucky youths' feeling that we could have said "more pleasant" things about migrants; several students saying it was a good orientation to the community, and to the problems of adults and children; and one girl's sound observation that prejudice "works both ways" to complicate relations.

Teachers' suggestions included: mimeo'd material on intergroup work for study by students in advance; a consequent longer question period (and shorter answers); more specific illustrations of problems; more about other agencies working on intergroup problems...Most interesting remark came from an instructor: "Many of these students will feel released now; able to talk with each other about these questions." That is part of the growth process at Teachers College which evokes from principals of schools having varied problems, remarks like this: "I don't know what you've been doing lately, but I can see a great improvement in the young teachers you've been turning out in the last six or eight years."

FROM WHICH ISLANDS?

A Board member told us he'd heard of "10 children from the islands" being entered in a parochial school, which had to give them special English lessons. "Let's see what you learned at San Juan," he gibed. Hastily reviewing our knowledge of Puerto Ricans (not the headlines about 2% of them) we tried to reach the sister in charge. This took time; our curiosity sharpened. Finally we reached her. "Puerto Ricans?" she replied. "No. Just four children in one family from Indonesia. They're doing fine." "Oh", we said, "Thank you." Afterwards, we held to the thought that alertness involves false alarms; that folk from the Caribbean are coming into some Ohio cities; that MFRC must keep burnishing its intercultural insights, and reviewing its Spanish verbs.

MORE FOLKS ARE READING THIS

Just after we began a 4-months trial mailing of Monthly Reports to Cincinnatus Assn. members, the Property Owners Assn. asked for a regular bulk supply to mail to its members. This was started with the November issue. Also, to the principals of 21 Catholic high schools, mailing was begun with the endorsement of Archdiocesan school leaders. All Cincinnati public schools have been receiving the Reports for some time.

NAIRO EXEC COMES; CONFERENCE PLANNED

On the 18th some 25 members of staffs and boards of seven intergroup agencies lunched with John Lassoe, Jr., executive secretary of the National Assn. of Intergroup Relations Officials. They met at the Netherland Hilton, at which NAIRO's 1960 conference will be held next

November 15-18. Mr. Lassoe described NAIRO, explained the "Goals, Directions and Priorities" program to be held here, sketched local hosts' responsibility, and answered questions. The day before, he met with the staffs as they laid out assignments. His visit clearly stirred our laymen's interest in an event which can be as salutary for community relationships here as it is vital to the nation's intergroup work. Mr. Lassoe will be back to help us get ready.

INTERACTION: MOUNTAIN WAYS & CITY LIVING

Let's look at some December doings that variously relate to urban adjustment of Appalachian migrants. Many stem from II Cincinnatians' participation in the Berea workshop and bus tour of last July. Now at random: (1) 40 teachers of Rothenburg, Peaslee and Webster schools heard the three Board of Educations envoys, and Herbert Kullman of Olden Boys Club, give in practical terms what they learned of mountain life at Berea. The interest in this meeting suggests that other faculties deserve a like program. (2) Kullman and Dewey Wood, the Welfare Dept. workshop participant, spoke to student nurses at Christ Hospital, taking an annual date which Mrs. Coffey usually fills.

(3) Workshop reports by two more of the 'team' were issued. Mr. Kullman's circulated here; may be written up in a national organ. That of Mrs. Bertha Madison of Aid for the Aged is going to AFA offices in all 88 Ohio counties. (4) Continuing demand forced MFRC to order a 4th printing of the 1954 workshop report, "The Southern Mountaineer in Cincinnati." Also, Rev. Michael Hamilton's 1958 report, "Ministry to the Mountaineer", was being reprinted by the Chicago Human Relations Commission. (5) In Berea, Dr. Roscoe Giffin was completing a report on his interview survey of Cincinnati and Norwood migrant families, which many agencies here are naturally eager to get as soon as possible.

(6) Miss Patsy Sumner was added to the Better Housing League staff to work with migrant families, aided by a grant of the Appalachian Fund. (7) Emanuel Center invited P.F. Ayer, workshop director, to meet its Mothers Club and get their frank view of city life. Mr. Ayer will do so soon, and while here will check with the workshop-bus tour team on their activites. (8) MFRC contacted a union leader who must deal with some migrants' problems in industry; he gave us grassroots facts, we gave him materials which he read and found helpful. (8) Riverview Neighbors House is weighing a proposal from Berea that it be part of a hills-to-city guidance system for newcomers. The idea needs clarification.

(9) A newspaper story about two brothers' running away to their native hills moved us to ask what the staff of their school in Cincinnati had sensed and done about their problem. After inquiry, we got an impressive account of the alert work of teacher, counseller, psychological testers; the talks with the mother; finding a school job for one brother, shoes for the other, etc. Though the boys did run away, there were signs that part of their problems had been handled, and the chances of their adjusting greatly enhanced. We emphasize that all this was done before headlines, by busy but concerned educators.

INQUIRIES & CONSULTATIONS

Numerous and varied, these requests range from vital to minor; from a 3-minute answer to hours of work...There was the evening trip to counsel a country town's leaders on its racial changes...Or the hour well spent with a 'Yankee' professor now teaching in a southern Negro college, and eager to be of greater service...Mrs. Coffey's consultation with a child-serving agency...Her aid to a college lad, brought in by a Councilman, to get the quick dope for three term papers...in direct rivalry with immediate home demands was

our effort to answer Kalamazoo and Tulsa's call for facts on agencies like ours; Flint's need for police-training material; an Indiana U. professor's call for FEP data; etc. There were the typical high schoolers' vague requests for something on segregation and discrimination; a request for the lowdown on a suggested speaker; a teacher's call for a speaker on Indians; population questions. NEXT?

HOUSING

In a neighborhood of somewhat fading gentility, sale of a house to a Negro family was reported to us and to another agency, and together we worked to get information, diagnose the situation, utilize our contact with one resident to reach others and to plan small-meeting discussions with them. Meeting rumors that three families were in the house, two "on welfare", we got the facts: Mr. C is a skilled worker, his wife has worked as a practical nurse until recently; there are three children; his mother lives with them; also a married niece while her husband is in service. We conveyed this to the neighbors via our contact. ...Further attention and aid to the situation is being worked on.

Other housing items included getting clear information about a racial shift in a tenement in the east Basin, partly because a community center was interested and was able to interpret the situation to residents of the area; consulting with other agencies on neighborhood changes in general; and following Laurel-Richmond plans and recommendation to City Council.

MISCELLANEOUS

(1) We put a principal in touch with the Committee on Youth as best able to discuss with him the attitudes of some of his pupils. (2) With other agencies, evaluated the UC summer workshop in a meeting with its staff. (3) To a mother who felt her son was unfairly punished in school, advised one more effort to work it out with the principal; then call us if she wished to. (4) We consulted the Crime Bureau on tracing of 'hate' letters.

SPEAKING DATES: UC Teachers College, 'Edn. 101' classes (MB,VC 12/8-9)
Christ Hospital student nurses (VC 12/11)
Christ Hospital student nurses (Dewey Wood, Herbert Kullman (12/18)

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REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR JANUARY 1960

1960 BOARD APPOINTMENTS BY THE MAYOR

The 17th annual appointments by Mayor Donald D. Clancy to MFRC's Board of Trustees included nine newcomers (all but one 'promoted' from the General Committee) and 24 reappointees. Leonard D. Slutz was named chairman for his second year. New Trustees included Henry W. Hobson, Jr., attorney, active in many civic tasks, and the following from the General Committee: Rabbi Murray Blackman of Rockdale Temple; Dr. Edmund C. Casey, Avondale doctor; Mrs. Richard Forberg, active in agencies and clubs; Bernard Fox, president of the Catholic Interracial Council; Lawrence Hawkins, principal, Ach Junior High School; James I. Luken, Teamsters Union leader; Aldon A. McLeod, president, Cincinnati Real Estate Brokers Association; Robert I. Westheimer, broker.

Reappointed to the Board were Mrs. Stephen Badgett, Mrs. E. Leon Bennett, Judge Gilbert Bettman, George Bidinger, Wallace T. Collett, Mrs. R. J. DiSalvo, Mrs. Clarence Doty, Edgar S. Edelmann, George E. Fee, Dr. Carter V. Good, Richard Guggenheim, Joseph A. Hall, Albert E. Heekin, Jr., Rev. Alanson Higbie, Arthur F. Hull, Jr., C. E. Israel, Reuven J. Katz, M. P. Link, Charles Posner, Rev. Rudolph Prickril, S.J., George Redfern, D. R. Turpeau, Rev. Lawrence Walter. Retiring from the Board were: Al Bilik, Rev. L. V. Booth, Edward W. McDonald, Stanley M. Rowe, Jr., Mrs. Harold Scheele, LeRoy J. Walker, Jr., Penn W. Zeigler.

The Mayor in making the appointments received suggestions from a Nominating Committee (Mr. Heekin, chairman, Mr. Rowe, Mr. Bidinger, Mr. Walker). He indicated that he will appoint two others to the Board in the near future, when making the 1960 appointments to the General Committee.

The Trustees so chosen are a major asset of our work. They are influential in many walks of life. Together, they make MFRC's policy. Its approaches and priorities, the planning of staff effort--these are the result of discussions and decisions on the second Thursday of every month. Our Trustees put into MFRC their civic knowledge, intelligence, energy and conscience. Their very diversity of viewpoints is a flexible strength, because when all are heard and a working consensus emerges, then MFRC is well fortified for its controversial, peacemaking tasks. Without their work and wisdom the job would be impossible.

MARCH 29--Mark that Date!--MFRC ANNUAL MEETING

At Woodward High School, beginning with dinner at 6, you have a date...The speaker will be an eminent leader in the intergroup field, Dr. Frederick Routh, director of the Michigan FEP Commission, president of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. Hold the date.

HOW MUCH HAVE WE LEARNED FROM CONFLICT SITUATIONS?

January was "exam time" for Cincinnati in problems involving interracial and interreligious relations. Three conspicuous tests stemmed from: (1) Edward Becker's resignation from the Board of Education; (2) the fatal shooting by police of Charles and Virgil Brady; (3) anti-Semitic writings left by vandals who broke into Ach Junior High School. Lesser items included the gambling raid at 710 South Crescent; neighborhood changes; and the city's share of continuing nationwide debate on the religion of presidential candidates, also the question of birth control and foreign aid.

Improvement of intergroup relations is MFRC's jobs. Its task is not to be an ultimate fact-finder or adjudicator, especially in disputes having other than intergroup aspects. However, MFRC's staff and Board try to probe and understand a disputed situation as thoroughly as possible. That was attempted in every case in January. What is done with the facts depends on the total circumstances.

(1) Difficulties in surely identifying all the facts and factors were met in the Board of Education case. What MFRC did first was to encourage talks among its Catholic members toward some consensus among them. Then their views were weighed in the Board's discussion. Only after this careful examination was it agreed unanimously that a public statement by MFRC would not serve the interests of any group, of the schools, or the general welfare. This was the decision after many, many hours of calls, talks, study and the final deliberations.

(2) After the Brady case hit the headlines, Chairman Slutz appointed a subcommittee to get all available facts and to advise the Board on February 11. At January's end it was awaiting completion of the official investigation (expected about February 5), had invited NAACP to give it information, and was getting the staff's grist of inquiries. A significant fact was the responsible demeanor of various Negro leaders, and the restraint which marked the January 30 mass-meeting and the funeral on February 1. Such attitudes invite all possible effort to make this tragic case a basis for improved practices and communications.

(3) Another break into Ach Junior High, on New Year's weekend, was unusual in the anti-Semitic writings left by the vandals. Following a foul rash of such acts in Germany and the USA, a reporter's call to MFRC's executive led him to say, carefully, that he was "skeptical" of any deep anti-Semitic significance in this incident; that it was likely to prove a juvenile attention-getting act. This opinion was borne out five days later, after hundreds of hours of investigation by school, police, juvenile court and agencies staffs; but the interval was an anxious time for many people. We kept in touch with the Jewish community, helped to check a possibility of Negro Moslem influence (none established). We talked to Catholic and Protestant leaders about a possible statement of concern; but the local case's ambiguity deferred a decision...Later, Archbishop Alter's broader statement from the Catholic Bishops of the USA proved to be an affirmation of democratic values to which people of every persuasion could say "Amen."

In a different way, the January 30 gambling raid at 710 South Crescent was a test of people in a racially changing area, who organized last year to maintain neighborly ties and good occupancy standards. After the first shock they seemed to be taking steps, with officials and among themselves, to keep working at it. ...In a few areas there were racial changes or rumors; these need no special comment here; they are "more of the same" tests of people's balance in tension.

"Conflict's creative uses" may strike some folks as a high-falutin term, and unrealistic, too, as they think of the emotions and collisions that mark the cases above. Yet everyone "learns from experience" or hopes he does so. In community

affairs there is a special need to do that; to review helping factors, and the reverse; to see how the one can be strengthened and the other reduced in impact, before another problem comes along. We hope that many in Cincinnati are doing that kind of analysis of January's problems.

WE LOOK INTO THE 'SIXTIES

"Goals, Directions and Priorities" of intergroup work in the decade ahead were energetically studied by 23 picked leaders in the field, January 20-22 at New York City. MFRC's executive came back with 35 packed pages of notes, to put to local use the great stimulus of the seven sessions. After a first day's look at the nature, organization and professionalizing of intergroup work in the USA, four problem areas were tilled deeply: the changing status of the Negro; changing relations among religious groups; international impacts upon U.S. intergroup relations; population growth and shifts. Equally valuable were the papers, done by top authorities, and their 'tearing apart' by diversely experienced workers from every growing edge of group life in America.

What started in New York will culminate in Cincinnati next November, at the 1960 conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. NAIRO began this goal-setting in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee's dedication of its new building. Next, the papers and discussions will appear in the NAIRO Journal of Intergroup Relations, for all members and others interested to study, then to discuss in local and regional meetings. In September a second top conference will review the grassroots reactions. Finally, the content of all this will become the conference menu in Cincinnati. It may be an historic event.

For the conference, our local agencies are working to see that many citizens will have ringside seats, and a part in putting Cincinnati's best foot forward. In January Mrs. Coffey was working with our colleagues in getting committees busy on early planning. But it is our warmest hope that many readers of the Report will not merely support the affair but also sample its smorgasbord of ideas, and meet the men and women who toil to strengthen and unify our nation-of-nations.

HOUSING & CHANGE

(1) Our Committee on Changing Neighborhoods was active through its subcommittees. Its 'Task Force' met and started a file of citizens in every part of town, who would be assets in tension or rumor situations. More than 200 names were put on cards. The unit on Zoning covered re-zoning hearings. The Literature subcommittee examined materials, and set a film-viewing meeting at the Library. Another group was studying how to record changes on a city map.

(2) Three 'change' situations were current. One, from December, was neglected badly in the press of work. Several hours' work indicated that a second report was 'exaggerated'. A third was fully studied, and a Board member's special role was invoked to seek the remedy for what is a double intergroup problem.

Note: The above activities and inquiries, so barely reported, involved help from nearly 25 citizens. A Councilman once asked us if more of our work could not be done by volunteers. We told him the 'gratis' average was way up already.

FEP STAFFER CHOSEN

Robert Coates' appointment to head the southwest Ohio office of the Ohio Civil Rights Commission was announced on the 19th. Formerly with the Crosley division of AVCO, and with Xavier University's publicity and placement offices, Mr. Coates will cover 21 counties in administering the Fair Employment Practices law, and in carrying out other civil rights functions of OCRC. He will open an office here. OCRC Chairman Richard Guggenheim lives in Cincinnati, too.

MOUNTAIN MIGRANTS (1) Travelers Aid, Riverview Neighbors House and MFRC studied proposals for a hills-to-city migration guidance system, and agreed on practical questions as yet unanswered. (2) P. F. Ayer lunched with 20 people here, reporting migrant work in other cities and in the Appalachians; he planned a meeting of "mountain folk only" here in February. (3) Experimental work of local psychiatrists and caseworkers with migrants was reported to us.

MISCELLANEOUS (1) The trial mailing to Cincinnatus Assn. members ends with this issue; will continue to individuals by request. (2) 'MFRC wives' volunteered for the work party that put the December Report in the mail Jan. 12 and will aid ladies of the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs in mailing this issue on Feb. 9. (3) Mrs. Coffey spent three days at NAIRO Board meetings in Detroit. (4) We briefed Dr. Stuart Kravetz, new psychiatric resident assigned to the Municipal Court Clinic. (5) We welcomed creation of an interracial study group of Xavier students, led by Fr. David McCarthy, S.J. (6) Police reports of interracial, interfamily bickering led us to get the aid of a community center staff in the vicinity. (7) Talks here by Fr. Kilmer Myers of New York were an aid to us and many others in planning adequate inner-city programs. (8) Various calls for information by local and outside persons were handled.

SPEAKING DATES: Baptist Pastors (MB 1/4); Walnut Hills Baptist Church (MB 1/8) Pleasant Ridge PTA, panel (MB 1/11); Torch Club (MB 1/14) Ninth Street Baptist Church (MB 1/24); Garfield School PTA, panel (VC 1/20_

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REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FOR MARCH 1960

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS IS COMMUNITY RELATIONS AT 16th ANNUAL MEETING

"Basically, we seek a society in which the individual is secure, enjoys personal liberty, practices community responsibility, treasures the richness of diversity, and possesses dignity. The task of building such a society is enormous, yet it is not insurmountable; it can be done and each of us has something to contribute to its success...If you truly care and really try, you will receive the approbation of free men everywhere."

So spoke Frederick Routh, Michigan FEP director, in his keynote address to a 'rich diversity' of 250 Cincinnatians at the dinner and discussion meeting at Woodward High School on March 29. They listened intently, then went into seven concurrent discussion sessions on as many local aspects of the main theme. They went armed with Dr. Routh's probing observations about the major U.S. problems of our time: (1) the desegregation controversy in the South, an acute situation which may get worse before it gets better, but is moving inevitably toward a democratic solution; and (2) the intergroup problems of industrial, metropolitan areas wherever people come ill-prepared for the meeting, and for city living.

"We live in the most complex, heterogeneous, constantly changing society ever devised. In it, we have not learned to accept or reject people as individuals...90% of our intergroup problems come from our thinking in terms of in-groups and out-groups, of fearing the unfamiliar, and from seeking to protect status. The acculturation process in the U.S. does not adequately prepare people to live in this society. The social institutions through which youngsters and adults learn about the world and their society--the home, the church, the school, the government, the mass media, the business community and the labor organizations--have not been adequate to the task. They have been less than effective because they have not understood the greatly complex and dynamically changing society they helped to create. All need to reexamine their values, goals, functions."

Letter
Letter

Dr. Routh cogently touched on other live topics, such as the student protest in the South (a "coffee party" likely to go into history alongside the Boston Tea Party); what more Congress and the President can do in the southern crisis; Ohio's new FEP law ("don't try to find guilt; look for error and seek equity"); and ways in which all of us can be on the team that builds a better society...Now let us look at the seven-fold discussions that followed:

1: CHANGING RACE RELATIONS IN CINCINNATI

Led by Leonard Slutz, this group was enriched by the gamut of its members' experiences and observations. It did not achieve a balance sheet of progress and lags, partly due to lack of time, but in downright terms every aspect of community relations got attention. It was agreed that most progress had been made in employment. Housing, of course, was eyed as the $64 problem in its impact upon individuals, institutions, neighbor-

hoods, and the very climate of life. In churches, the stands of women, youth and men's groups were seen to vary significantly; and in other areas differences between attitudes of youths and adults were noted too. Repeatedly the group tussled with the problem of enabling people to know each other across group lines. This section had an impressive variety of observations to exchange--but too little time to shape them into trends, or plus-minus estimates.

2: HELPING NEWCOMERS

Prominent here were seven teachers and two principals, from Rothenburg, Millvale, Sixth District, Mt. Adams and Columbian Elementary Schools, and Taft High, eager to talk about mountain migrants. Present also were staff people from Family Service, Salvation Army, Better Housing League, Emmanuel Community Service, Aid for the Aged; plus a police captain, a PTA head, personnel man, beverage salesman, two sociology students and an MFRC member who works with American Indians. Leader Robert Finch tersely pictured the hills-to-city trek, then asked: "What are you in the agencies doing to help these newcomers"? While folks were answering, Dr. Routh came and was drafted to help suggest how to reach the newcomers and to motivate them toward self-improvement. Informal education using natural groups was emphasized. Youth's low motivation in school was analyzed, and remedial approaches suggested. After the problem census had run on, Mr. Finch reminded the group that time is a healer in such matters; that many hill families have made a successful life here; that most of today's "problem" families may adjust in time.

3: THE NEW FEP ERA

Leader Richard A. Forberg opened with three questions: "Now that we have the law, what do we do with it? What are the techniques of interpreting the law? How is business being informed of what is expected?" For resource people he had the best: the Ohio Civil Rights Commission's chairman, executive director and southwest area director--Richard Guggenheim, Frank Baldau and Robert Coates. Some 25 questions were answered with factual precision. Because the men with such answere were on tap, and many details could be disposed of, the group did not get on to such matters as the additional efforts which must be made by various agencies and groups to motivate minority members to qualify for skilled jobs; or the new roles to be played by FEP advocates, in the new chapter of confidential investigation and conciliation, unsuited to headlines.

4: HOUSING & PEOPLE

This was the largest group, equipped with well informed persons--but running out of discussion time like all the others. Wallace Collett as leader tapped participants' experience to document what happens in a changing area, with respect to population increase, schools, churches, business; and the effect of housing segregation upon institutional patterns. To one person's call for more educational work with the newcomers, the effort of neighborhood groups and their increase in number was cited by Urban League and Avondale Community Council staffs. In discussing realty values and overcrowding, it was stressed that old-mansions areas might change more than single-home neighborhoods.

When Dr. Routh came in and was asked about Fair Housing legislation in Pittsburgh, New York and four states, he stated that in some areas real estate men, who had strongly opposed such a law, later backed it as strongly when they found it was good for business. Mr. Collett distributed a Wall Street Journal peice on "suburban integration" efforts, and opposition to it. Several persons questioned if city officials had adequately planned for relocation to decent housing before slum-clearance was started. One builder stated that Negro home-seekers had financing problems which complicated efforts to build for them; this was challenged by several Negroes.

Mr. Collett distributed pledge cards circulated in several communities for signature by persons willing to sell or rent without racial discrimination... Adjournment time came when the group felt it was just getting to jugular issues. Later, MFRC was called by some present, urging a follow-up session of interested participants, and this will be done if a canvass establishes it is widely wanted.

5. RELIGION'S CONTRIBUTION

Some 30 persons of the three faiths took part in the discussion led by the Rev. Alanson Higbie, who first asked: "As a peace-making force have our churches and temples been effective"? A rather large number felt they were not as effective as they could or should be. It was said that they should be a leavening agent working through the whole social fabric, preaching and also acting upon their social gospel. Mr. Higbie emphasized that men can be "reconcilers" only after they are "reconciled."

Dr. Routh, arriving, was asked why churches move when the community changes. He replied that a congregation may not sufficiently believe what they are taught. They may take from an area both their religious and secular institutions. He noted, that, on the whole, Roman Catholics have done so less often than other Christian bodies. He said that in the South organized religion has done more than any other element to push for equal rights, and that "something strange and wonderful" is happening in southern seminaries. Saying that some clergymen have had a leading role in the civil rights fight, he stressed that Martin Luther King is a clergyman of deep faith. He urged that all religious bodies work closely together in all areas of common concern where they can conscientiously do so.

Mr. Higbie mentioned recent emphasis upon the "ministry of the laity" and suggested that the synagogues have been more successful than Christian churches in motivating laymen to accept civic responsibilities in intergroup relations. When someone suggested that some clergymen fail to "needle" their people enough, it was noted that the churches have a pastoral as well as a prophetic role to play; a duty to their own members as well as to reach out and touch others. For this twofold task both the clergy and the "ministry of the laity" is needed.

6: RACE & THE WORLD TODAY

Led by Lawrence Hawkins, this group probed the causes of the "uncommitted" people's distrust of the U.S. and other Western nations. This divided into the reactions to treatment of the Negro in the U.S., and also the American (and Western) attitudes toward and treatment of nations and peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America. On the first point, it was quickly agreed that domestic race relations was a heavy liability for the U.S.; more attention was given to our economic, diplomatic and other interactions with people striving for new status. Someone said the U.S. erred in basing its competition with Russia on weapons while neglecting social issues. Dr. Routh said no one "cause" is the nub; we must see the total picture. The final minutes were given to what the individual can contribute to better our moral position in the world today.

7: INTERGROUP COMMUNICATIONS

The Rev. Lawrence Walter led this effort to assay Cincinnati's formal means of informing people about each other, and informal ways of providing interaction, acquaintance and common-interest activities. Personal examples were given of the forming and unlearning of stereotypes (quoting a teen-ager: "Do you know the colored boys at Withrow don't carry knives?"); conformity in change areas (a white 9-year-old can't understand why her best friend may not come to her house any more); a nurse who trained in Virginia ("There were two colored girls and 10 white girls. We were housed separately, did not eat together, but there was communication and we became friends."). And so it went.

SUMMING IT ALL UP

Greatest asset of this event was the people who came. We can in hindsight see ways of improving conduct of the discussions, and will try to do so in 1961. But the meld of people was the best. We shall send this report to all of them, and hope that they will continue to "contage" their neighbors with the vision we caught together: Community relationships are everybody's business.

Following his early appointments to the Board, Mayor Clancy made these new appointments to the General Committee: Edward Arlinghaus, Brigadier Wm. Chamberlain, the Rev. Arthur Cowley, Dean Campbell Crockett, Francis L. Dale, Mrs. Mamie Faulkner, David G. Gamble, William Garnes, Mrs. Paul Henry, Mrs. Francis Hortenstine, Maurice Jacobs, Ellison Jeffries, Paul H. Jones, Mrs. Franklin Lacey, Dr. John Ordway, Dr. Robert Reid, the Rev. Dr. David Sageser, Edgar O. Seibert, Dr. James Titchner, Walter R. Tucker, Mrs. Kaye Watanabe and James E. Wolfe.

Retiring Board members were named to the General Committee as follows: Al Bilik, the Rev. L. V. Booth, Edward McDonald, Stanley Rowe, Jr., Mrs. Harold Scheele, LeRoy J. Walker, Jr. and Penn W. Zeigler.

Reappointments to the General Committee included: Charles L. Bartlett, Miss Jenna R. Birks, Mrs. William M. Blaine, Bishop Roger W. Blanchard, Robert D. Bollard, the Rev. Stanley R. Boughton, Roy Cahall, the Rev. Dr. Raoul Calkins, Mrs. Raymond Callender, Malcolm Chandler, the Rev. John Compton, Calvin Conliffe, Dr. A. H. Darden, Rowland Dietz, David B. Dupee, the Rev. B. B. Evans, Stuart L. Faber, Robert H. Ferger, Claude C. Fletcher, Mrs. Ted Folz, Rabbi Fishel J. Goldfeder, Mrs. Harold Goldstein, Frank J. Gorsler, Mrs. Verna Greene, James E. Hines, Douglas L. Hoge, Albert H. Huneke, the Rev. Richard Isler, Charles M. Judd, Judge William J. Keating, Judge John W. Keefe, William L. Kircher, Mrs. Joseph A. Lambert, Dr. Walter G. Langsam, Robert A. Lauer, Simon Lazarus, Jr. Mrs. James M. Levy, Roy M. Liles, Norfleet Lowe, Mrs. Irving Magorian, John Magro, Mrs. Dan H. McKinney, Ernest I. Miller, Dr. J. M. Mulvey, the Rev. William A. Nelson, the Rev. Paul O'Connor, Thomas Oyler, the Rev. Albert Q. Perry, Wendell H. Pierce, Webster Posey, Harry L. Reece, Leon Render, Frank T. Rhoad, Jr., John A. Scanlon, Mrs. Milton Schloss, Mrs. Eugene Schrand, the Rev. Henry Sherrill, Crosby U. Smith, S. Arthur Spiegel, Philip Steiner, John R. Stenger, Mrs. Frederick Sweet, Dick Thornburg, Cleon Wingard and Mrs. Curtis L. Wooten.

Retired from the General Committee after five years thereon were: Vincent H. Beckman, Myron Bush, Rabbi Albert Goldman, Walter Grainger, Dr. Hoke S. Greene, Mrs. Jerome Jelin, Morse Johnson, George W. Malone, Charles Norris, Robert F. Reckman, Dr. Henry Ryder, Judge Benjamin S. Schwartz, Mrs. Joseph A. Segal, William B. Stanton, Jr., Robert D. Stern, Mrs. S. Charles Straus, and Henry Trounstine.

POLICE-CITIZEN RELATIONS

On March 11 the Cincinnati NAACP, unsatisfied with official findings on the Brady case, requested City Council to set up a review board of citizens to restudy it. Council asked the Manager for information which he supplied on the 23d. On the 28th, Council's Welfare Committee (Taft, Gilligan, DeCourcy) heard NAACP's presentation, and discussed fully (1) problems of establishing the facts about the Brady case, and (2) improving police-citizen relations generally. Chairman Taft said he would read the full police report, asked for NAACP's own information on the case—granted—and requested MFRC to supply information about review boards and related programs in other cities.

MFRC was at work already. On the 2d, its special committee (Judd, Zeigler and Katz) reviewed material from Philadelphia, Detroit and St. Louis on complaint procedures, biracial patrol teams and community relations programs. Mr. Judd presented to our Board on the 10th their general views of the Brady case, also specific proposals for the future, to support good police practices and citizens' understanding of them; to check and study lapses; to set up a picked committee for continuing study; to consult regularly with minority members; to work at the district level with police and community leaders; to study, and assist in any way possible, human-relations training of police; and to study news media, including the minority press, as a factor in police-citizen understanding.

Thorough discussion by the Board sharpened some of these proposals, and the staff and committee were told to proceed. On the 23d, staff and committee met with 10 Negro members of MFRC, to get their thinking and to give the committee's ideas. This session produced both light and heat. Their feelings, and experiences of some, were a salutary aid to the committee. More of these meetings will be held in coming months. Two-way communication is bound to improve thereby...Then came the Council hearing of NAACP's request, consultations with city officials, and work to begin implementing some of the proposals mentioned above.

Show Me the Way, a new novel by Robert Portune, was read by our executive at March's end, a copy immediately ordered for circulation in MFRC. Cincinnati is not identified as the locale of the story, but Mr. Portune's information on police-citizen problems was secured here, and there are interesting observations in it.

HOUSING

(1) Our Committee on Changing Neighborhoods met to see and evaluate a new sound-filmstrip, "House of Decision," depicting a Negro family's search for a decent home. It was produced by the Philadelphia Human Relations Commission, aided financially by other agencies including MFRC. (2) A realtor arranged for showing "House of Decision" to a discussion group. (3) We gave hasty counsel to two change areas; also kept in touch with Relocation staff's new listings.

MUCH WORK, BRIEFLY NOTED

(1) MFRC's executive spent several hours with leaders of the Japanese-American Citizens League's chapter here, suggesting civic activities to them (two later attended our annual meeting). (2) Our member who is working with relocated Indians reported discriminations they had encountered, but had hesitated to reveal. We'll dig into this. (4) Rachel DuBois, who is a skilled leader of "group conversation" techniques to bring together folk of varied backgrounds, dropped in while working with the Friends Meeting here, and interested us with her account of work with people caught in housing tensions.

(5) Mrs. Coffey gave many hours to preparation for the Career Conference held April 3 by the Urban League and several Negro organizations. (6) With other agencies' people, MFRC leaders attended the luncheon for Septima Clark and heard the shocking story of Highlander Folk School's fight against segregationist attacks in Tennessee. (7) Mr. Bragdon and several Board members were busy assisting in preparation for the Institute on Police-Community Relations, held April 6-7 by the Police Department and Conference of Christians and Jews.

(8) We've helped many students on reports and papers, but found novelty in the 10-year-old who came for information on the condition of Negroes here, and

(we're told) made a remarkably mature report to his 5th-grade classmates.
(8) Mrs. Coffey was consulted by the Big Sisters in its search for volunteers.
(9) Mrs. C's earlier speaking date at Seton High had two dividends: learning that Seton has a Negro teacher of business subjects; and writing up the appearance of Jean Zimmerman on Dave Garroway's TV program about southern problems.

(1) A citizen came to tell us about an unpleasantness he'd had with a Negro businessman: Didn't we think such behavior (and language) was bad for race relations? Regrettable, we told him; but luckily no group's standing depends on the demeanor of its most cussed members--or we'd all be in the doghouse.

SPEAKING DATES: Fedn. of Colored Women's Clubs (VC 3/1); Charter Women (VC 3/8)
Fellowship House Youth (MB 3/13); Junior League course (MB 3/16)
Dads Club, Mother of Mercy Academy (MB 3/16); Douglass PTA (VC 3/17)
All Saints Episcopal, Couples Club (MB 3/20); Methodist OSU students (MB 3/22)
St. John's AME Zion Church (VC 3/27); Bd.Edn. Human Relations Committee (MB 3/15)

—Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

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REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FOR JULY ~~AUGUST~~ - ~~SEPTEMBER~~ 1960

VARIED WORK AND STUDY IN TRANSITION AREAS Aided by John Hofer's field trips and interviews, we were able to cover several areas, and to get fuller information if not to solve problems quickly. His reports will continue to aid us.

(1) In one area which has many assets for meeting change, he interviewed a dozen residents, getting facts and feelings about churches, schools, the new neighbors, community organization possibilities, etc. Mrs. Coffey also talked to several families, counselling as well as questioning them. An MFRC Trustee's contacts were used. School executives were consulted, and were interested in the approach. Thus the summer produced a sheaf of information for later use...Someone has defined a "mixed neighborhood" as "a place where people don't mix." All too true. In this area, it was encouraging to have white and colored residents consult each other, and then MFRC, regarding a new family's parties which were annoying everyone. Discovery of common values and interests was a byproduct of that incident. More of the same is necessary and possible.

(2) In two adjoining communities, field trips followed Mr. Bragdon's meeting with clergy and laymen of a half-dozen churches. Mr. Hofer toured the whole area with a businessman who knew it thoroughly. He then talked with the pastor of a large church, next with the minister of a small church set in the area of greatest change. The latter had a mine of information about attitudes, taverns, realty salesmen's methods, and strains within an old congregation. Mr. Bragdon was to speak in his church in September.

(3) A neighbors association invited MFRC's executive and vice chairman to join their difficult discussion of "aims and purposes." Beside the past-midnight session, there were long phone calls with members who wanted the group to be nondiscriminatory, yet effective in maintaining community standards, and alert to any pitfalls. Our vice-chairman praised this effort.

(4) Another Board member reported details of an "improvement" association's formation in his neighborhood, and other evaluations were secured. Meanwhile Mr. Hofer's interviews documented trends, problems and assets in the area's situation. Another city official reported checking complaints against families moving in, and finding no overcrowding or other violations.

(5) In an area equipped with a staffed community council, Mr. Hofer talked to pastors, social workers and others who could supplement what he got from the cooperation with the council, and efforts to "put old wine in new bottles."

(6) A sixth area was studied too, but somehow we were unable to figure how to tap leadership. We swapped information with an agency also studying it, and took part in a social planners' study of the area's recreational needs.

6 ATTEND MOUNTAIN WORKSHOP

The second annual 'urban adjustment' workshop at Berea, Ky., July 8-24, trained these Cincinnatians: Mrs. A.B. Bereskin, PTA leader; Mrs. Victor Cooper, Miss Violette Maxey, Public Schools; Daniel Goepper, Youth Center; Robert Roland, Adult Probation staff; Miss Elizabeth Simpson, Public Library. Purpose: To give city agencies and leaders more understanding of the situation whence mountain migrants come...Our John Hofer interviewed all six on return, to set down their fresh evaluation of the experience. Reactions were cogent, both favorable and critical; they'll be shared with the planners. This 1960 team will join the 11 persons who went to Berea last year. Together, the 17 represent many of the agencies and institutions which can vitally affect the newcomers adjustments--and which have called for training of this sort.

To illustrate local interest and needs in this area; (1) We supplied migration information to a Welfare Council committee studying service to migrants, and considering whether such work merits more United Appeal support. (2) Cleveland agencies--group work and church work--want to send people here this fall to study work with migrants. (3) The need for some kind of information center for the migrants was further discussed by agencies. (4) A PS on a Mt. Adams for-rent sign read: "No briars." That illustrates the culture-conflict involved....

RELIGION IN AVONDALE

Our summer 'legman' took an informal census of, and look at, the churches and temples of Avondale, and we pass on his findings. He found 30 that have plants, are building, or plan to do so. He listed them as follows: Jewish 4, Baptist 10, AME Zion 2; one each of Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Episcopal, Lutheran, Presbyterian, CME, Seventh Day Adventist, Church of God, and Temple of Islam; plus 5 'other'. Two of these will build soon; four are under construction; six have recently built. All are using brick or cinder block.

Of the 28 existing buildings, 19 have been specifically designed for worship; one is a former Jewish school; one has taken over a theater, one has space over a cleaners; six are converted houses. Only one might be called a "store front". Construction: 16 are of brick; 7 of stone; 2 of cinder block; 3 are frame, 2 of which were built for worship. Most of them are substantial, well kept. The buildings left by departing congregations are being used by new churches, with the exception of the synagogue at Rockdale and Washington--used by the Boys Clubs....We do not doubt there are financial problems and other difficulties not seen in a tour. Yet the 'forward' emphasis is evident. The diverse congregations of the area seem fairly well equipped to aid and support community progress.

CHURCHES DO MANY THINGS

Reviewing the summer, we note various church programs reflecting creative alertness--and perspiration. Mrs. Coffey was invited to speak to seven seminary students doing volunteer work in a four-church setup in the West End, including one Negro, two integrated and one white congregation. At First Lutheran on Race, Mr. Hofer discovered a summer project and a year-round emphasis which attract and help youth in that troubled area. A Presbyterian pastor came to show us the citywide racial map which a denomination committee had prepared to guide denominational planning and priority decisions. A Negro congregation sent an envoy for suggestions in planning an information session for members, on police-citizen relations. And Mr. Hofer getting information from the Council of Churches about vacation Bible schools and weekday religious education, came upon several instances where these programs were utilized to bring people together, where church integration had not been achieved. No doubt there are many other creative programs we've not heard about--and we would much appreciate knowing about them (call GA 1-5700, line 238).

MISUNDERSTANDING; REGRETS; FRESH START

Two matters of Negro weekly papers' reaction to what they thought MFRC's executive had done or intended—these were a subject of concern and action in July and August. One arose from an unclear passage in the June Report, which noted that a victim of discrimination had gone to MFRC instead of to the minority press. The wording was regrettably ambiguous; no question about that. Two editors took this as an intended slur upon the Negro press. One phoned our chairman and seemed satisfied with the explanation. The other met with three MFRC officers, bringing four citizens with him, and a full discussion was held. Nearly all seemed to feel the matter was clarified, and ways of avoiding misunderstanding suggested. The editor was not satisfied.

A second and serious misstatement was the printed report that MFRC was making a "white only" hunt for a new staff member. This was totally false. MFRC's executive with Mrs. Coffey gave the full facts to the editor, who was chagrined at the error. The three also talked out the "slur" matter, and went on to plan frequent contacts for mutual benefit and to avoid errors.

MFRC's executive much regrets any misunderstanding which hurts a cause, not just a person or group. His view of the Negro press is this: It is a needed voice with a vital function. Its protest role is basic; it should report discrimination again and again. Of course it makes mistakes, just like the dailies and other organs. But in the years MFRC has worked with the Negro press, we have admired those men and women who fight injustice, raise group morale and welcome intergroup understanding and cooperation. And none of them are overpaid!

MISCELLANEOUS

(1) A woman seeking a course at a commercial school to qualify for promotion, was refused admission, she reported to us. We called the school; it made no bones about excluding Negroes, said it was breaking no law. Nothing we could do at that point; but MFRC and other agencies will not let the matter drop..

(2) Two students from a UC advertising class, sent by the teacher, came to ask about the Negro press, absorbed other information, refreshed us by their interest.

(3) Beside the loud-parties complaint cited in this issue, three neighborhood nuisances were reported from as many as many areas by citizens. Dealing with one called for a field trip, several phone calls, enlistment of a civic group. The others started with office conferences, led to police investigation or surveillance.

(4) A civic group promoting night courses in its area asked advice; got it.

(5) Dr. David Schwartz was the fourth psychiatric resident assigned to Police Court Clinic, and like the others he came for MFRC orientation at the start of his 3-months stint. Some day the Clinic's work may be adequately publicized. (6) Separately, two citizens asked why race is a point of information needed on local traffic tickets. We suggested they ask the Police about that.

(7) We were consulted by the Citizenship Council when an Indonesian family, brought under sponsor of a local church, was resentfully received in the area where a house was found for them. (8) Another agency asked if we knew of any Puerto Ricans here. They had one who was lonely. We knew of none....

(9) A young business executive, preparing a paper on local race relations to give to a club, came in to try out his ideas on us. Pretty good ones, at that.

(10) A form letter of religious bigotry was received by an MFRC member and passed on to us. What can one say about such verminous, anonymous poison?

THAT WEEKLY COLUMN

Nine articles from MFRC ran in the Call & Post in July and August, most of them by Mrs. Coffey. Topically, they were as follows: July 2, training course to help welfare clients get good jobs; 7/9, noting new school appointments and the Berea workshop team, both assets in helping local youth; 7/16, two bright UC advertising students drop in with a spate of questions about the Negro press, market, etc; 7/23, MB shares a few ideas about recharging our batteries on vacation (preferably in Maine); 7/30, Negro bankers, businessmen and housewives league conference suggests questions on Negro economic progress, and what more must be done to accelerate the advances of recent years.

Also, August 6: Mrs. Coffey meets the students Peace Caravan, and is less than satisfied by local people's avoidance of domestic problems at the meeting; 8/13-VC runs through recent housing information to keep readers informed of recent studies, pressures [illegible] ques affecting future minority housing; 8/20-VC talks to and is impressed by di[illegible] students' summer project at four churches in the West End, and their aim to pas[illegible] city churches; 8/27-An evaluation of and tribute to John Hofer's 12-weeks work for m[illegible] in a variety of field trips and assignments giving us important new facts.

SPEAKING DATES

Woman's City Club (MB 7/11); Housewives League (VC 7/18) First Reformed Church work party (VC 8/8); UC Sociology class (VC 8/19) Eastern Star convention, Sinton Hotel, greetings (VC 8/26)

—Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

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REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR SEPTEMBER 1960

POLICE-CITIZEN RELATIONS: NEW DESIGNS DEBATED Does Cincinnati now have adequate procedures for full and fair handling of citizens' complaints against police? Should it set up an independent citizens review board? These questions were aired in September--in Council, in the news and around town. A 4-hour hearing on the 19th, before Council's Welfare Committee, scrutinized the review board proposal. Nine 'for' organizations were heard, and a like mobilization of opponents. Information on the Philadelphia board was given by M. S. Barol, its staff man. Councilmen Taft, DeCorcy and Gilligan questioned Barol, Chief Schrotel and Winn Newman especially, then took the matter under advisement.

Two days later, Council's majority announced its opposition to a review board. The committee, however, continued preparing its report. At the month's end it was near agreement on recommendations: for printed information advising citizens of available procedures; recorded hearings; periodic reports to Council.

Feelings rose again (pro & con) when the Chief, in a speech on the 29th in Roanoke to Virginia's police chiefs association, assailed the NAACP and American Civil Liberties Union as "renowned for their antagonism to police" and engaged in a "sinister promotion" here, in Detroit and Los Angeles to "control police" by setting up review boards. They "thrive on the social tensions they are supposed to alleviate," he added. (The nations's press carried these quotes; so we record them here.) The local NAACP and ACLU protested to the Manager, who declined to order the Chief to apologize; without commenting upon his statements.

A contentious month; yet fruitful we think, and mainly due to three factors: (1) Taft, DeCorcy and Gilligan's fair examination of the issues, and continuing labor to improve the complaint setup, and citizens' knowledge thereof; (2) the give-and-take of the hearing, the interaction of sincere people on both sides; (3) evidence that Police leaders and community groups involved in the debate, despite their irritations, see that they must work together for the city's good. On the 30th, the Chief agreed to meet eight intergroup agencies on October 10.

MFRC's subcommittee on police-citizen relations in a statement at the hearing noted social conditions that bedevil such relations; then called for two kinds of remedies: "First, a variety of means is needed to give expression to, and airing of, felt grievances. Second, we all need more complete and continuing information on what is being done for complainants and what facts are developed. Such information should be shared with responsible community groups." Calling the Philadelphia agency a "significant effort" it urged more study of it...We mean that. We get conflicting views of it from Philadelphia. We shall reprint its second annual report for our members and other interested citizens, and we shall seek other facts and opinions regarding its effects and effectiveness.

NO PUERTO RICANS? WELL, A FEW Enquirer columnist Al Schottelkotte's quoting of an item in our last Report proved informative--to MFRC, too. The item read: "An agency asked if we know any Puerto Ricans here. The agency had one who was lonely. We knew of none."...Reprinted by Mr. S., that evoked a phone call and a letter which he relayed to us. The call was from Jorge J. Arevalo, UC graduate, who wanted to be helpful if possible. The letter was from Luis del Pilar, UC M.A. '53, now living in Middletown. He named two other solid local citizens of Puerto Rican origin; also the Latin American Club headed by Dr. Mathias Vega of Xavier University...From Chicago's 'MFRC' which deals with many Spanish-speaking migrants came the footnote that two Puerto Ricans recently hitch-hiked to Cincinnati from New York--but continued on to Chicago, "arriving broke."

One of our contacts voiced resentment at "the way Puerto Ricans in general are described"; especially in reports of New York problems. Cincinnati, he said, has its problems of slums, poverty and migration involving different groups. True. And let's face it: some of our ancestors "arrived broke"; were a "problem" to those who got off the boat a few years earlier. America is a tale of people arriving, pushing, aspiring; of some individuals succeeding and others failing in the effort...If more Puerto Ricans come here--no big influx is likely--our schools, agencies and churches are capable of helping them effectively, and we will have some interesting new neighbors.

Incidentally, the men who developed aids for the adjustment of Puerto Ricans in eastern cities know Cincinnati as the town that produced the first manual for understanding another "old American" minority: the Appalachian migrant.

VC HOLDS A MIRROR TO HER HOME TOWN "I had a wonderful start here," said Virginia Coffey in Grand Rapids on the 29th. She let the smiles stay awhile on the faces of city officials and the members of the Human Relations Commission, which had invited her to speak about the work of municipal intergroup agencies. "When I was a little girl on William St., there were two other Negro families, several Irish, Assyrian, etcetera. All of us kids played together and lived in and out of each other's homes. I attended every Greek Orthodox wedding. I tagged after my Catholic friends going to confession and, though Protestant, knelt with them in penance saying the Our Fathers and Hail Marys. I ate Assyrian food at Marie's. It didn't seem odd that my brother, the only Negro, played nightly on the firemen's team. When we moved across the tracks it was the same, except that our friends were Dutch and Italian. Those all-American neighborhoods and schools gave us kids a rich and healthy start. I'm grateful to my native city.

"However, today"--the smiles wavered--"it could not happen in Grand Rapids, if I were a pupil, say, at Franklin, Sheldon, Henry or South High. Segregation in housing produces the one-group school. It splits people into unacquainted and mistrustful groups. It denies to kids now what Grand Rapids once gave me." (Note: This is a fitting story to re-tell. It fits so many U.S. cities.--MB)

Mr. PIERCE CLARIFIES 'ERRONEOUS IMPRESSIONS' After 10 days of news reports of "incidents" in or near public high schools, Supt. Wendell Pierce released a statement telling the parents and all citizens: "Not only is there no evidence of any unusual amount of racial tension, but there is no evidence of a general breakdown of discipline in the schools." His statement began: "Since the opening of school September 6, public attention has been called to a number of occasions of misbehavior by public school pupils. Some incidents occurred on school grounds and others did not. In some cases pupils of different races were involved which caused the question of possible racial friction to be raised. It is believed that a brief analysis of the reported cases on the basis of subsequently established facts will clarify certain erroneous impressions."

The facts of nine incidents were then related (space prevents the quoting here of this material, which appeared in the Post & Times-Star on September 21). Mr. Pierce then commented: "Unfortunate as these incidents are, it is important to note that many of them did not occur on school premises, that the facts are often at variance with earlier reports of incidents, and that many of the occurrences did not involve pupils of opposite race.

"When pupils of opposite race are involved, it is especially dangerous to assume that the incident occurred because of racial differences. Investigations of all cases to date failed to establish any definite racial origin...Among the thousands of pupils in school there will be a limited few who will be responsible for frictions...The schools do not intend to deal lightly with these pupils."

More could be said about the "erroneous impressions" that marred September. They harmed relationships beyond the schools. That fact we must record here. Because the "clarifying" process and the cooperation of many organizations and leaders have somewhat resolved the problem, it is best to "file" the errors and rejoice that Supt. Pierce's cogent words have evoked a helpful response.

TEAMWORK ON TENSIONS

We were called by the landlord of a building at the foot of Mt. Adams. He had agreed to take in a young colored mother; later, wondered if she would face hostility (she was moving in next day). We called Jack Hansan of Riverview Neighbors House, which is close to people on that street, has set up block groups, some of them interracial. Also we phoned Distric 7's Capt. Kline who alerted his beat men. Hansan and the landlord tried to reassure a white tenant, but he insisted on moving at once (but only two doors away; his feelings did not leave the situation). Then the landlord and his wife began to get ugly phone calls, at their home miles away. We called the police race relations specialists. Sgt. Bogosian talked to the ex-tenant and others (none "knew" anything about the calls), then assigned a plainclothesman to watch the area...This story lacks neatness of plot and moral. The Negro mother moved out within five days. Feelings were expressed against her despite the fact that colored families had lived across the street for some time. Such untidy facts do not, however, detract from Riverview's grassroots entree, and the alertness of police to cooperate. The landlord was deeply impressed, though his case was not solved. Shocked by the tension, he praised the agencies that tried to help.

Other "change" items included: (1) the apartment owner who sought advice on finding Negro tenants and trying mixed occupancy, in such manner that his "good" white tenants would remain; (2) an Expressway relocatee's trouble with kids on the street where he bought a building (how does one cope with trouble-making youths anywhere?); (3) an MFRC member's aid in getting accurate information about an 'improvement' association on his edge of the city; (4) with a researcher, discussion of data on change areas which social agencies could practically use to spot new program needs; and talk with a city planner about "neighborhood characteristics and resources for change." (Sounds vague? It was...)

NAIRO CONFERENCE PREP NEARS CLIMAX

In November the nation's intergroup workers were planning a long-scheduled visit to Cincinnati, and local agencies were working hard to make the event memorable. The formal fact is that the 14th annual conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO) will be held November 15 to 18 at the Netherland Hilton Hotel. More than 400 visitors are expected. They will include workers in minorities of every kind; leaders of municipal and state commissions and federal agencies; intergroup specialists of Catholic, Prostestant, Jewish organizations, of labor unions, youth agencies, etc.; urban renewal and planning workers; educators and clergy; social scientists; and not least, lay leaders of boards of all such agencies.

The program includes outstanding experts' views of the changing status of racial gfoups and of religious groups, the new role of education in intergration, trends in intergroup work itself, and not least, the changing city. Sessions on discrimination against foreign students in the USA, and on the southern sit-ins are scheduled. There will be meetings of the different kinds of agencies, also sessions of NAIRO's commissions on housing and family life, manpower utilization, civil rights, interreligious relations, research, and education.

The time in history of this 4-day gathering assures significant stimulus and talk in the meetings (and in the corridors). The November 8 decision's effect on domestic and foreign issues; its impact also upon interreligious relations; the coming of Krushchev and Africa to the UN; anticipation of census statistics; urbanization's complex dynamics; civil rights local and national, and so on--all these dynamic factors will be discussed in terms of intergroup relations.

Cincinnatians are of course welcome at the sessions. Inquiries may be made to any of the eight local sponsoring agencies: American Jewish Committee, Fellowship House, Jewish Community Relations Committee, MFRC, NAACP, Conference of Christians and Jews, Ohio Civil Rigts Commission, and the Urban League.

SPEAKING DATES Willey Memorial Church (MB 9/11); St. Stephens AME (VC 9/18) Junior Chamber of Commerce (MB 9/20); WLW Radio interview (MB 9/28); Grand Rapids (Mich) Human Relations Commission, annual meeting (VC 9/29)

--Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

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Form 3547 Requested

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional C.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MFRC

The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee

105 City Hall, Cincinnati 2

Phone GArfield 1-5700, Line 404

LPR

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR JANUARY 1961

JANUARY THOUGHTS As 1961 began, another page was turned for Cincinnatians, for Americans. But with the new our past tagged along: a mix of society's failures and successes; all our apathies and antipathies as well as empathies; all the reflexes and relationships which both hinder and help desperately needed new human adjustments...A new President called us to hard thinking and sacrifice. Now new leaders must grapple carried-over problems, seek our support for and answer our criticism of proposed solutions...In the host of issues, Americans face the old ones of segregation and racial tension, in South and North. The lunch-counter sit-ins will go on, plus the new theater visitations. Complex questions of Negro leadership and action techniques are pressing. They affect all Americans; in a survival sense we're all in the same lifeboat. Every northern community faces its equivalent of the southern desegregation ordeal. Public and private institutions of every kind and level have responsibilities. But at the root of 1961's challenges, each American must decide what he can do; whether he will be part of the problem, or part of its solution.

"SUPERVISION OF MINORITY WORKERS" That was the topic suggested to MFRC's executive for discussion on the 19th with a "management development" training group of administrators in City Hall. In prep, MB got the views of seemingly successful supervisors, adding his own. To the group, he noted the obvious, that the City is far ahead of the average employer in minority hiring. Considering that a new relationship is involved for many employees, their adjustment is fairly healthy on both sides--and the exceptions can be handled by supervisors of normal skill, if they also see that employees live in two separate worlds, after work. MB sketched some effects of this, to explain "sensitivity" and group-consciousness of some individuals. He cited able supervisors who recognize the wide variety of personality and character in any group and, by trying to understand each individual, incidentally facilitate intergroup adjustments. He told the men they should be proud to have some problems, as the cost of pioneering for equal job opportunity. An example of MFRC consultant service to officials, this discussion is already leading to further talks on an individual basis.

NEW PASTORS' WORKSHOP HELD The Intergroup Agencies Council on January 30 welcomed 27 clergy to its 9th annual orientation for newcomers to local pulpits. The usual information on intergroup trends here was given by eight agencies' executives--who were delighted to be eclipsed by the Rev. Robert Gillespie, whom they had invited to talk, with map, about population movements. "Don't take as long as I did to use these agencies' resources," he told the newcomers (some of whom arranged for speakers and program services before the session ended). Most of the men remained for lunch and more talk, at the YMCA.

The pastors and their churches: Lee John Betts, Mt. Carmel (Ohio) Presbyterian; Kenneth Brown, Mt. Washington Presbyterian; William Buttrick, Christ Church; D. T. Calvert, Faith E. & R., Salem Rd; Roy Converse, Norwood Presbyterian; K. R. Dillon, Salem Methodist, Newport; J. W. Francis, St. Andrew Episcopal; Murray Hastings, Powell Woodward, Earl Hoffman, Church of the Advent, Kemper Lane; Harvey D. Lange, Our Savior Lutheran, Norwood; R. A. Lundquist, New Thought Temple; Marvin Neff, Evendale Community Church; Quentin Peacock, Mariemont Community Church; Lloyd E. Sechriest, Carthage United Church of Christ; J. R. Seymour, Lutheran Church of the Cross; John D. Sharick, Westminster Presbyterian; James L. Shealy, VA Hospital chaplain; Ronald Sloat, May Street Presbyterian; David Spooner, Philippus United Church of Christ; Bennie E. Whiten, Jr., First Reformed; Edwin T. Williams, Trinity Episcopal, Covington; D. J. Witzl, St. Paul United Church of Christ, Ft. Thomas; Marvin G. Wulff, Martini United Church of Christ. Also, Dennis Chandler, Jr., Council of Churches; W. Arthur Milne, president, Bethesda Hospital; J. W. Worthington, Methodist District Superintendent, Northern Kentucky.

The co-sponsors were: American Jewish Committee, Conference of Christians and Jews, Fellowship House; Jewish Community Relations Committee; MFRC; NAACP; Ohio Civil Rights Commission; the Urban League.

HOUSING OF THE FUTURE? Park Town Cooperative Homes hit the public eye and ear in January in an anything-but-dull manner. It began to build up "firsts". First residential project in Laurel-Richmond, it's also the first middle-income FHA-insured cooperative in urban renewal history. Moreover, it is viewed as the tone-setter for later residential building in Laurel-Richmond and Kenyon-Barr. Most important, it's attracting "the kind of people we want to bring back downtown," Manager Reid Ross of Park Town says. When 16 applications were in (up to about 25 now) they included five federal employees; four city employees; three teachers at nearby schools; a nurse, social worker, librarian, public relations man. Most significant, they are 50-50 racially. In the cooperative, they'll be running its affairs together. A functional rather than perfunctory kind of acquaintance will result...Park Town may teach us a thing or two.

MOUNTAIN MIGRANTS: MISCELLANY (1) The Enquirer ran a timely five-piece series, January 22-26, on the problems of east Kentucky especially, and of depressed areas generally. It appeared just as President Kennedy marked east Kentucky and West Virginia high in priority for varied federal aid and action. The series depicts conditions, efforts and dilemmas in east Kentucky; also, disputes in Congress regarding remedies. It's a useful series, and factual--except when it slips into an over-generalization: "Upward of 50,000 'refugees' from the chronically depressed Southern Appalachians reside in Hamilton County. They came untrained for urban living. Their inability to adapt readily has created serious health, welfare, education, police and other problems." As it is written, "serious problems" seem to characterize all 50,000-plus, many of whom came years ago; most of the total have made out pretty well, and are as asset to the city. We doubt the "problems-all" meaning was intended.

(2) The Kentucky Rural Development Committee, meeting in Louisville on the 5th, was keenly interested to hear about urban work with migrants from MFRC's executive and Rev. Robert Gibson of the Lutheran Inner Mission in Dayton. Mr. Bragdon spoke twice, first defining the problems as felt by

migrants and by the city; then describing several cities' education and training of agencies' staffs, to deal understandingly with the newcomers. Listeners represented a score of public and private programs: agriculture, forestry, health & welfare, schools, homemaking, etc. In grassroots relation to future migrants, they can use the new information...Among them was Joe Mobley, UK sociologist, who came as a boy to Baum St., below Mount Adams. He well knows the hopes and strains of the hills-to-city trek.

(3) Mrs. Arthur Spiegel became our volunteer aide specializing in migrant work. She'll keep our materials in order, make fact-finding field trips, help the Berea workshop alumni keep active as a group, compile information and tap activities of other cities. (4) We briefed Mrs. Richard Forberg and Stuart Faber to represent MFRC at the 49th conference of the Council of the Southern Mountains, February 7-11, at Gatlinburg, Tenn. (5) A local foundation, which aids Appalachian service projects, made a third grant to MFRC to support our dissemination of migrant materials.

SPEAKING TO YOUTH Our voices reached many young ears as '61 got under way. On the 9th & 10th, Mr. Bragdon and Mrs. Coffey made three speeches apiece to reach the 365 students in 11 sections of the introductory course at UC's College of Education. Topic: Intergroup trends in Cincinnati, ...On the 7th, MB spoke to Miami University's Human Relations Committee, 75 strong, about the variety of things the group, and individuals, can explore and do to improve relations in Oxford and back home (about a third are from the Cincinnati area)...Alvin Wesley had his first two dates. On the 15th he spoke to youths at St. John's Church, Delhi Hills; and on the 18th to UC students at Westminster Foundation. That one turned into a bull session of 2½ hours duration, free-wheeling and exciting. "They're still talking about it, and want you back," Rev. Robert Kurth told Al two weeks later.

AT THE PUBLIC LIBRARY is documentation of the fact that the freedom of at least 27 million Americans is limited--by inability to live in segregated residential areas. Just published and available to you is David McEntire's "Residence and Race," the final report to the Commission on Race and Housing of a nationwide survey of the housing problems of racial and ethnic minorities. More than 40 social scientists collaborated in the study, conducted during 1955- '58. Their comprehensive findings are here capsuled into a single volume of lasting significance.

The study analyzes the existing housing situation and its social and economic effects: examines the housing market; and describes the choices of available housing. Finally it examines integrated housing experiments, and appraises the role of government in future housing opportunity. Also available at the Library are four other volumes resulting from the survey: "Studies in Housing and Minority Groups" edited by McEntire & Nathan Glazer; "Privately Developed Interracial Housing" by Eunice and George Grier: "Property Values and Race" by Luigi Laurenti; "The Demand for Housing in Racially Mixed Areas" by Chester Rapkin and William G. Grigsby.

OF THIS & THAT (1) Our Board eyed some new ideas for the Annual Meeting; deferred decision. (2) Speaking in Toledo, Jan. 26, at the Women's Institute on Human Relations, MB studied the annual interfaith meeting to describe to our Trustees. (3) A city planner, Harry Moore, told us of federal aid which churches could use to develop housing for elderly members.

We informed the Council of Churches, which will get and share more facts. (4) We consulted Miss Lois Elliott of UC to find out what census data will be available when, in the area of population shifts, housing, income, etc. (5) Organization of a new neighborhood association was reported to us with the opinion that it did not reflect racial anxieties. (6) Our sound/film strip, "House of Decision," interested and informed a Clifton church group. (7) We checked an anti-Negro incident in the upper Basin, found a Police lieutenant investigating, determined to find the culprit if at all possible. (8) After a year of supplying 250 Monthly Reports to the Property Owners Association, we were told by Joe Barg that members appreciated its inclusion in the information packets sent them. (9) Mrs. Coffey briefed Dr. William Rader, psychiatric resident assigned for 3 months to the Municipal Court Clinic. (10) Having worked for a cooperative approach to inner-city church problems, we welcome the exploratory meeting called for Feb. 10 by the Council of Churches. (11) A suburban theater case is being investigated. (12) We suggested contacts [illegible] new executive of the Alcoholism Center.

SPEAKING DATES: Kentucky Rural Development Committee, Louisville (MB 1/5) Miami U. Human Relations Inst. (MB 1/7); UC Education Classes (MB, VC 1/9-10) St. John's Church, Delhi Hills (AW 1/15); Westminster Foundation (AW 1/18) City Hall Supervisors Group (MB 1/19); Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity (AW 1/25) Toledo Women's Institute on Human Relations (MB 1/26)

Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

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Form 3547 Requested

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional C.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

UNIVERSITY OF
Southwestern
LOUISIANA

Catholic Center

FATHER ALEXANDER O. SIGUR, JCD, MA
FATHER JUDE SPEYRER, STL, CHAPLAINS
FATHER JUAN ESPINOSA, SJ, ASST. CHAPLAIN
BOX 532, USL STATION, LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

Fr. Sigur file

June 23, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street , N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I regret I was away at the time of your important letter concerning the Stern Family Fund and the TVA. I presume by now everything has been settled and that the matter is in hand. However, for the record let me say that I was in favor of the project and would be happy to discuss it further if necessary. Best wishes to the staff and may God be with you always.

Yours in Christ,

Father Alexander O. Sigur, J.C.D.

P. S. Congratulations on your assuming the responsibility for the Office. You will do a splendid job.

OUR LADY OF WISDOM CHAPEL
ST. MARY BOULEVARD AT McKINLEY STREET

ANNE FOLEY, EXEC. SECRETARY
BARBARA ANN PLAISANCE
HILDA LEBLANC, COORDINATORS

THY KINGDOM COME

July 10, 1961

Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Marshall:

Many thanks for the clipping from the Cincinnati Enquirer. It is an interesting editorial, in fact rather touching. I didn't know that we had achieved "tragic sadness," but I will accept the verdict.

Best wishes, and the hope that our paths may cross again.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

from the desk of MARSHALL BRAGDON
MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
105 CITY HALL, CINCINNATI

Dear Leslie:

You may be interested in seeing this. An earlier editorial on May 25 lambasted everybody in the Freedom Ride situation, including the "provacateurs" from the North. ...Anyhow, here 'tis for the file. John Lassoe arrived last night, will be speaking here tonight with Bob Johnson at a special meeting of ours. Then on Friday, Mrs Coffey, Al Wesley and I and our chairman go to the NAIRO regional at Detroit. John tells us that you had a pretty good session near Little Rock....

Cordially

6/6/61

Mark

Cincinnati Enquirer June 6 1961

Wise Words In The South

SOME OF THE soundest and most thoughtful comments on the disheartening events in Alabama have come recently from Southern leaders—those making up the Southern Regional Council. In a lengthy and carefully considered statement, these Southerners have noted the important differences between the sit-in campaigns and the Freedom Rides.

They find more to commend in the sit-ins, because they were demands **by local residents** to share in privileges accorded to other residents. The sit-ins were accompanied by little violence and were conspicuously successful, having brought desegregation of lunch counters and other facilities in well over 100 Southern cities and towns.

The Freedom Rides are something different, having been organized and manned **from outside the South,** the Regional Council notes. But while they may not bring as much of constructive results, it was no more than an assertion—however injudicious—of rights.

What has happened on the racial front reflects a new militancy among Negro organizations. But it is proceeding largely with discipline and restraint within the area of lawful activity. Really grave friction can be avoided in months and years to come, but **only if the thoughtful, responsible people of the South recognize the problem and work to solve it.**

Obviously, the leaders of the Southern Regional Council would be happier if any test of segregation on buses and at bus stations had been made **by local residents.** But it recognizes that the problem is the same, whoever takes the initiative. There is a note of tragic sadness in its summary of the period of violence:

"**VIOLENCE IN** Alabama . . . reproduced in a few long days a lot of Southern history, let loose again a history which most of the South is successfully overcoming. But there it was: The mob and its sadism. The silent, acquiescent 'good people;' the inflammatory public spokesman; the disdain for law; and, the inevitable defeat."

These are words written by Southerners, out of a deep knowledge of the tragedies of their regional history and out of a profound disappointment that **the wrong people asserted leadership in a time of challenge.**

ALBERT E. COBO
Mayor

REV. JOHN E. COOGAN
Chairman

JOHN J. CONSIDINE
ARTHUR DONDINEAU
HARRY J. DURBIN
GOLDA G. KROLIK
DONALD S. LEONARD
JAMES A. MCFALL
JOSEPH G. MOLNER, M.D.
DANIEL J. RYAN
GEORGE W. SCHUDLICH
CHESTER SMITH
EDWARD M. TURNER

City of Detroit

MAYOR'S INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE

800 BANKERS EQUITABLE BUILDING
600 GRISWOLD STREET
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
WOODWARD 1-9674

GEORGE SCHERMER
Director

BEULAH T. WHITBY
Assistant Director

October 7, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 9
Southern

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

A committee of the newly organized City of Detroit Commission on Community Relations is at the present time directing its efforts toward securing the services of an executive director. Among other candidates being considered for this position is Mr. Forrester B. Washington.

Mr. Washington has furnished us with the names of a few persons who he feels could provide additional information as to his qualifications for such a position.

We would be most grateful to you if you would, at your earliest convenience, provide us with any information about Mr. Washington which you feel may assist the committee in coming to a wise decision in this most important matter.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel J. Ryan

Daniel J. Ryan, Member
Personnel Subcommittee
Commission on Community Relations
176 E. Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 26, Mich.

DJR:MS

Ans'd Oct 12. '53 GWM.

October 30, 1953

Mr Daniel J Ryan, Member
Personnel Subcommittee
Commission on Community Relations
176 E Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Mr Ryan:

Dick Bennett, about whom you wrote me October 22, is an extremely able man. Has the rare combination of sincerity and the quality of being an operator. Businesslike, faithful to his undertakings, careful in his planning, effective in his follow-through.

Flexible enough to get along in tight situations and yet always loyal to purpose. No bad habits. Nice wife. A young man with great stretches of ability and growth ahead of him.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

October
twenty-eight
1953

Mr Daniel J Ryan, Member
Personnel Subcommittee
Commission on Community Relations
176 E Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Sir:

Dr George Mitchell is out of the city for a few days. As soon as he returns, your letter of October 22, 1953, concerning Mr Richard K Bennett, will have his attention.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr Mitchell

est

ALBERT E. COBO
Mayor

REV. JOHN E. COOGAN
Chairman

JOHN J. CONSIDINE
ARTHUR DONDINEAU
HARRY J. DURBIN
C. BRADFORD HITT
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LEO J. NOWICKI
DANIEL J. RYAN
CHESTER SMITH
EDWARD M. TURNER
MARTHA WENTZ
ISABEL WIETERSEN

City of Detroit

COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS
800 BANKERS EQUITABLE BUILDING
600 GRISWOLD STREET
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
WOODWARD ~~1-9764~~ 1-9674

BEULAH MOWBY
Acting Director

RECEIVED
OCT 27
Southern Regional Council

October 22, 1953

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

A committee of the newly reorganized City of Detroit Commission on Community Relations is at the present time directing its efforts toward securing the services of an executive director. Among other candidates being considered for this position is Mr. Richard K. Bennett.

Mr. Bennett has furnished us with the names of a few persons who he feels could provide additional information as to his qualifications for such a position.

We would be most grateful to you if you would, at your earliest convenience, provide us with any information about Mr. Bennett which you feel may assist the committee in coming to a wise decision in this most important matter.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel J. Ryan

Daniel J. Ryan, Member
Personnel Subcommittee
Commission on Community Relations
176 E. Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 26, Mich.

DJR:MS

ALBERT E. COBO
Mayor

REV. JOHN E. COOGAN
Chairman

JOHN J. CONSIDINE
ARTHUR DONDINEAU
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LEO J. NOWICKI
DANIEL J. RYAN
MARTHA WENTZ
ISABEL WIETERSEN

City of Detroit

COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS
800 BANKERS EQUITABLE BUILDING
600 GRISWOLD STREET
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
WOODWARD 1-9674

JOHN H. LAUB
Secretary-Director

BEULAH T. WHITBY
Assistant Director

Community Services
JOSEPH C. COLES
OWEN P. KIELY

Education Division
EDNA M. BURGESS

Research Division
RICHARD V. MARKS

JAN 17 1955

January 6, 1955

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a copy of the First Report of the Detroit Commission on Community Relations.

The period covered by this report was one of great significance for the development of good intergroup relations in Detroit, since it covers the transition from a Mayor's Interracial Committee to an official community relations agency created by enactment of a municipal ordinance.

We hope that you will find the report of staff activities and functional operations of the Commission a valuable record of positive accomplishments and contributions to Detroit's total community relations effort.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Laub

John H. Laub
Secretary-Director

RM:McC

P.S. We would like to maintain complete and correct mailing addresses for all the persons or organizations who have indicated an interest in receiving our reports. In the event that there have been changes in either personnel or address of your agency, we hope that you will notify us so that we may make the necessary corrections.

J.L.

943 FREMONT ST.
NORFOLK 4, Va.
Sept. 21, 1953

DEAR SIRS:

BELOW YOU EILL FIND THE NAMES OF OUR NEW OFFICERS FOR 1943 and 54 OF THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION FO NORFOLK, VA.

PRES. MRS. LOUIS I. JAFFE 7440 Pinecrare LA. NORFOLK, VA.
VICE PRES. MRS. W. S. JONES 1001 GALT ST. NORFOLK, VA.
2nd. VICE PRES. MRS. ELLIS M. JAMES 6110 POWHATAN AVE. NORFOLK, V
SECT. MRS. W. O. MCOOY 943 FREMONT ST. NORFOLK , VA.
TRES. MRS. CLYDE MCDANIELS 2545 CHAPEL ST.

Send N.S.

MRS. W. O. MCCOY, SECT.

M.S.

February 4, 1954

Mr. Matthew A. McKavitt
1623 Monroe Street, N. W.
Washington 10, D. C.
Dear Mr. McKavitt:

About three years ago we did have a pamphlet called "Race In The News". We were lucky in having it sent by various organizations to editors all over the South. Then the useful device was to have local committees of church people - sometimes bi-racial, sometimes not - go and see the editor and talk with the editor about swinging the paper 'round to following the recommended practice. That works. If there is time and energy, the local group can keep tabs on the paper as to these practices for a month or for two months and then convince the editor that he ought to come around.

It would take more money than we can muster to summarize the extent of change since the pamphlet came out. My guess is that two-thirds of the Southern press has sharply improved in these matters since the pamphlet appeared.

My cordialest to Margaret Garrity and many another mutual friend. Most particularly, I enjoyed the friendship of the Trinity Fathers at Silver Springs.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

Encl: Race In The News
Pub List
NEW SOUTH-3/50

1623 Monroe St. N.W.
Wash. 10 D.C.

27 January 1954

Dear Dr. Mitchell

I am representing a group of interracial advocates - the Catholic International Council here - and have been meeting with other group representatives from religious groups who are studying means of approaching editors of newspapers with

regard to eliminating the identifying words "Negro" and "Colored" from our accounts.

Has your organization made any studies along this line? I would appreciate receiving any information or material on the subject you can offer.

Incidentally, Miss Margaret Gavin, Interracial Secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference suggested that I write to you.

Gratefully for any help received I am,

Matthew G. McKavitt.

May 6, 1957
(Dictated May 2, 1957)

Mr. Thomas McPherson, Jr.
President, Human Relations Club
Morris Brown College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McPherson:

Thanks for your note of April 30th postponing the engagement of May 14 to some date in the Fall. I will be glad to cooperate in every way possible.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Morris Brown College
Atlanta, Georgia
April 30, 1957

Dr. Fred Routh
Southern Reginal Council Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

After reporting the engagement that I had made with you for May 14, 1957, 7:30 P.M., at Morris Brown College, to speak to the Human Relations Club of Morris Brown College; the club thought it better to ask you to postpone this engagement until we can secu re a date in chapel where we will be able to present you to the entire student body. This will have to take place in the Fall of the year. This was concluded because of the short period left in this school year and the other activities that must be completed.

Your cooperation in this matter will be highly appreciated.

Yours very truly,

Thomas McPherson, Jr.
President Human Relations Club

June 17, 1955.

Mr. Arthur McDonald
116 Joe Brown Dormitory
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. McDonald:

Dr. Mitchell, who has been out of the city a good deal lately, has asked me to acknowledge your letter dated May 26. Please accept my apologies for this delay in writing.

The handbill which you prepared and distributed was excellently done, and a number of people have called it to our attention. You and the other members of your group showed commendable courage and purpose. You probably saw, as we did, the issue of Roy Harris's paper charging that you had been "brain washed" by the insidious Southern Regional Council and Friends Service Committee. This is a par with Mr. Harris's usual level of accuracy and we trust that you have been as able to shrug himmoff as we have become.

The next time you are in Atlanta, do come by the office, and meanwhile our good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

ARTHUR McDONALD
116 JOE BROWN DORMITORY
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
ATHENS, GEORGIA
May 25, 1955

26 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

A group of us distributed these handbills on campus (under the door of every dorm room, on automobiles, etc.) on the 17th of May. We didn't want that day to go by without a reminder. I thought that you might be interested in seeing one of the handbills.

We have had no unfavorable reaction from the student body or administration. Of course, many have disagreed with breaking down the "magnolia curtain".

I hope that some members of the University will write your office for information.

Most Sincerely,

Arthur McDonald

Arthur McDonald

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA'S STUDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE URGES YOU TO BEGIN

CREATIVE POLITICAL ACTION

. . . study the problem of race relations intelligently and objectively. Here are a few suggested books in this area. These books are in the University of Georgia Library.

Lillian Smith, NOW IS THE TIME.
Harry Ashmore, THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS.
William S. Nelson, THE CHRISTIAN WAY IN RACE RELATIONS.
Robert Penn Warren, et al, I'LL TAKE MY STAND.
Johnathan Daniel, A SOUTHERNER DISCOVERS THE SOUTH.

. . . sponsor and plan study seminars on race relations in your local community, your church, your social organizations, etc. You can get speakers and material from the following organizations.

American Friends Service Committee
617 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Your church's board on race relations or social action.

. . . write and/or have an interview with your representative in the Georgia State Legislature. Discuss ways of preparing to face the coming implementation of the U.S. Supreme Court decision.

. . . write the governor and express your concern for the development of all potential leadership in our state.

. . . write the Board of Regents of the University System, Deans of the University, and other University officials and urge them to find intelligent and mature means of preparing our state for the coming change.

. . . seek the truth. Accept your freedom to stand in the midst of our divided society and express your convictions.

PLANNING COMMISSION - DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING

400 MUNICIPAL BUILDING
BALTIMORE-2, MARYLAND

JUN 29 1955

June 27, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue (East)
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We will appreciate your assistance in securing applicants for the newly created position of Community Organization Specialist in our department. A description of the position is enclosed. We will require a person with an outstanding reputation for Community Organization work for this position. A negro is essential, since the people with whom he will work will be representatives of Negro neighborhoods. The beginning salary is $5775, the maximum salary in the classification is $6775. Also please have whomever you recommend who is interested and qualifies to contact me directly. We would like to fill this position as soon as conveniently possible.

Cordially yours,

Arthur D. McVoy

Arthur D. McVoy
Director

ADM:mpr

THOMAS F. HUBBARD, Chairman ARTHUR D. McVOY, Director JOHN J. LANG, Deputy Director

ADOPTED: June 23, 1955

902

CLASS TITLE: COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION ADVISOR

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CLASS: Under direction, in the Department of Planning, organizes and advises neighborhood groups as participants in community planning; and does related work as required.

EXAMPLES OF DUTIES: Assists in organizing community groups in areas designated for an urban renewal program; acts as liaison between community groups and city and other agencies concerned with urban renewal; conducts educational programs and coordinates all other informational activities pertaining to urban renewal; recommends that social studies be made and assists in formulating study methods and procedures and in evaluating the data obtained; explains the total planning program to interested groups of citizens by participation in workshops, institutes, and similar activities; determines and evaluates community reaction to the urban renewal program; prepares press releases, brochures, and other materials explaining the program.

MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS:

Training and Experience: Graduation from a university or college of recognized standing; four years of experience with a public or private agency in the conduct of community organization activities, provided that graduate study in social work or human relations in a university or college of recognized standing may be substituted on a year for year basis for two years of the experience requirement.

Knowledge and Skills: General knowledge of the objectives of urban renewal and community planning programs; knowledge of community organization and techniques of coordinating efforts of local groups and citizens in developing community programs; organizing and administrative ability.

X

10/26/55
3 P.M.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MR. DAVIS MCENTIRE
2180 MILVIA STREET
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

SHOOTING FOR NOVEMBER 21 CONFERENCE DATE SUBJECT TO CONFIRMATION BY INVITEES:

IF NOT SUITABLE PLEASE INFORM.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

July 25, 1956

Professor Robert B. McKay
School of Law
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Bob:

You deserve an accolade for your comprehensive article in the New York University Law Review. I don't know how you found the time to synthesize so much related but scattered material. The article should be a valuable source document for a long time to come.

Are there more reprints available? We would be delighted to buy at least a modest quantity for the use of our state people.

It also occurs to me that the people at the Fund for the Republic should see it, if they haven't. If you think well of the idea, you might send a copy to Mr. Edward Reed, Fund for the Republic, 60 East 42nd Street, New York City. I will also see to it that Frank Loescher, the race relations consultant, sees it when he returns from Africa in September.

As you may suppose, my interest here is in seeing your article reach useful hands.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

August 3rd, 1956

Professor Robert B. McKay
New York University
School of Law
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter. I have written Ed Reed my views on the usefulness of your article. Maybe the Fund will buy up some copies for distribution; I hope so.

Meanwhile, please send us twelve copies from your existing stock, if you can spare them. I'm enclosing a check for $12.

You are right about the picture getting darker in some respects, but I still don't feel that there is cause for basic discouragement. I for one would hate to have to face the problems that are shaping up for the pro-segregation leadership of the South.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

FACULTY OF LAW

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

July 27, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of July 25 expressing interest in my article. I have some reprints still left and anticipate that I will have an additional quantity printed (the printer has saved the type) as soon as I can make any kind of an estimate as to how many additional requests there will be. My guess is that I can supply your request from what I have now, at the price of $1.00 a copy. Alternatively, the article is of course available in the June issue of the Law Review, which may be purchased direct from the review staff at $2.00 a copy. I am also sending a copy to Mr. Reed as you suggest.

Morris Abram was in town yesterday, and I had the chance to have lunch with him. That was a good occasion as you can imagine; but the picture does seem to get darker in many respects, doesn't it?

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert B. McKay
Professor of Law

RBM:dw

12 copies

$12-

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

FACULTY OF LAW

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

RECEIVED AUG 8 1956

August 6, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Under separate cover I am sending you twelve reprints of my article on school desegregation. Thanks for the order.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert B. McKay
Professor of Law

RBM:dw

Materials sent:

New South - June, 1955
Greenville's Big Idea
Next Steps
New South: Jan, Feb., 1957
April, July/Aug., 1957

October 16, 1957

Mr. J. D. McGehee
Superintendent
Lepanto Public Schools
Lepanto, Arkansas

Dear Mr. McGehee:

Under separate cover we are sending you the materials requested in your letter of the 14th. We do not have a current bibliography. However, we are sending additional material which may be of some help to you. We are most happy to supply this information and if we can be of further help, please call on us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

RECEIVED OCT 16 1957

LEPANTO PUBLIC SCHOOLS
J. D. McGEHEE, Supt.
LEPANTO, ARKANSAS

October 14, 1957

Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Will you please send us one copy of the June 1955 issue of the "New South".

If you have other materials for distribution that will be helpful in clarifying some of our regional problems please send us a bibliography of same.

I would also like to have a copy of "Your Community Looks at Itself".

Your cooperation will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. D. McGehee
mt

J. D. McGehee
Superintendent

JDM:mt

Sent 10/16/57 ye

June '55 New South
Greenville: Big Idea
Next Steps
New South: Jan., Feb. 56;
April, July/Aug. '57

October 16, 1957

Mr. C. F. McRae, M.D.
Burnsville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. McRae:

Your letter in the Asheville Citizen-Times has been called to our attention. We very much appreciate your kind words concerning the North Carolina Council on Human Relations and the Southern Regional Council.

It is indeed pleasant these days to find someone who will speak out for moderation and those who are working toward this end.

Again thanks for your effort in our behalf and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

November 21, 1957

Miss Marjorie McLachlan
The Selwyn Hotel
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Miss McLachlan:

I am sorry that this response to your enquiry regarding the per thousand cost of the United Church Women's leaflet In the Hearts of Men is so belated and unsatisfactory. From the estimates that are now available it looks as if the leaflet will cost about $25.00 per thousand.

Please remember that I cannot speak for the United Church Women, that there is no definite decision yet to have a re-run, but that I did want to give you some approximate figure in case it would be useful during your Charlotte meetings.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

March 5, 1958

Professor Robert B. McKay
New York University Law School
New York, New York

Dear Bob:

Belated thanks for sending me a copy of your excellent summary of judicial developments since 1956 in the Virginia Law Review.

Your thorough and eminently readable articles are a valuable record of this chaotic period.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 6, 1958

Mrs. Preston McIntosh
67 - 25th Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McIntosh:

Enclosed is the materials I promised to send you. The enclosed pages are copied from The Apostles of Discord by Ralph Lord Roy, The Beacon Press (Boston), 1953. The Congressional Record reprint gives a brief history of the Southern Regional Council. I enjoyed our conversation this morning and hope that this information will be of some help to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2

November 28, 1960

Mr. Leon M. McCorkle, Jr.
Kirkland F-12
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. McCorkle:

I have turned your letter over to Mr. Dunbar in the Research Department. Mr. Dunbar will be better able to help you with any pamphlet material which is available.

Mrs. Tilly, to whom you have also written, probably knows the history of the Association better than anyone else and should be helpful to you. In any case, I am certain you will be hearing from the Research Department and/or Mrs. Tilly in the very near future.

If I can be of any additional help on any other project, please let me know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

December 30, 1960

Mr. Bill McGee
2214 Fairway Circle, N. E.
Atlanta 19, Georgia

Dear Bill:

It was a pleasure meeting you Wednesday night and learning of your interest in the work of such organizations as the Council. I am mailing you, under separate cover, the material I promised you.

I shall mail you additional things from time to time which I think might be of interest. May I also suggest that you might be interested in the Georgia Council on Human Relations at 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., telephone number Ja 5-4063. The Council works in the field of race relations on the state level and has an Atlanta area affiliate in which you may be interested also.

Hope to see you again soon.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION
1798 SCENIC AVENUE
BERKELEY 9, CALIFORNIA

Department of Religion in Higher Education

File

April 26, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for the excellent list of references as well as the materials. These will be most helpful in my preparation for the paper on "Protest Movements for Racial Justice."

When it is completed I shall be sure to send you a copy of it.

My warm regards.

Faithfully,

Charles S. McCoy

Charles S. McCoy
Professor of
Religion in Higher Education

CSM:fw-r

C O P Y C O P Y

858 Whitford Place
Memphis, Tennessee
July 17, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

For some time there has been growing in my mind a question which is now so cogent with me that I should like to share it with you and Mr. Dabbs. Put most briefly, it is: Has the time perhaps come for a drastic reorganization of the Southern Regional Council -- not because it has failed -- (it has, I believe, done much good) but because the times are so changed as to call for new directives and new leaders. If anything that follows sounds dogmatic please insert mutually the words "Is it perhaps the case that?"... for this is the spirit of my letter.

Formed nearly 20 years ago the Southern Regional Council was launched in the belief that the old Southern Commission on Race Relations had served its day, petered out, and a new type of organization was needed. This one would not be a loose organization of local interracial committees working on local problems of race relations; but a council of Southerners, Negro and white, working on the common problems of the Southern region. It was perhaps premature; perhaps the new vision was too new for the old membership which largely carried over into the new organization and perhaps the type of leadership was wrong for it -- the Southern aristocracy of birth and breeding, plus (and partially inclusive of) the aristocracy of religion and culture -- in terms of clergy, college professors, school teachers and social workers, and active church lay leaders especially women -- the South's new regional problems and advances have been led instead by business and labor and the Negro militant civil righters -- The Southern Reginnal Council therefore actually continued essentially the old type of personnel and the old type of methods and the old one-string emphasis on race relations. In so doing it has, I think, conserved elements of value that might easily have been lost and kept alive a sensitivity of conscience, a reasonableness, a moral basis of action which has been severely shoved aside by clamorous industrialists and Negro militancy. But as the Southern Regional Council leading in an approach to the Southern regional problems by Negro and white together it has never really functioned.

Now with this situation - the new aim eluding us, the old methods and personnel and forces carried over but less and less effectively because of decreasing relevance, have come three new factors: (1) Negroes are no longer

Southern (2) Negroes and the problems of their relation to whites are today characteristically metropolitan and ghettoed (3) Negro leadership is militant and the SRC has tended to become a sort of tail to the kite of the Negroes' new civil rights militancy in the South. We are, I believe, confused and ineffective (I speak as a long time supporter and an affiliate member).

In 1965 slavery will have been over for 100 years and the Civil War or War Between the States as you prefer will also be a century behind us -- might we not wisely make that a target date for abandoning a "Southern" a "regional" emphasis? It seems so to me. Already the framework is quite inadequate. The Inner City problems are national, not regional; the employment problems are national, not regional; the church institutional problems are national, not regional; the only really regional thing left is the Deep South's resistance to compliance with civil rights law, now limited to S. C., Ga., Ala., Miss., and La. If we set ourselves an intensive 3-year effort (1) to reach people not now convinced with the moral reasons for justice and fellowship; (2) to clear up the civil rights issue in the few remaining Deep South states; (3) to reinterpret issues in terms of national rather than regional thought, and (4) to work out reorganization of structure and methods by 1963 appropriate to the new race relations problems -- coordinate and non-duplicatory to and with other such bodies. Might we not make 1965 a really significant turning point which would enable what is now SRC to enter the second hundred years of freedom with a vital contribution to make rather than trailing along with it with decreasing relevance and validity.

I hope you will give some serious thought to these questions, and in your own way and time present them to your full board and if it meets with their approval to your affiliates. For I foresee that we might well do harm by continuing to feed <u>regional</u> thinking and <u>regional</u> feeling in a day when the realities are no longer regional. And on the other hand by a wise and forward looking revision and re-working might conserve all worth conserving and go forward with some leadership. Hence my 3-year suggestion 1965 -- after a hundred years of freedom.

Cordially yours,

/s/ MARGARET C. MCCULLOCH

RECEIVED
JUL 24 1962

858 Whitford Place
Memphis 6. Tennessee
3 copies July 17 - 1962

Dear Mr. Dumas:

For some time there has been growing in my mind a question which is now so cogent with me that I should like to share it with you & Mr. Dabbs. Put most briefly it is: Has the time perhaps come for a drastic reorganization of the Southern Regional Council - not because it has failed - (It has, I believe done much good) but because the times are so changed as to call for new directions and new leaders. If anything that follows sounds dogmatic please insert mentally the words "Is it perhaps the case that" ... for this is the spirit of my letter.

Formed nearly 20 years ago the Southern Regional Council was launched in the belief that the old Southern Commission on Race Relations had served its day, petered out, & a new type of organization was needed. This one would not be a loose federation of local interracial committees working on local problems of race relations; but a Council of Southerners, Negro & white, working on the common problems of the Southern region. It was perhaps premature; perhaps the new vision was too new for the old memberships which largely carried over into the new organization & perhaps the type of leadership was wrong for it - the Southern aristocracy of birth & breeding, plus (& partially inclusive of) the aristocracy of religion & culture - in terms of clergy, college professors, school teachers & social workers, & active church-lay leaders especially women - The South's new regional problems & advances have been

led instead by Lawrence & Calm & the Negro militant civil rights – The Southern Regional Council therefore actually continued essentially the old type of personnel & the old type of method & the old one-sided emphasis on race-relations. In so doing it has, I think, conserved elements of value that might easily have been lost & kept alive a sensitivity of conscience, a reasonableness, a moral basis of action which has been severely shaved aside by clamorous indignation & Negro militancy. But as the Southern Regional Council leading in an approach to the Southern regional problems by Negro & white together it has never really functioned.

Now into this situation – the new aim eluding us, the old methods & personnel & forces carried over but less & less effectively because of decreasing relevance, have come three new factors 1) – Negroes are no longer Southern – 2) – Negroes & the problem of their relation to whites are today characteristically metropolitan & ghettoed 3) Negro leadership is militant & the SRC has tended to become a sort of tail to the kite of the Negro's new Civil Rights militancy in the South. We are bewildered confused & ineffective (speak as a longtime supporter & an affiliate member) –

In 1965 slavery will have been over for 100 years & the Civil War or War Between the States as you prefer will also be a century behind us - Might we not wisely make that a target date for abandoning as "Southern" a "regional" emphasis? It seems so to me. Already the framework is quite inadequate - The Inner City problems are national, not regional; The employ meet problems are national, not regional - The Church institutional problems are national, not regional - The only really regional thing left is the Deep South's resistance to compliance with Civil Rights law - now limited largely to S.C. - Ga. Ala. Miss. & La. - If we set ourselves an intensive 3 year effort

1) to reach people not now convicted with the moral reasons for justice & fellowship -
2). to clear up the Civil Rights issue in the few remaining Deep South States -
3). To reinterpret issues in terms of national rather than regional thought and
4). To work out reorganization of structure & methods by 1968 appropriate to the new race-relations problems - coordinate and non-duplicatory to & with other such bodies,

might we not make 1965 a really significant

turning point which would enable what is now SRC to enter the second hundred years of freedom with a vital contribution to make rather than trailing along with it with decreasing relevance & validity -

I hope you will give some serious thought to these questions - and in your own way and time present them to your full board and if it meets with their approval to your affiliates - For I foresee that we might even do harm by continuing to feed regional thinking & regional feeling in a day when the realities are no longer regional - & on the other hand by a wise & forward looking revision and reworking might conserve all worth conserving & go forward with some leadership - Hence my 3 year suggestion 1965 - after a hundred year of freedom -

Cordially yours,

Margaret C. McCulloch

July 18, 1962

— file "Me"

Professor Charles S. McCoy
Department of Religion in Higher
Education
Pacific School of Religion
1798 Scenic Avenue
Berkeley 9, California

Dear Professor McCoy:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your excellent address and I look forward to seeing it in publication. I have no suggestions to improve it except to raise with you the question of whether your last sentence on page 22 does not perhaps understate your meaning. As you note on page 24 the movement has other leaders such as Mr. Roy Wilkins. It is also true that non-violence has characterized the entire Negro movement for many years whether centered in court rooms or on lunch-counter stools or in the lobbies of legislatures or in economic boycotts. Martin King has, of course, theorized this position and given it some specific application.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION
1798 Scenic Avenue • Berkeley 9, California

Department of
Religion in Higher Education

RECEIVED
JUL 17 1962

July 13, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Several months ago, you will recall, I wrote asking for bibliographical suggestions in connection with a talk I was doing on the protest movements for racial justice. Your response was very helpful. Enclosed is a copy of the address I gave. A request for publication of it in a book on "The Churches in Social Conflict" has been made. If you have any suggestions which might be helpful about its form or content, I shall be most appreciative.

My warm regards.

Faithfully yours,

Charles S. McCoy

Charles S. McCoy
Professor of
Religion in Higher Education

CSM:fw-r
Encl.

P. S. As you can see, I found the S.R.C. reports most helpful.

Dictated by Dr. McCoy
Signed in his absence

The Churches and the Protest Movement for Racial Justice

by Charles S. McCoy

In mid-May, 1961, headlines across the nation told a story of raw and ugly violence in Alabama. A Greyhound bus carrying an interracial group had been burned. Mobs in Anniston and Birmingham had threatened the passengers and intimidated the drivers. Several persons had been badly beaten. Public order was seriously threatened, yet the police seemed indifferent, either standing by doing little or failing to arrive in time to prevent the disorders. Federal marshals at last were sent in to cope with a situation which local police and state officials refused to handle.

What caught the eye of the public then and was played up for months in the mass media was not an isolated phenomenon, but formed part of a movement for racial justice which had a long past and would not be ended with the litigation surrounding the Alabama episodes. It is this movement especially in its recent manifestations but also in its broader context and significance that we shall examine here.

Organized religion has had close relationships with the various forms of social conflict arising from racial injustice. Every discussion of attempts to end slavery, discrimination, and segregation must take account of the churches. And a discussion of the churches and social conflict in this country cannot avoid dealing with the explosive and rapidly changing racial situation. What I shall suggest here is that organized religion has played and continues to play an important part in the movement toward racial justice; we must not, however, expect organized religion to exercise determinative force in situations of social conflict, and we certainly cannot expect churches to exercise the functions of courts or government or law enforcement agencies. Central to

our analysis is our understanding of religion and its relation to society.

On the one hand, if we understand religion in the Freudian or Ritschlian sense of a defense for man against the encroachments of nature, we shall be at a loss to comprehend the prophetic fervor of western religion. On the other hand, if we accept a notion of religion which views it only as social phenomenon, we shall be unable to grasp its inner depth and force.

Instead, religion can best be understood as referring primarily to that center of ultimate commitment and loyalty from which men derive their understanding of reality, themselves and their companions, and what is truly of value. Only in a secondary sense does religion refer to the social organizations and phenomena which form around this commitment and interpretation.[1] Religion in its initial moment operates integratively and cohesively, providing common loyalties and purposes which bind humanity into communities. As a consequence, it may at one moment be divisive and at another moment socially revolutionary. Viewed in this way, the churches will always be related to conflicts and tensions around them, but this relation will be primarily with reference to inclusive interpretations and meanings and only secondarily and less decisively as providing concrete solutions for social problems. We may therefore expect that religious organizations will tend to play ambiguous rather than unequivocal roles in social conflict. And this will be especially true insofar as these organizations tend to be churches rather than sects in Troeltsch's usage. A church, precisely because it is inclusive of various social groupings, will tend toward ambiguity on important social issues. A sect,

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[1]For a view of early Christianity in some ways similar to the position taken here, see Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches. Translated by Olive Wyon. Two Volumes. (New York: Macmillan, 1931). Volume I, pp. 39 ff., esp. p. 43.

on the other hand, has the possibility of embracing persons with sufficiently similar social techniques and goals to be relatively unambiguous in situations of social conflict. Only when the church is understood as remnant rather than as inclusive social organization will it appear less ambiguous in situations of tension and conflict. To the extent, therefore, that churches are understood in terms of the primary function of religion, the less we shall expect churches to play unambiguous roles in social conflict or to provide solutions which are significantly and immediately decisive. Only secondarily and in particular circumstances shall we find churches able to take relatively decisive roles in society.

The relation of the churches to the protest movements for racial justice illustrates this view. Quite obviously, some of the most spectacular news of the past decade has revolved around the struggle for racial justice. For our purposes here we shall focus on four specific segments of this over-all movement -- the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-56, the student "sit-ins" of 1960, the Freedom Rides of 1961, and the Black Muslims.

I

The situation of political power on the international and national scene does at least as much to explain the emergence and success of the protest movements at this particular time as the teaching of the churches on race relations.

Certainly the churches and churchmen have long taken a significant part in the attempts to secure a greater measure of justice for Negroes in American society. Those Rhode Island ministers of the eighteenth century who denounced the slave trade while some of their wealthiest members derived their incomes from that source were early links in a long chain of courageous protest on this issue. John Woolman, going about laying the concern for freeing slaves upon

Quakers, the abolitionists during the era before the Civil War, and many Christians of this century have dared to go against the prevailing patterns of discrimination and segregation. By 1920, the churches had widened their social vision so that the Social Creed of the Federal Council of Churches included "supporting equal and adequate opportunities for Negroes" and favored "voting-rights for all without regard to race." Church school literature and teachings began more and more to reflect these views. By 1946, the Federal Council had come out flatly for "an integrated church in an integrated society." This did not mean that all members agreed, but it did mean that a firm consensus had been reached by the leadership of the churches, clergy and laity alike, and that the weight of education and persuasion in the churches would be in this direction. Many groups within the churches -- youth groups, women's organizations, voluntary fellowships, etc. -- were well ahead of this emerging consensus.

Yet, for all the agitation and education going on within the churches, important as these were in producing a general climate of readiness, forces of a different sort created the specific conditions for the success of the protest movements. Factors of international and national politics produced the immediately favorable situation of the past decade.

Though the events which make headlines in connection with protests on behalf of racial justice most often occur in the South, we must be clear that race is a national problem with particular facets in each region of the country and with important bearing on the national political scene. Beyond its national scope, the problem of race is a world problem and a factor in the struggle between the communist and free-world blocs, especially in relation to the uncommitted nations of Asia and Africa. Neither the world-wide interest in our racial violence nor the shape of particular events in themselves would be comprehensible apart from the national and world perspective.

Most anthropologists and biologists would deny that race is an especially useful concept for designating human groups. Writes one social scientist:

> Serious students of the question agree that 'race' is almost a meaningless term as far as scientific knowledge is concerned....Perhaps 'common stock' would be a better term than race....[1]

It remains starkly clear in the realm of international politics, however, that race is a symbol loaded with explosive significance for large segments of the world's population. This circumstance cannot be overlooked in assessing the impact of movements in this country seeking to end segregation and racial discrimination. In most of Africa, Negroes have come to dominance. The new nations of that continent have Negro leaders. As these nations shape their political and economic affairs, all are plagued by the problem of achieving industrial development without compromising their independence. As they vacillate in allegiance among communism, western democracy, and neutralism, not only does the memory of western colonialism make them suspicious of the white man, but also the present reality of segregation and violence keeps their suspicions of Europe and America alive and strong. With all of these newer nations, racial attitudes emerge as a powerful factor in their relations with the United States. The communists, of course, exploit our racial violence to the utmost in an attempt to influence them.

In connection with the Freedom Rides of 1961, for example, Moscow Radio had this to say:

> Scenes of bloodshed in Montgomery are...the worst examples of savagery...taking place in a country which has the boldness to declare that its way of life is an example for other people....The brutal attacks on people [in] antisegregation demonstrations have aroused indignation throughout the world. They are particularly enlightening for...those countries where people of the Negro races and other colored people live.

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[1]Liston Pope, The Kingdom beyond Caste. (New York: Friendship Press, 1957), p. 30.

But Soviet statements are appealing to feelings that exist apart from communist propaganda and are often voiced by non-communists. The official Ethiopian Herald commented also on the racial conditions in the United States: "Africans feel that any segregation against the Negro is simultaneously segregation against [Africans]" and makes it "difficult for [the United States] to sell to the outside world, especially the non-white world, that she stands for ...equality of all men." And the government-controlled paper of Angola, Diario de Buanda, drew an even worse conclusion. It deplored the "tragedy of Negro life in America" where there is no respected American scientist, politician or religious leader "who does not consider the Negro inferior to the white." When, Diario continued, "an Adlai Stevenson...is obliged to shake hands with some Nkrumah he does it only under the strict political necessity of the disturbed world....He is hypocritical and sells his soul to the devil. ...The Nkrumahs, the Tubmans and the Toures know it well."[1]

Whether or not we find it palatable to admit, the attitudes of these new nations and the pressure of expansionist communism is one important aspect of the racial scene in America. Without the urgent demands of international politics upon us, it is doubtful that we would have made such rapid and significant strides in this area over the past fifteen years.

Just as we cannot ignore the international facets of our domestic problems, so also we must note the aspects of our national life which bear upon our racial difficulties. Obviously not all segregation exists in the South. Indeed, nowhere have we overcome discriminatory practices and the tensions which accompany feelings of injustice. Residential segregation and the consequent tendency toward segregation in schools is as noticeable in New York or

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[1]Quotations from New South, XVII, 7 (July-August, 1961), pp. 14-15.

Chicago, in Philadelphia or San Francisco, as it is in most southern cities. We cannot exonerate North or West at the expense of the South, though in the latter section discriminatory practices have deeper roots in custom and law. Racial injustice is a national problem in terms of discrimination.

It is also a national problem because of the strong drive toward justice and equal opportunity given us by our Judeo-Christian and democratic heritage -- what Gunnar Myrdal in An American Dilemma calls the "American dream." Whatever violates this tradition is of concern to all of us.

But there is still another aspect of the national scene which has special bearing on the protest movements for racial justice. It is the growing political importance of the Negro in American life.

Since World War II, the Negro has come of age as a social and political force in the United States. On the one hand, he has been moving out of the South. As recently as 1910, ninety per cent of the Negroes in this country lived in the eleven states which formed the Confederacy -- the real "South." By 1960, only fifty-two per cent still lived in these southern states; around half now live in the North and West. On the other hand, the Negro has become much better educated. No group in the nation has made greater strides educationally in recent years. Today only seven per cent of American Negroes are illiterate. And between 1940 and 1959, the proportion of college graduates among Negro young adults increased threefold.[1] In this brief period the Negro community acquired greatly increased leadership, not only devoted and filled with zeal, but also well-trained for the struggle to acquire civil rights. Both these factors have important bearing on the recent protest movements.

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[1]Drawn from a special census report of 1959 in Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1960. (New York: Atheneum, 1961), p. 233.

The movement from South to North and West means that the Negro has acquired a political power which he did not possess before World War II, a political power significant not primarily on the local scene North or South but of national scope. Moving out of the South has meant the right to vote for more Negroes and wider freedom of the ballot. Increasingly the Negro vote has had to be reckoned with by politicians of both major parties. By 1960, the population of Newark was 35% Negro, Detroit 29%, Philadelphia 26%, while New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland, and the San Francisco-Oakland area each had a substantial Negro vote. The great influx of Negroes has been into big cities in states with large electoral votes. This has meant that Negroes now occupy a strategic position in presidential elections. The big-city states have a total electoral vote of 197, around three-fourths of the number needed for election.

The importance of the Negro vote became clear to the politicians in the Presidential election of 1948. Truman squeaked past Dewey by 33,612 in Illinois, by 17,865 in California, and by 7,107 in Ohio. Truman's strong stand for civil rights seemed undoubtedly sufficient to explain his margin in these crucial states. Since that time politicians of both parties have cultivated the Negro vote carefully, and parallel to this development, there has been a growing confidence among Negro leaders. Perhaps the most dramatic illustration of the importance of the Negro vote was provided in the 1960 Presidential election. In late October Martin Luther King, Jr., was jailed in Georgia, refused bail, and whisked away to a state prison. Many Negroes feared for his life. With the campaign for the Presidency drawing to a climax, the two major candidates were faced with a difficult decision. Each one was forced to decide whether to aid King and gain northern Negro votes or to keep quiet and gain southern white votes. Richard Nixon said nothing. John F. Kennedy phoned Mrs. King, expressing sympathy and offering assistance. Word of Kennedy's action spread quickly

among Negroes throughout the nation. The press reported it. Martin Luther King, Jr., was released on bail rather than being held. The following Sunday Martin Luther King, Sr., proclaimed publicly from his pulpit in Atlanta that he was switching from Nixon to Kennedy and taking a "suitcase full of votes" with him for the Democratic candidate. Kennedy's staff was not slow to make capital of this break. A million leaflets reporting the incident and giving quotes from prominent Negro leaders were distributed at Negro churches the Sunday before the election. It is likely that this provided the margin of victory for Kennedy in Illinois, Michigan, South Carolina, and Texas and thus the margin of victory in the very close election.[1]

This rise in political power has direct bearing on the entire protest movement. Now no national administration can ignore these movements. They receive increasing attention from the press, the public, and the government. The pressure of the federal government on the southern states, in turn, has produced wider voting rights for the Negroes there and greater political leverage to secure great economic and educational opportunity. This new political situation in the nation explains the rising tide of success that the protest movements are having.

The role of the churches, while not in the foreground, remains. Once the pressure of contemporary events has forced the problem of race to public attention, the view which has been officially formulated and vigorously inculcated by the churches becomes the framework in which the problem is viewed and solutions sought. The guilty conscience of America about segregation and the basis for our international vulnerability on the issue is in no small measure due to the teaching of the churches at home and abroad.

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[1]See Theodore H. White, op. cit., pp. 321-323, for an account of this episode by a close observer of the 1960 presidential election.

Despite segregationist customs, white Americans of prominence have tended to see the solution in terms of integration. And Negro Americans have tended to understand the solution also in these terms despite the segregationist teachings of the Black Muslim sect, a view which might seem attractive to Negroes embittered by centuries of injustice. The church has played an important role, but not the one that the more ardent social activists outside and inside the church expect and demand.

II

Once various social forces have produced an eruption of social conflict, the churches may provide a focal point of loyalty around which to organize and a framework of interpretation and guidance for the resulting movement. Because religion refers primarily to a center of commitment from which derive inclusive understandings of reality, man, and value, such a role is essentially what we may expect from the churches. Only in a secondary sense and as they tend to represent limited segments of society, will religious organizations precipitate conflict or offer solutions to situations of tension. This point may be illustrated in a discussion of the churches and four of the recent protest movements for racial justice.

1. The Montgomery Bus Boycott.

The Montgomery bus boycott began as an unplanned protest against segregation and arbitrary treatment of Negroes in the city buses of Montgomery, Alabama. On Thursday afternoon, December 1, 1955, Mrs. Rosa Parks boarded a city bus to return home after a tiring day on the job in a downtown department store. She sat down in the first seat behind the section reserved exclusively for whites. More white passengers got on. The bus driver ordered Mrs. Parks to relinquish her seat to a white man. This would have meant standing, as the seats farther back were all taken. Mrs. Parks, apparently without plan or

forethought, refused and was arrested. E. D. Nixon, a Pullman car porter active in the labor movement and the N.A.A.C.P., signed the bond for Mrs. Parks. But he also proposed a one-day boycott of the buses. A meeting Friday night was attended by leaders from all important sectors of Negro life -- lawyers, businessmen, union leaders, teachers, physicians, and a substantial group of clergymen. The boycott was set for Monday with a mass meeting at a large Baptist church that night to discuss further action. Leaflets were distributed on Saturday. Ministers announced the protest from their pulpits on Sunday, emphasizing its importance. Negro taxicabs agreed to transport Negroes to work on Monday for bus fare alone. To the surprise of many, the boycott on Monday was almost one hundred per cent successful, with empty buses traveling the Montgomery streets.

The meeting that night was packed with several thousand, unable to get in, listening outside via loud speaker. The opening hymn was "Onward Christian Soldiers," followed by a prayer, Scripture, and an address by Martin Luther King, Jr., a young Baptist minister who had been elected chairman of the protest organization, just that afternoon named the Montgomery Improvement Association. In his address he called for a continuation of the protest, but in a spirit of love rather than hate. "If you will protest courageously, and yet with dignity and Christian love, when the history books are written in future generations, the historians will have to pause and say, 'There lived a great people -- a black people -- who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilization.' This is our challenge and our overwhelming responsibility." The meeting enthusiastically responded to this call to action by approving a resolution calling upon all Negroes of Montgomery "not to resume riding the buses until (1) courteous treatment by the bus operators was guaranteed; (2) passengers were seated on a first-come, first-served basis....; (3) Negro bus

operators were employed on predominantly Negro routes."[1]

This was the beginning of a difficult, protracted movement of protest in Montgomery. A volunteer transport system was placed in operation with morning pickup points mainly at Negro churches and afternoon return arrangements. Automobiles were purchased and sponsored by churches to form a transportation pool. Even so, many Negroes had to walk the many miles to work and back again through the long months of the protest.

White opposition attempted to break the boycott by economic and political pressures, but did not succeed. Violence was threatened by segregationists. Homes of some of the leaders were bombed. Martin Luther King set a course for the Montgomery movement by drawing on the teachings of Jesus and Gandhi about non-violence.

Meantime, the matter of segregation in Montgomery buses was being fought through the courts. On November 13, 1956, the U. S. Supreme Court affirmed a District Court ruling that Alabama's state and local laws requiring segregation were unconstitutional. Preparation of Negro citizens for integration was begun immediately with the assistance of Glenn Smiley, a southern-born white minister and member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. On December 21, 1956, over twelve months after the boycott began, the city buses of Montgomery were integrated. More violence was to come, but the battle had been won.

Out of the Montgomery protest emerged the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Established in January, 1957, and headed by Martin Luther King, Jr., it has become one of the most influential national movements in the struggle for racial justice.

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[1]Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride toward Freedom. (New York: Harper, 1958), pp. 51-52. This discussion of the Montgomery Bus Boycott relies primarily on Dr. King's account.

Though an incident on a city bus started it all and the course of developments was influenced by diverse factors, the Montgomery protest and the organizations to which it gave rise were formed within the churches, nurtured and guided by churchmen, clergy and laity, and remain a channel of Christian impact on this arena of social conflict.

2. The "Sit-in" Movement.

Though different in many ways from the Montgomery bus protest, the "sit-in" movement illustrates a similar point about the relationship of the church to social conflict. Only in a very indirect sense can it be said that the churches helped initiate the protest movement. Yet churches served in many instances as rallying points once the "sit-ins" were under way, and the faith of the church provided interpretation and guidance.

On February 1, 1960, four Negro college students sat down at a segregated lunchcounter in Greensboro, North Carolina, and requested service. They entered at 4:30 p.m. They left at 5:30, when the lunchcounter closed, still unserved. Word of the episode spread rapidly. The action in Greensboro set off a series of similar "sit-in" movements which in the brief span of two months had spread to sixty-five cities[1] and during the subsequent two years embraced parks, swimming pools, theaters, restaurants, churches, interstate transportation, voter registration, libraries, museums, art galleries, laundromats, employment, housing, real estate offices, beaches, and courtrooms. Though centered primarily in southern cities, there were also "sit-ins" protesting various forms of segregation in all parts of the country, and a sympathy movement among students in the north and west did much to add pressure on national chain stores with southern branches practicing segregation.

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[1]See "The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960," Special Report (Mimeographed). (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, April 1, 1960).

The movement was begun by students, and it was carried out in its early stages without the consent or even the knowledge of the established Negro leadership. Advice was soon sought and given, but the students maintained direction and control.

Following the example of Martin Luther King and the Montgomery protest movement, non-violent techniques were carefully adhered to, with training sessions usually provided for those participating in order to insure success in not retaliating.

Though not as intimately related to the churches as the Montgomery movement, the connection remains strong. Meetings and training sessions were frequently held in churches. Campus religious groups often provided the rallying point for organizing "sit-ins" as well as leadership for them. The Christian tradition formed the dominant mode for interpreting and guiding the movements. Writes one of the students:

> The greatest deterrents to the propagation of segregation have been the black man's exposure to education and his exposure to Christianity -- and the greatest of these is the latter. In the struggle for the abrogation of his servile position, the strong belief in a God who is both Messiah and Suffering Servant has enabled the Negro to elevate his dilemma beyond the stage of hatred. This by no means implies that only ministers are interested in erasing the signs of segregation from the blackboards of America. This, of course, would be misleading. What I am saying though, is that the fact that ministers have been in the vanguard seems to show that Christianity has played an important role in the development of the movement.
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> That the students are aware of the Christian influence in the movement is borne out by the Statement of Purpose adopted at an Atlanta meeting of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The Statement, drawn up in October 1960, says in part:
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>> 'We affirm the philosophy or religious ideal of nonviolence as the fundamental of our purpose. The presupposition of our faith and the manner of our action, nonviolence as it grows

> from the Judaeo-Christian traditions seeks a social order of justice permeated by love.'
>
> Thus, the part played by religion has been a strong and important one. The movement, of course, could have started on secular grounds and probably could have gone far. I believe, however, that the fact that it has its underpinning in the roots of Christianity is the reason the movement has thus far succeeded....[1]

Again we see the religion of the churches providing a framework of meaning for what is being done, pointing to deep factors of motivation, and providing guidance as to goal and method. Yet this meaning, motivation, and guidance are brought to bear on a movement not begun by the churches and about which organized religion, viewed generally, was and remains decidedly ambivalent.

3. The Freedom Rides.

To carry our analysis further, the Freedom Rides may be used to exemplify one aspect of this ambivalence, the Black Muslims another aspect.

In May, 1961, another phase of the protest movement for racial justice was inaugurated. Planned by the Congress of Racial Equality, the Freedom Ride began when an integrated group set out across the South to discover how well federal rulings requiring desegregation of interstate travel facilities were being obeyed. This original group met with violence in Alabama and, giving up the plan to travel by bus on to New Orleans, ended this Freedom Ride by taking air transportation. The publicity jarred the imagination of many of the same students who had conducted the sit-ins. The Nashville branch of this student movement took up the cause of the Freedom Rides and set out to continue them. After some hesitation, CORE resumed its backing of the movement.

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[1]Robert B. Gore, "Nonviolence" in The Angry Black South, edited by Glenford E. Mitchell and William H. Peace III. (New York: Corinth, 1962), pp. 146-147.

The response from all over the country was widespread and strong in support of the Rides, in finances, and in riders. Eventually there was a total of 305 persons from every section of the nation jailed as Freedom Riders. The largest number of these was made up of students. But a substantial cross-section of clergymen joined the move into southern jails. At least two groups of clergymen from the northeast went on Freedom Rides. A group of religious leaders known as the Mission to Mississippi converged on Jackson in July from south, north, and west to consult with Mississippi leaders; some of this group went to jail and some visited Washington to plead the cause of integrated facilities with the Interstate Commerce Commission and with Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Late in the summer a group of twenty-eight Episcopal clergy on the way to their triennial convention went via Jackson and ten of them via Mississippi jails.

The Freedom Rides brought out some of the strongest conflicting attitudes of recent years between churchmen who favor integration and those who oppose it. But significant differences in strategy have been exposed among those favoring integration. Many believe such massive, direct action, even though it is carefully nonviolent, forces matters more rapidly than the processes of adjustment will bear. Another group believes that efforts ought to be put into voter education and registration among Negroes; Martin Luther King and the Christian Leadership Conference give priority to this approach and were at first reluctant to provide substantial support to the Freedom Rides for this reason.

Such differences and the consequent ambivalence of the churches in situations of conflict can be anticipated when the primary function of religion is understood as referring not to specific social goals and strategies, but rather revolving around our understanding of God and man. Variant contexts of social forces will lead to different applications of these larger views.

4. The Black Muslim Movement.

A different aspect of this ambiguity with reference to social conflict of religious organizations is exemplified in the Black Muslim movement.[1] In this instance the dynamics of the movement have been almost exclusively centered on commitment, discipline, and interpretation of God and self. Little direct teaching on larger social issues has existed. As a result, the ambiguity of the Black Muslim organization, with its apparent opposition to the prevalent teachings of Christian groups, hangs ominously over the scene of American race relations.

Begun in Detroit in the early thirties, the Black Muslim movement caught up the remnants of previous Negro nationalist organizations and moulded them into a tightly-disciplined religious structure. The movement is headed by Elijah Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah and chief minister of the Black Muslims. From Temple No. 2 in Chicago's south side, Elijah Muhammad governs a chain of temples which now are strategically located in the Negro districts of every major city in all parts of the land. One arm of control is the Fruit of Islam, a semi-military organization headed by Elijah's son-in-law, Supreme Captain Raymond Sharrieff. Another arm is made up of the ministers of the various temples, the most noted and gifted of whom is Malcolm X of the temple in Harlem; these ministers must be totally loyal to Elijah Muhammad, as also must all members.

The teachings of the Black Muslims combine a very high and strict personal code of behavior with a deep and potentially violent hatred of the white

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[1]The fact that the Black Muslim movement cannot be considered an authentic branch of Mohammedanism does not disqualify it as a religious organization. Its doctrine and discipline clearly mark it as religious even though it cannot be easily classified with reference to major world religions.

man.[1] Negroes are called Black Men and are understood as the "Lost Nation of Islam in North America," now found and organized in preparation for "their day of destiny."[2] Black men are superior to whites, and the teachings of Elijah Muhammad are designed to cure the infection caught during the time of the white man's enslavement of the Black. The Muslims do not smoke, drink, or eat excessively, and delinquency or crime is a rarity among them. Members must devote considerable time and money to the movement. Sexual morality is defined in very strict terms and transgressors are disciplined by the Fruit of Islam.[3] Women are given a place of honor, but one of strict subordination to the male, and they are carefully trained for their roles in the home.

The goals of the Black Muslim movement are vague and perhaps intentionally ill-defined. The explicit goal is to reach all Black Men in America and fuse them into a "United Front." The Movement already has over 100,000 members and, according to Lincoln, is growing "at a rate which seriously embarrasses Negro leaders with more moderate programs."[4] Elijah Muhammad teaches segregation in reverse, and his doctrine and discipline have wide appeal to the Negroes, embittered by discrimination and disillusioned with American democracy and churches. Its ambiguity on social goals adds to its strength both by making it less vulnerable to prosecution as subversive and also because it does not raise issues which might prove divisive among leaders or members.

While it does not seem likely that the Black Muslim movement will win

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[1]C. Eric Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America.)Boston: Beacon, 1961), p. 67.

[2]Ibid., p. 70. [3]Ibid., p. 82. [4]Ibid., p. 84.

a majority of American Negroes or pose a serious threat to social order, its most significant effect may be upon non-Muslim segments of the Negro community. For one thing, it is challenging young Negroes to greater discipline of life, and this is evident in a different sort of discipline in the nonviolent sit-in and Freedom Ride movements. The shift of method from education, persuasion, and legal action to the more aggressive, direct action of the recent protest movements represents a greater impatience in the Negro community produced in part by the Black Muslims. The element of Negro nationalism which is explicit and blatant with the Black Muslims has also become a prominent element in the post-World War II struggle for racial justice. Increasingly, Negroes insist on leading their own battle. The bi-racial nature of the NAACP and even CORE is far less apparent in the Christian Leadership Conference and in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Sometimes there is deliberate effort to prevent participation of genuinely sympathetic whites. While the Black Muslims may illustrate well the primary function of religious organization and its resultant tendency toward ambiguity on immediate social issues, Elijah Muhammad's movement is having an impact on the American scene which is helping to alter the shape of the protest movement and appears ominous to many observers.

III

Quite clearly, the protest movements for racial justice illustrate well the ambiguous position which religious organizations tend toward when confronted with social conflict. The study of the Little Rock clergy by Campbell and Pettigrew[1] underscores this ambiguity with reference to the professional leadership of the churches. One need only examine the contrast between the

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[1]Ernest Q. Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew, Christians in Racial Crisis: a study of Little Rock's Ministry. (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1959).

official pronouncements of major denominations and the attitude of their southern white members to illustrate the point further. The contrast between the participation of southern Negro churches and southern white churches in the protest movement discloses the ambiguity with even greater clarity.

Agreement on doctrinal tenets, on basic affirmations about man and society, and even similar official pronouncements on race relations will not prevent churches and churchmen from taking very different positions in specific situations of social conflict. The same churchman may even take different positions given a different context, as is witnessed by southern white ministers who vote for fairly bold racial pronouncements at church conventions but are far more cautious when in their local parishes surrounded by segregationists. A curious but not uncommon variation of this ambiguity is illustrated by the remark to me of a white Alabama Episcopal vestryman that he expected and wanted his minister to stand for integration even though he as southerner and vestryman opposed it.

A brief description of the changing shape of the protest movement for racial justice may delineate further what is and what is not the role of the churches in relation to it.

1. The method for achieving racial justice has undergone change. Prior to 1954, the movement for integration operated in part in the social shadows, out of the public eye, because it was a minority movement often of dubious legality. During this period education and persuasion under the protection of approved social institutions was most appropriate. Public pronouncements by churches raised the issue and provided justification for those who worked toward integration. We may see inadequacies in this method today, but we ought not to underestimate its value in moving against the stream of popular sentiment. With increasing public support legal action became possible and

led to direct protests such as the bus boycotts, sit-ins, and Freedom Rides. Here we have evidence that conflict may precipitate social change and produce a greater measure of justice.

2. The movement for racial justice has been gathering momentum. Little short of a quiet revolution has been taking place in racial practices all over the country. While neither so rapid nor complete as many have hoped, the changes have nevertheless been substantial. Great strides have been made in ending segregation in interstate transportation, in higher education, in public eating facilities, in public housing, in employment practices, in voting rights, and in the fields of entertainment and recreation. Significant steps toward integration have also been made in the churches, though our higher expectations here leave us profoundly dissatisfied. The past decade has seen the pace of change increased. And one of the major factors in this increase has been the courage and vigor of the direct action protest movements. Whereas the earlier period has a place for the operation of the churches as institutions in education and persuasion, the cumbersome organization with its different points of view and resultant ambiguous social stance is less useful for the present with its greater rapidity of change and action. Now the churches are the seedbed for the protest movement, a source of support and guidance, but not the prime movers.

3. There are significant changes in leadership taking place within the protest movement. On the one hand, we see leadership moving more directly into the hands of Negroes, reflecting both a strain of Negro nationalism and a greater confidence on the part of the Negro community. On the other hand, we see the leadership moving toward the younger members of the Negro community, emerging from a greater impatience and also from confidence in the method of

nonviolent direct action which can be carried out more effectively by venturesome, less settled persons.

4. Whereas the churches were ahead of the society at large in matters of integration earlier, now the churches are lagging behind the faster pace of desegregation in public areas. This is in part because the ideals of integration could be enunciated by a leadership minority in the churches, but actual integration requires a heavy majority to be effective in voluntary groups like the churches. There is also another reason worth noting. Though segregation has become the shame of contemporary American Christianity, the Negro churches provided the earliest and firmest bases of Negro social organization and power. The Negro community today is showing a wise reluctance to surrender these important centers of influence. Whites often think integration means letting Negroes attend white churches. It would be a sham integration unless Negroes share in positions of authority also. Perhaps this is what leads some Negroes to suggest that integration might better take place by having Caucasians join Negro churches. In any event, there is more than segregationist sentiment behind the lagging integration of our church life.

IV

Looking back with the inadequate perspective of less than a decade on the rise and development of these protest movements, it still seems possible to say that the real turning point in the struggle came in one way with the decision on public school desegregation by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1954 and in another way with the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-56. In the Supreme Court decision, the drive for racial justice received the stamp of legality and the vital factor of public moral sanction. In the bus boycott, the movement found a leader in Martin Luther King, Jr.; it also developed a

method -- nonviolence. What had been in the making for a decade, as Negro political power emerged on the national scene and Negro leadership became increasingly well-trained and assured, sprang into being after the Supreme Court decision. The churches have played a significant role and continue to do so, but we must give attention to the work at hand in the churches rather than occupying our time in defensiveness or guilt over the failures of organized religion.

Thirty years ago, in a passage in Moral Man and Immoral Society, Reinhold Niebuhr delivered himself of an observation on the American racial problem which is remarkably relevant today and demonstrates the prescience of the man. Speaking of the racial problem in America he wrote:

> Any effort at violent revolution on the part of the Negro will accentuate the animosities and prejudices of his oppressors. Since they outnumber him hopelessly, any appeal to arms must inevitably result in a terrible social catastrophe....
>
> The techniques of non-violence will not eliminate all these perils. But it will reduce them. It will, if persisted in with the same patience and discipline attained by Mr. Gandhi and his followers, achieve a degree of justice which neither pure moral suasion nor violence could gain. Boycotts against banks which discriminate against Negroes in granting credit, against stores which refuse to employ Negroes while serving Negro trade, and against public service corporations which practice racial discrimination, would undoubtedly be crowned with some measure of success....One waits for such a campaign with all the more reason and hope because the peculiar spiritual gifts of the Negro endow him with the capacity to conduct it successfully. He would need only to fuse the aggressiveness of the new and young Negro with the patience and forbearance of the old Negro, to rob the former of its vindictiveness and the latter of its lethargy.
>
> The emancipation of the Negro race in America probably waits upon the adequate development of

this kind of social and political strategy.[1]

The end of the waiting has come. The strategy has been developed. It needs only to be applied with patience and determination for "deliberate speed" to become "majestic instancy" in our patterns of social justice. But will it? Has the long waiting pushed the Negro too far toward bitterness?

In the summer of 1961, at the height of the Freedom Rides, the Negro magazine Jet posed the question of who will lead the Civil Rights movement among Negroes. Pictures of four leaders appeared on the cover -- Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, James Farmer of CORE, and Elijah Muhammad of the Black Muslims. These are the live alternatives, and the shape of the future of the movement toward racial justice is closely related to the answer to Jet's question. But we may be sure that organized religion, happily and unhappily, will continue to play a significant -- and ambitious -- part as it has in the past in the struggle to achieve a greater measure of justice in American society.

---

[1] Moral Man and Immoral Society. (New York: Scribner's, 1932), pp. 253-54, 252.

February 17, 1966

Mr. George McMillan
Journalist in Residence
Clark College
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear George:

I don't know where the money will come from, but we will take one of your journalism interns for the summer. We'll also try to help place others. Certainly, some should be with the newspapers and magazines here.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA

Rec'd 2/16/66

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

February 15, 1966

Dear Paul:

My Journalism Workshop is now fully launched. One of the things I am trying to do, one of the first things that must be done if I am to get young Negroes into journalism, is to convince them that the possibilities are real.

Toward that I'm trying to find as many of my students as possible summer jobs. Last night I had a conversation with Pat Watters about this. He said he would like very much to have an apprentice in his office this coming Summer. I told Pat I would write you about it.

Let's do it. Birds do it....

Wincerely,

George

George McMillan
Journalist in Residence

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Co8ncil
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

February 28, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
Apartment 11
20 Concord Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear George:

Glad to hear from you and more about the progress of your Saturday Evening Post piece which we'll look for on the news stand. It's good also to have your address and to know that you are comfortably settled.

Don't worry about duplicating our book. I don't think there is a chance of that knowing you, Ben Muse, and us I think you are right that it would be awkward and not helpful to anyone for us to try to keep each other informed.

As far as I'm concerned, however, there are no reasons why we can't discuss your ideas as much as you wish to, and certainly SRC's files are as available to you as they are, and should be, to any author.

What Emerson may think and what I think are two completely different matters, but I see no cause to give Governor Sanford nation-wide attention as yet. I would like to see what comes forth, or at least have a more sure opinion than is, I believe, now possible as to the seriousness and depth of his intentions. I

shudder when I recall the article Ben Hibbs just did for the Saturday Evening Post on Georgia; you are incapable of writing such a piece, but I would still like to see more clearly than I can now the drift of things in North Carolina.

All my best to Ginny.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
Midway 9-4747

Apartment 11
20 Concord Street
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Leslie:

We're comfortably settled at the above address -- comfortably but rather expensively. It is only a few blocks from Harvard Square.

And without any further delay I want to tell you how grateful I am for your suggesting my name to Prof. Morrissey. This is obviously a very nice deal. I've talked with him so far only once, but in that brief meeting he held out several kind offers of assistance. So far the whole thing has lived up to my most pleasant expectations for it. And, with the dough from the SATURDAY EVENING POST piece in the bank to help, the anguish has gone out of the money side of it.

First an apology: I owe you, Paul Anthony and Mrs. Elizabeth C. Ledeen, a real apology. As you will see from my piece, I made no mention at all of that Baptist preacher at Clemson and what happened to him. Nor did I say anything about the work of the S. C. Council on Human Relations -- and it was important work.

As you know, I hope, it was not cowardice or anything like that which kept me from going into the Webster situaton. Dammit, it was just the format of the piece itself! Once I committed myself to tell the story of what the president of Clemson, Edgar Brown, Fritz Hollings and others did, I was bound (because I told it chronologically with them as the heroes) to see it through to the bloody end. I perh ps should have made it more clear that these men worked within very restricted limits; they were going to admit Gantt, see that law and order was preserved -- and that was it as far as they were concerned. But if I told their story, held the piece together with any kind of dramatic integrity, then I had no space for Webster nor for work of the S. C. Council.

~~I-am-definitely-going-to-explore-the-possibility-here at-Brandeis~~ I have definitely decided to spend at least part of my time here at Brandeis in exploring the possibility of a book on THE FAILURE OF GRADUALISM, or something that grows out of that theme. I have discussed the book with my agent and with the editor at Doubleday with whom I would be working. He is excited about the book, about the idea of publishing it in May, 1964, etc. I discussed the book also with Harold Fleming. He reassured me about my not duplicating your Muse book.

(more)

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
Midway 9-4747

But I want to make sure there is no hard feeling about that. You'll recall that I drew up a brief synopsis of suvh a book on my Brandeis application -- before I even knew you were working on such a book.

I have debated in my mind whether it would be better to keep you (and Mr. Muse) au courant with what I am doing -- or whether we would both be better off (and actually run less chance of going over the same ground) if we said nothing to each other.

Selfishly I would very much like to have your help, the research help (within limits of course) of the SRC, and your own conceptual ideas which are always TERRIFIC.

My plan at the moment is to draw up a fairly detailed outline and send it to my agent for her to forward on to Doubleday. I talked with my editor there, told him that what I would like to write would be a BLAST. Now I know Mr. Muse is not going to do that, is he?

Write me your reaction to some of these notions.

Mrs. Katherine Taylor had written me a nice note which I received when I got to Brandeis. Haven't had a chance to answer her yet. I will, and thanks.

By the way: does the Negro job opportunity program launched by Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina hold any real promise? Bill Emerson (at SatEvePost) is interested in a piece on Sanford. And Emrson is very much interested in having me do more pieces. The South Carolina piece was a great success as far as he and the other SatEvePost editors are concerned.

Thanks, thanks, thanks

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional COuncil
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

How's your health? Are you all right now?

March 18, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
Apartment 11
20 Concord Avenue
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. McMillan:

Les Dunbar passed on your letter of March 12 to me, and I have gathered some materials which I hope will be helpful to you in your forthcoming discussion of "The Challenge of Civil Disobedience."

These materials include both of Howard Zinn's pieces on Albany (which, for my money, give the clearest and most complete picture of that confusing, controversial crisis), copies of speeches on the subject of civil disobedience by Les, Marion Wright and Harris Wofford, and various news pieces on Albany. In addition, you might want to check back copies of Newsweek which appeared last summer since Karl Fleming of that magazine's Atlanta Bureau filed quite a few stories on the Albany demonstrations. Please let me know if we can provide you with any further information.

Incidentally, while I can't speak for Les, I thought your piece in the current Satevepost was mighty interesting indeed, particularly since it brought to light a story hitherto untold by the nation's press (so far as I know at least). But there's a young man at Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism who will be very unhappy about your

article: he was planning to write his thesis on the Clemson story, was horrified to learn about your Post piece during a visit here last month.

Hope I'll get to meet you personally one of these days. Hope, too, you are surviving the miseries of a Boston winter.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj
Enclosures

SB

please reply

must send for L. Wright, W. Proctor, very much on subject

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1963

March 12, 1963

Dear Leslie:

A Professor William Brown of the Graduate School of Public Affairs at Albany, New York, has asked me to take part in a seminar or conference o "The Challenge of Civil Disobedience." The conference is sponsored by the Graduate School of Public Administration at NYU. It is to be held at the Hotel Fifth Avenuex on the morning of March 25.

I am to "share the platform" with Wyatt Walker. The Subject: "The Challenge of Civil Disobedience." The audience -- the American Society of lPolice Officials, or something like that.

Anyway, will you fill me in? The focus is to be Albany and of course I never went to Albany. But Professor Brown made plain that he expected me "generalize," -- and, brother, you know how I can do that!

Would be kind enough to send me soonest copies of your publications on Albany, copy of my, "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement," and copies (if you will) of best pieces of reporting (magazine and n ewspaper) on Albany? J st a few that will cover me. And anything else that you feel will be useful to me -- this includes citations of things I can get here in the library.

I'll try to see and talk with Chuck McDew but he has hardly been here at all. He seems to be travelling most of the time, and Morrissey said something to me the other day about McDew not getting credit unless he attends some classes.

Eager to hear your verdict of my Saturday Evening Post piece. H pe you don't think I'm becoming another Hodding Carter?

Best,

Jim

George McMillan
Apartment 11, 20 Concord Avenue
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

March 20, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
Apartment 11
20 Concord Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear George:

I'll read your outline as soon as possible, and respond.

As I told you last night, I thought your Clemson piece was interesting, but not up to your standards. By this I mean that what you write usually persuades me, and this time I am not persuaded to change my low opinion of the South Carolina "power structure," nor my belief that it has behaved, to date, with no "dignity."

A good bit has been written about the NAACP and its controversy with organized labor. Two pieces which stick in my memory are by Paul Jacobs in Harper's for last December, and Daniel Bell in the New Leader for January 21. There has been quite a lot elsewhere, a fair bit of which I have read including an expensive pamphlet put out by the ILGWU.

It was good talking with you last night even if you did have a big worry. I know you don't have any missionary call, but you might, in fact, do those people some good. Also, I quote from your

letter of March 14: "I have resources here that I cannot begin to touch at home, especially people to see, good people, people with good suggestions and ideas." But if Brandeis is unbearable, I'll bet you could get fixed up with working space at Harvard.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 5, 1963

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for your letter. I agree with you about the Hibbs article. Hope mine turns out better. It will be on the stands next Monday. Let me know what you think of it.

I'm hard at work on my outline, the outline of the book. I have worked on it to the exclusion of many other more or less tempting diversions. I am attending onl7 one class , and that a course in Philosophy of all things.

As for the outline, my notion is to mimeograph it when I finish it, and pass it around among several people up here for comment. By up here I include people at Harvard and I would hope that I could get Woodwqrd (at Yale) to read it. I will also send a copy to you as well as one to Fleming, one to my editor at Doubleday, etc.

In fact, I am doing very little reading or talking. I am relying on my own resources in thinking out the book. When I have finished, when I have the Doubleday OK, then I'll start research. I suspect the best thing I can do is get around and talk with all these erudite people in the northeast. before I return home

One other thing I am doing: I have joined a seminar at Harvard on Group Tensions. As you probably know, it's run by Tom Pettigrew and Gordon Allport. Bruce Galphin and some other Nieman Fellows are also in it, plus a group of graduate students, the legit members. Last week at my first session some graduate student made a report on his thesis -- on the right wing student movement, AYF. It stunk. If he had been a reporter employed by me I would have fired him before he finished the report. He was vague, nothing was pinned down. Allport kept asking him if he couldn't get a "control group." I don't exactly understand what that means but I guess you do.

Last night I did come back out to Brandeis to hear Herbert Hill, NAACP labor secretary. He was passionate -- against northhern liberals. He is a dedicated enemy of David Dubinsky and the Garment Workers. ~~He tried to pers-~~ I went to a bar with him after his galk. He tried to persuade me to do a piece for the SatEvePost on the garment worker . I will not have time if I do the book. The book must be finished by end of November.

I know nothing about the Garment Worker controversey, but I do agree with H,ll that now or later the racial question is going to be a litmus paper that will test many traditionally liveral nothern institutions, including perhaps some trade unions.

(over)

I have seen my colleague McDee only once. Apparemtnly he doesn't show up here too often. He's been back in Mississippi coule of times.

I met Higgs last night. He's a campus hero here, the kids cluster around him. I didn't get much of a distinct impression of him; didn't talk with him. He and Hill had a talk about various people, reviewed a whole corps of names involved in the racial movement, mostly names I had never heard.

As for me, I've taken the view that I had better keep quiet and feel my way into the Brandeis ethos. I'm afraid I seem sissy. They want guys off the barricades. But everybody has been very friendly and most helpful.

One kid told me the other day that he didn't really believe the racial problem <u>should</u> be solved. "We need an oppressed people in our society," he said glibly.

Well,

George

George McMillan

Apt 11
20 Concord Ave
Cambridge 38
Mass.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 22, 1963

RECEIVED
MAR 25 1963

file

Dear Leslie:

Sorry I blew up on the phone the other night about Brandeis. I have't changed my opinion but I can take the actuality somewhat more calmly today. I have decided that the best course is to reduce my relationships to the point where they are formal and perfunctory. I don't see anything to be gained by discussing matter with Morrissey.

My editor at Doubleday has put my outline through the mill and given me definite word that Doubleday will happily publish the book, etc. I now must find some foundation money -- if that is possible.

Odss and ends: Bruce Galphin has asked me to attend Nieman dinner next Wednesday night...McGill is speaking. Talked with editor, Whitney Ellsworth, at Atlantic Monthly yesterday who said he waspersonal friend of Coles, the psychiatrist ....told me confidentially that they were disappointed in Coles' book....they are interested in publishing portion of my projected book as an Atlantic "Extra."

Finally got around to reading one of Pettigrew's papers... Good God! -- it was an elaboration of the obvious (The Demography of Desegregation). He was kind enough to ask me to lunch at Harvard Club, brought along fellow named Nichols (?) who wrote book. "Negro Politics." He clobbered me, and I shut up; I mean he told me I didn't know what I was talking about when it came to Negro vote.

(about moving to U. of Chicago has just been out for interview)

Sorenson, Kennedy's speech writer, gonna be on Brandeis campus today, I'm attending seminar with him this afternoon, and may ride himm back to airport. I'm gonna blast him about Kennedy if I get a chance.

It was good to talk with you.

Best,

George

George McMillan
Apartment 11
20 Concord Ave
Cambrdige 38, Mass.

Would appreciate your comment on my outline

SB-62 ✓
MJ-file

March 25, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
Apartment 11
20 Concord Avenue
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear George:

I always feel a little helpless commenting on outlines. I think a book is in the author's mind and no one, or at least not I, can evaluate it by what he manages to squeeze into a few fragmentary statements. Nevertheless, I shall say that I don't immediately come up to agreeing with, or perhaps understanding, your central theme of gradualism. I don't think that gradualism as a concept has been real during the last few years, and not an important determinant of how men and governments have acted. Gradualism meant something different from what you are shooting at. Gradualism was the apology of the pre-1954 South and meant to do nothing, and let things work themselves out without conscious direction. This has not been the concept in the last few years on anybody's part. "Go slow" may have been a concept but that's a different thing from what we have understood ~~about~~ gradualism because it at least means "go." I don't think we have suffered from having a wrong concept; I think the federal government and southern moderates and white liberals have suffered more from having no concept.

Some specific comments.

My most important reservation has to do with your beginning charge. The Supreme Court said, make a "prompt start" and carry it out "with all

deliberate speed;" the latter phrase is a recognized concept of equity. I think it is unfair to attribute to the Supreme Court blame for what has subsequently happened. Indeed, it is virtually the only institution of American society which has endeavored much and well. It is doing a job which the legislature ought to do, but irresponsibly has not, and to clobber the Supreme Court because in doing a job which it shouldn't have had to do in the first place -- it has had to use a method of a court -- is either unfair or indicates an innocence about how American government works. In retrospect, I believe the Court would have been wiser had it accepted Thurgood Marshall's urging of a "forthwith" decree. I did not think so at the time, however, and I am even now not sure that there would have been much substantial difference, given the attitudes which were subsequently manifested by President Eisenhower, Congress, and the southern legislatures.

If you want a legal devil, I offer two. The first, by all odds the more important, is the Court of Appeals for the Fourth District, and the district courts serving under it in North Carolina, prior to beginning to reverse positions in 1962, and especially Judge Parker and his absolutely crucial decision in 1955 in the Clarendon County case. The second is the tactical blunder of the Negro attorneys in the Shuttlesworth case of 1958 (Alabama Placement Law) in asking for a three-judge court.

I would not call school integration "a tragic failure." I don't know what you necessarily mean, but I would certainly disagree with some of the possible meanings of your statement that the sit-in movement has "already been fragmentized." I certainly don't believe that the protest movement has had a "loss of momentum." Albany was bewitched and be-deviled by unlucky tactics. But what do you mean by its being a "tactical disaster?" I do not know that prejudice is "probably deepening in the North." Has Ralph Ellison written anything since 1954?; I wish he had because I think he is even a better writer than Baldwin. Are you mindful of the serious problem of re-segregation of schools in the District and to a lesser extent in St. Louis?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 14, 1963

Dear Leslie:

~~Xxxxxxxx~~ Here's the outline for my prposed book, "The Failure of Gradualism."

Will you be so kind as to read it and give me some of your excellent comment?

It is, as you'll be the first to recognize, not much more than a conceptual argument. But I have decided that it is more important for me to do other things between now and May 1st than to sit around refining an outline. If my publisher wants a more detailed outline, I will try to deliver him one.

Besides, the basic structure of the book is obvious

But meanwhile I have resources here that I cannot begin to touch at home, espeicially people to see, good people, people with good suggestions and ideas. Actually I hope to lay the groundwork for the second part of the book before I leave here. I mean the part that will deal with the nature of prejudice etc.

Sent 3/18/62 Fed. Exec. C. regards

Will lyou send me here a copy of that program you laid out (SRC) for federal action, that list of things that the federal could do, the spefic things like National Guard, etc.?

I am not in position to ask Doubleday for more money at this point. I am going to have to see Foundation help. Do lyou have any suggestions along this line? Do you think the Stern Foundation would be interested? I have sent copy of the outline to Harold Fleming and ~~x~~ have asked him for his help and suggestions about dough.

May I ask you to keep this outline for your eyes only? Ideas like this are so damned obvious anyway...

Thanks again for your many kindnesses.

Sincerely,

George

George McM llan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Region al Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Apt 11, 20 Concord Ave
Cambridge 38, Mass.

THE FAILURE OF GRADUALISM: AN OUTLINE

GRADUALISM: A STATEMENT

The most serious barrier to racial progress in the U. S. is not Governor Ross Barnett. It is not the Ku Klux Klan nor the Citizens Councils. It is something less tangible and far more complex.

It is the concept of racial Gradualism.

Gradualism is the embodiment of the idea that white Americans, when faced with alterating the racial status quo, must be given time to adjust themselves to the change. The familiar Gradualist argument is that attitudes can't be legislated, that customs, folkways, traditions are too deeply embedded in personality to be changed overnight.

Gradualism has had a profound and peculiarly persistent influence in the 200-year history of American race relations. Almost every time anybody has set out to do something positive or constructive about the Negro, he has ended up by hitching his action in a loose harness of time.

The most notable example of this is the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school segregation. The Court ruled that segregation was unconstitutional, but wrote an order allowing its decision to be carried out "with all deliberate speed."

The implication was clear. The Court was going to give the South time -- time to do what the South had so often said it would do: solve the problem itself.

Falling in the midst of a post-World War II racial crisis, representing the major thrust forward by the Government in the field of race, the Supreme Court decision became the major hope of Negroes and a critical experiment in Gradualism.

How has it worked out? As this is written in the Spring of 1963, nine years later, the racial situation in the South is in a dangerous and foreboding stalemate. School integration is a tragic failure, and the movement that grew out of disillusion over this failure, the Negro sit-in movement, has itself already been fragmentized. There is no sign that the situation is going to improve between now and the tenth anniversary of the Court's decision -- May 17, 1964.

What's worse, the racial problem has spread outward and deepened in all its perplexities. And not the least of these is Gradualism (which has migrated in tandem with the Negro) -- to become as effective a rationale for inaction to northern liberals as it has been to southern reactionaries. Lack of hope has made race the number one social problem of American life, and brought on a new tone of frustration and bitterness, if not despair, in the North. It is not so much James Baldwin as it is the fashion for James Baldwin that is a symptom of this new crisis.

May 17, 1964 is a relevant time to review the racial situation -- the moment to review the record of the Supreme Court experiment in Gradualism to show categorically that it has failed as such; to review the whole logic and appeal of Gradualism; to show why it failed and why it could never have worked, why it did not work in the past decade, and why it holds no hope for working in the coming decade.

For it is only when an overwhelming documentary case is made against Gradualism, when the air is cleared of its obscuring miasmas, that anyone -- in government or out -- will begin to make a realistic approach to the Negro.

Then, but only then, will it be apparent that evidence has been mounting, that "force" does work, that it is perhaps the most democratic approach

to this particular problem.

Indeed, once you bury Gradualism, get it entirely out of sight, then alternatives at once appear, specific steps become obvious.

For Gradualism has never really been an approach to the problem, but only a way of avoiding it.

1. <u>Prologue: Foley Hill Re-Visited</u>

A re-visit to Clinton, Tennessee, a city still living in the shadow of its chaos. What has happened to Kasper, the rabble-rousing racist? What has happened to Bobby Cain, the Negro student who stuck it out, graduated? What has happened to that decent little high school principal?

What has happened to Clinton as a community, its institutions, its economy, its morale? What price has it paid? The object here is to bring off, through an affecting piece of reportage, a dramatic indictment of Gradualism.

NOTE: Foley Hill is the Negro section of Clinton which I visited when I wrote an article for COLLIER'S -- "The Ordeal of Bobby Cain."

2. <u>An Epochal Experiment in Gradualism: The 1954 Supreme Court Decision in the Schools</u>

A chronological narrative describing how the Supreme Court went about reaching its decision, especially how it came to try Gradualism, how and why. The "with all deliberate speed" decision and its obvious inferences: the South needs and deserves time to adjust itself to the new imperatives of the Negro problem; there are (there must be!) Good People in the South who, if given time, will come forward, come to grips with the problem, work honestly to solve it. The South is given another chance.....

3. The Ten-Year Record: A Decade of Disaster

A narrative that will not simply be a jazzed-up rehash of already well-known episodes. It will get its interest out of its new emphasis, focus and point of view: how did the Court's experiment in Gradualism work out, what is the record measured against the expectation that the Court, and the American people, had for it?

The story starts with the somewhat startling statement that much of the South thought it was going to have to obey the Court order immediately, with the preparations that were made by school boards, some of which have never yet had to be carried out. Clinton, and how the South gradually discovered its ways of evading the court order.

The sit-ins as a symptom of Negro disillusion. The early victories of the Negro protest movement and its dispersion, loss of momentum, ending in Albany as a tactical disaster. The here-and-there acceptance of token integration. The climax of disorder: the ironic last chapter in the experiment; the tragedy of Gradualism: the shabby negotiations between Governor Barnett and Attorney General Kennedy, and the ugly riot at Oxford.

4. Gradualism as an Export Product: The Problem Moves North and Gradualism Moves With It

As Gradualism fails in the South, the Negro and the Negro problem spreads outward, deepens in the Fifties into the number one perplexity of American life. The developing situation outside the South told as a narrative. The problems of jobs and housing, and the spread of Gradualism as a defense against action. The dilemma of Northern liberals and Northern liberal institutions: the racial problem becomes a litmus test of their democratic purpose and intent. The new tone of prejudice in the North: the startling fact that prejudice is probably deepening in the North, while in the South prejudice is showing signs of crumbling behind the iron curtain of the South's primitive forms of discrimination. The symptoms of new Negro frustration -- James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison, the Black Muslems.

5. The "Logic" and the Appeal of Gradualism: A Saltier Look

The fact that Gradualism remains the most serious impediment to a realistic approach to the racial problem. These things together make it important that a more sophisticated look be taken at Gradualism. The failure of Gradualism has been implicit in everything in the book that has preceeded this chapter, or this part, and now it will be shown why Gradualism was certain to fail. Some theories of "sociological time," mass movements, and some examples of Gradualism in history. Why Gradualism (or what has been called Gradualism) will not work in the racial situation. Gradualism as an approach, measured against what is known by psychologists and social scientists about the nature of prejudice. It is not so much contradictory as it is irrelevant for anyone who wishes to make a practical approach to the racial problem.

6. A Way Out: Some New Approaches and Some Things that do Work

In the decade that Gradualism has been getting its work out, some other approaches have been tried. This chapter, or chapters, will describe some different approaches that have worked, including the plan for integrating the Army, the successes in St. Louis and District of Columbia schools, and many instances of successful integration.

Some general conclusions about how you integrate, and some specific goals that can be reached in the next decade. The magnificent opportunity for breaking the racial bind in the field of job opportunity, for example.

The upbeat at the end: the goal is not an absolute and abstract purge of all prejudice. That is, indeed, long range. The place where tangible gains can be made now is in wiping out areas of discimination; in seeing that every American gets his civil rights. Anyway, you can't wipe out prejudice as long as there is discimination which keeps the Negro in his inferior place and promotes prejudice.

Telefax **WESTERN UNION** Telefax

LLG312 BA188
B CAA457 PX PD CAMBRIDGE MASS 28 715P EST 1963 MAR 28 PM 7 34
LESLIE DUNBAR RM 845 AMBASSADOR HOTEL
14 AND K ST WASHDC
AM GOING MISSIPPI SATURDAY EVENING POST STOPPING WASHINGTON
TONIGHT ESPECIALLY TALK YOU ARRIVING EASTERN SHUTTLE 1030 PM
WILL CALL YOU AT YOUR HOTEL
GEORGE MCMILLAN 1963 MAR 28 PM 7 53

SB - for
MJ - file

1270 (1-51)

April 3, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
Apartment 11
20 Concord Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear George:

Within the last month Helen Hill Miller has resigned as Executive Secretary of the Edgar Stern Family Fund, and has been replaced by a public relations corporation: Victor Weingarten Co., Inc. I am told that correspondence should be addressed to Mrs. Richard Dammon, Victor Weingarten Co., Inc., 10 East 44th Street
New York 17.

I have met Weingarten a couple times, and he is a very pleasant fellow. More than this I cannot add.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 27, 1963

RECEIVED
MAR 28 1963

Dear Leslie:

I forgot to ask you before I hung up a few minutes ago how I might go about applying for grant from Stern Foundation -- in case Field Foundation turned me down. Will you send me Stern address, etc, please?

Best,

George

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

SB - for info
MJ - file

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
Midway 9-4747

April 21, 1963

Dear Leslie:

I got my GREENWOOD piece off last Thursday but haven't heard from Emerson yet. I started to call you and read it to you. I am so unsure of whether it is what Emerson wants and will like that I thought it a waste of time and money to do that. If he tells me he does like it (and I should hear from him Monday or Tuesday) then I do want you to review it.

As you know, I was turned down by Abrams. And I have come to agree with you that perhaps the outline is not what I should be writing anyway. I mean, I perhaps shouldn't write the book I outlined.

But instead the book you suggested. Would you be willing to tell me in more detail what you had in mind? You suggested I take four cities or racial episodes and treat them extensively. Was that it? I like that idea; I would feel easy and confident in starting out on such a book.

Time is pressing. Do you have any idea where I might get the dough? I ought to get started.

I am immediately going to work on my little children's book on horses. I have one final chapter to do on it, a chapter on horse shows. The publishers like the rest of the book.

I would like to start the racial book immediately after I finish this horse book -- in about two or three weeks.

Had a nice letter from Harris Wofford from Addis Ababa, telling me how much he like my CLEMSON piece.

Cordially,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
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DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
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SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

file

TELEPHONED IN

May 21, 1963

PROFESSOR BRUCE MCDUFFIE
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY
HARPUR COLLEGE
E. VESTAL PARKWAY
BINGHANTON, NEW YORK

HAVEN'T FORGOTTEN.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

PA
MS

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

May 29, 1963

Dear Leslie:

You may be interested to know that your Aiken friend, Daniel K. Miller, has written, multilithed, and circulated a three-page, single-spaced personal statement on the racial situation. It is titled, "A Voice for Moderation." It calls for creation of local bi-racial committee. Eloise Twombly, your local CHR person, called Miller and told him there already was a committee. I would send you a copy if I had one; somebody let me see it.

Where are those suggestions you were gonna make about a book?

Best,
George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

June 3, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Never mind anything else I said.

Get your publisher to let you write now the story of Birmingham. This seems more and more like the climactic event of the last nine years.

You have missed the excitement -- at least the first round. But sightseers aren't necessarily the best reporters.

This book would sell.

Keep it short -- 100 to 150 pages.

Could we visit you in the hills the weekend of July 27?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

George McMillan Box 299 Aiken, S. C.

Leslie: I'm still looking for those suggestions for a book you were going to send me. It was so good of you and Peggy to come to the airport. I enjoyed our visit, enjoyed hearing about Peggy's moral dilemma.

Best,

George

RECEIVED
MAY 17 1963

Rec'd May 6, 1963

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

May 4, 1963

Dear Leslie:

How about those ideas for a book you were gonna send me?

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
MAY 6 1963

June 3, 1963

Miss Margaret McCulloch
858 Whitford Place
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Miss McCulloch:

Your letter of last summer has been on my desk a long, long time: not answered, but not filed, and not forgotten. You raised big questions.

I think you may be interested to know that at our annual meeting last November the staff announced that during the next year it would review and evaluate all our programs and their effectiveness. A committee of Board members was appointed to consult with the staff, and we shall present our report to this year's meeting.

This will not be, however, the sort of basic re-direction of the Council which you suggested. I am in the odd position of agreeing with you that after a few years more -- you said, after 1965 -- some basic change may be in order; and disagreeing with some of your views about the present shape and role of the Council.

Let me mention first some points of disagreement. Membership in the Council has changed a great deal, and resembles but little the old Commission. I am inclined to differ also from your opinion that "Negroes are no longer southern," though you may mean more (or less) by that statement than I see. Nor can I

agree that SRC is a "tail to the kite of the Negroes' new civil rights militancy;" I guess the difference is that I -- correctly or incorrectly -- don't look on SRC as a non-Negro or a non-anything organization. We are, I hope, part of the show, both in our program and through the exertions of our Board members. And, of course, the Voter Education Project has put in very deeply into the midst of things.

(I am enclosing my annual reports for the past two years. Perhaps you would like to glance over them.)

But pn your basic point I have a good bit of agreement. After two or three more years, what? I put the question to myself some times this way: suppose that every state, even Mississippi, were at the level North Carolina is today; what would this mean to SRC? North Carolina, of course, has still a whole of a lot of problems. But clearly, if no state were worse than North Carolina is now, some would be better, and this would be a lot different South -- and nation. What then for SRC?

I'm not sure. Several possibilities occur to me. One is to keep being what we are; this worries me. Another is to go out of business; I would hate to see this happen. Another is be somewhat as we are, but return to Howard Odum's original idea of a Council dealing with all -- and not just the racial -- problems of the region; this intrigues me, but I have a hard time seeing how to do it. Another is to drop our tax-exemption, and be a sort of southern ADA. Another is to become wholly a research organization, and do research of a more solid nature than we now do.

Why don't you come down for our annual meeting November 25 and 26, 1963? Just come and talk to people and set them thinking. We can't pay your transportation, but we would be delighted to have you as our guest while here. Can you?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
enclosures (Annual reports - 1961 and 1962; Board List, Press Release of May 26, 1963)

cc: Mr. Dabbs

Dr. Dunbar -

Thank you for letting me

see this -

RECEIVED

AUG 9 1962

M. C. Dr. Allen

file

file "Me" Gen. Corresp.

LWD

August 1, 1962

Miss Margaret McCulloch
858 Whitford Place
Memphis, Tennessee

-file "UC", Gen Corresp

Dear Miss McCulloch:

As soon as we have had a little more staff discussion, I will be responding to your good letter. In the meantime, enclosed is a copy of some comments from Mr. Dabbs.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (copy of Dabbs ltr to Lwd dtd 7/30/62

copy of this sent to Miss McCulloch 8/1/62

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

July 30, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta 3,Ga.

Dear Leslie:

Margaret McCulloch's letter was interesting and provocative. Here are a few comments.

First, I am inclined to think she underestimates the importance of the Southern Regional Council as it at present is. It's true, I tend to compare what it is doing with the minuteness of its operation some ten years ago, and perhaps do not imagine sufficiently what it might be doing. But, certainly, the apparent impact the Council has made on the National Administration, and the fact that the Council was in a sense requested by the militant Negro organizations to guide and control the Voter Education Project indicates that we are not exactly a tail to their kite. Furthermore, I doubt if we could ever be the kite aggressive Negroes want to fly--nor would we want to be. Somebody's got to keep these aggressive leaders in touch with the rest of Southern life, and maybe that's SRC's job .

As to the new factors making toward increased nationalism in the South, several things may be said. I grant that the South is becoming more national, and that the problems, metropolitan, economic, religious, are increasingly national problems. But you have to remember that the problems of a region are what they are because of the mind of the people who live there; and that the mind of a people--its basic attitude--tends to linger long after the institutions that expressed and channeled that mind are gone. In brief, the South is today institutionally more national than in its mind and heart it is. Miss McCulloch might say at this point that that makes it the task of an organization like ours to eliminate this form of sentimentality by moving the region's mind into nearer agreement with its national institutions . I have two questions here: how much does SRC want to do this? and how do you do it best if you want to. Frankly, the Yankees won the war, but they haven't yet quite won me into thinking that "their cause was as the strength of ten because--I'm wrong; "their strength was as the strength of ten because their cause was pure." Without trying to balance the two causes, they had the strength of

ten mainly because they had the ten to our own! In brief, when the South finally rejoins the Union, I hope it will be a better Union than it was.

As to how much "Southernness" remains, some had better remain until I get through my delineation of the Southern character! I think some does, as I have indicated. I even think Southern Negroes respond, even in their aggressiveness, like Southern Negroes.

In spite of all this, I do think that the South would be far healthier--and therefore a better place to live in--if it had the sense of making a contribution to the national life. The lack of this sense is one of the basic elements of Southern weakness and insecurity. And it is possible that some kind of organization, based in the South, and concerned especially about the national qualities of the South, might make a greater contribution than SRC is now making. I call your attention at once to the fact that you run the risk of alienating some Southerners whom you do not alienate now--because of the continued existence of a Southern attitude, whatever the institutions say about our national involvement. We might have a council called--say--the Southern National Council. It could be better called CSA-USA, Inc.,--if anybody remembered what CSA meant. Then, you could have not less than one-fourth--and not more than one-third--of the membership from outside the South. These are the merest suggestions. As I said, I wouldn't want to sell out to the Nation, and give them control; but I wouldn't mind inviting them into the council.

I can see that the kind of organization Miss McCulloch has in mine might permit the South to teach more to the rest of the nation, and the rest of the nation to teach more to the South. But the South is hard to teach. The Yankees have tried it, and we have learned but slowly from them. In my opinion, the boys didn't have much to teach us--except how to make money, and we've always known this--it's just a question of whether the money's worth the effort. Mainly, we've got to teach ourselves. In our hearts lie many unwritten, and some wise, books. If we'd read our hearts, we would do better.

Well, I haven't time to write more now, and you haven't time to read more. Miss McCulloch's ideas are certainly worth careful consideration, and it was gracious of her to submit them to you.

As ever,

J. M. Dabbs,

J. M. Dabbs,
President.

June 6, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I think you are as wrong as you can be about Greenwood. When will your article be out?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

RECEIVED
JUN 5 1963

June 4, 1963

Dear Leslie:

Yes, you can visit us in the hills the weekend of July 27 -- and please do so. It's a date.

I am not sure I agree with you about Birmingham. It might make a good book and it might not. Not having heard from you, I have gone ahead and outlined another kind of book, and have started work on it. And I [redacted] like my idea better than I like Birmingham as an idea. Remember, I thought Greenwood was gonna be important, and it turned out to be significant only because it [redacted] failed to be important, important in the way it was touted.

Best,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

SBV
HJ-file

June 7, 1963

Dear Leslie:

Thought you might like to know that GOOD HOUSEKEEPING likes my story of Project Friendship in Knoxville, Tennessee -- in fact thinks the mss is "superb." They're using it.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina
Telephone: MI 9-4747

By 9:30 p.m. on the night of June 10, 1963, things seemed so quiet -- or to hold the promise of becoming quiet -- that Police Chief Eugene C. McCain began to play with the idea of letting his overworked day shift go home.

They had been on duty 16 straight hours. And their patience was worn threadbare. They had been confronted all day long with Negro demonstrators. To say that these Negroes had disturbed the peace would be putting it mildly. The Negroes had contemptuously ruptured all those little rites and rituals that go with the routine of daily life in a town in southern Virginia on a summer morning.

As early as 9:30 a.m. the Negroes were sitting on the steps of the Danville City Hall, singing their freedom songs, taunting policemen and white passersby. Things had reached the stage at one point where a Negro bit Sergeant Tom Talley in the hand. And before the morning was over, McCain had ordered the fire department to turn the hoses on the Negroes.

But now, 12 hours later, things were quiet. It was true that there was still something going on -- a mass meeting at Bible Way Church -- but it seemed safe to assume that the Negro leaders would let their people go quietly home at the end of the meeting. That should be no later than 10:30 p.m.

Yet, if he let his day shift off, he would have only 18 men left on duty. That did not include of course some recently-sworn-in auxiliary policemen. These fellows had been recruited from the city pay rolls; some of them were garbage collectors, some read water meters, some were members of city park maintenance crews. There had not been time to give them much training; their billy sticks had been turned out down at the Danville Lumber Company on a hurry-up order, and still had not been painted.

A dozen or so of these fellows were on duty right then at City Hall, guarding every entrance to that imposing Romanesque facade. For there was also a City Council meeting going on, the regular Tuesday night weekly meeting. Council was in a hassle but nothing that had to concern Chief McCain.

No matter how the Chief stacked it -- as he rode in his police cruiser that night of June 10, trying to decide what to do -- he could not help but harbor some resentment at the Negroes. In the last few days he had suffered indignities of a kind a southern white police chief is not supposed to tolerate. He had been taunted, ignored, and, worse, one young Negro girl had slapped him across the face with her pocketbook, a pocketbook that was weighted with soft drink bottle caps.

What made this all the more distressing and irritating to the Chief, a local boy who had served in the Navy shore patrol, was that he had tried to make sure this kind of thing wouldn't come about in his bailiwick.

After he saw what happened in Birmingham, he went off in April (1963) to a special seminar at the Southern Police Institute at Louisville, Kentucky. He met Roy Wilkins, NAACP national director; James Farmer, the CORE leader, Eric Lincoln, the Negro who did the study of the Black Muslims, and many other Negro leaders. "They were people I could talk to," McCain told an interviewer later.

But the Negroes he had been meeting on the streets of Danville since May 31, were an entirely different kettle of fish. Wilkins, Farmer and Lincoln are polished, sophisticated men used to sitting across the table from white men. But the Danville demonstrators were young, angry, intemperate and unsophisticated. What's worse, some of them had criminal records. As for talking with them, McCain had no chance except, in a sense, across the barricades. Whatever negotiations were going on between Danville's white community and its Negro community were being carried on by others, not by the Police Chief.

It was a measure of these local Negroes in McCain's mind that they had turned their back on the City's first proffer of good will. There had been agreement in City Council, with McCain's assent, that if Danville Negroes showed signs of wanting to demonstrate, they should forthwith be given permits to parade -- and police protections. When he first learned

that the Negroes were, in fact, about to demonstrate, McCain acted quickly. He ordered one of his policemen to deliver a parade permit to the Negroes; and, to the surprise of the Negroes, a uniformed policeman did turn up at High Street Church and plunk a permit down on a table there. That was May 30. But the Negroes had demonstrated many times after that, and had never bothered to ask for permits.

That was the background. But there were still the events of the day to consider in making the tactical decision of what to do about the rest of the night of June 10...

what about retaliation police arrests?

* * * * * * * * * * *

2.

By 9:30 a.m. there were nearly 75 Negroes sitting on the high steps of City Hall, singing, chanting, moving around, blocking the entrance.

After about 30 minutes of this -- and City Hall itself sits at one of the pivotal arterial intersections in downtown Danville -- the demonstrators turned and marched 20 abreast right through the heart of downtown Danville. Morning traffic, business, everything, came to a standstill until the marchers had finished their swing and were back on the steps of City Hall.

At that point, McCain ordered his men to haul the Negro leaders off to jail.

The city jail in Danville is immediately behind city hall. A severely plain, unadorned two-story brick building, its front faces the back of city hall. The two buildings are separated for part of their length by a narrow, steep alley which opens out, for the rest of the interval, into a wide, asphalted parking lot.

The offices of the police department, Chief McCain's private office, the police communications setup, the locker room, the records office, are on the ground floor of city hall. The police booking office where the blotter is kept is just inside the back door. And right across the alley from it is the forbidding, double-hung, metal-latticed door of the jail.

This area -- "Jail Alley," as it is called in Danville -- is the private, intimate, inside sanctuary of law enforcement.

It is an area in which police officers want no nonsense and usually tolerate none. As the policemen brought the Negro leaders into Jail Alley, the demonstrators poured in behind, filled Jail Alley, flowed over into the parking lot.

"They struck and spat upon officers," says an official report issued later by the City of Danville. It was then that one of the demonstrators bit Sergeant Talley. "At this point the mob became violent and uncontrollable," and, as their leaders were led toward the jail, "the mob dashed to the door of the jail and tried to seize it."

City fire trucks had pulled up meanwhile and hoses had been unlimbered and "charged" with extra pressure from the pumps on the trucks. The firemen were standing with nozzles at the ready. And when the crowd went for the jail doors, Chief McCain ordered the water turned on them.

This dispersed the crowd but did not quite subdue it. News photos shows a dozen, perhaps a few more, teen age Negro boys and girls standing transfixed in the powerful streams of water, laughing. "They seemed to think there was something humorous about it," Chief McCain told an interviewer later.

As the crowd turned away from Jail Alley, it was still apparently looking for trouble. It was now made up of irregular clusters of twos and threes, fours and fives of the Negro demonstrators, and these leapfrogged each other along the streets, the six blocks back to High Street Baptist Church.

There was one halt. At Spring Street, the clusters ran into a group of white men standing by a car owned by one of them, a man named Clyde Taylor. The Negroes must have been provoked in some way -- (it would not have taken much in the mood they were in) -- for they swarmed Taylor's car. One Negro jumped inside, tried to drive the car away. Others picked up ash cans along the street, threw them at the car. One Negro allegedly struck Taylor in the mouth with a sock filled with rocks. The frustration, or the vengefulness, the Negroes felt would not be satisfied until they heaved together and wrenched the door off Taylor's automobile.

Police and firemen broke it up, finally, arrested one man, as the others fled on up a hill to the church. By then 37 arrests had been made.

It was noon. The day was far from ended.

* * * * * * * * * * *

3.

For some days now High Street Baptist Church had hummed with activity. It was the principal command post of the Danville Negro protest movement just as Jail Alley was the command post of the Police Department. The church building is an imposing two-story structure and houses one of the largest Negro congregations in Danville. The church sanctuary is on the second floor; underneath it, at street level, there is a large open meeting room with a piano at one end. It is a somewhat dark, colorless room, sparsely furnished. But it was never sparsely populated during the days of the demonstrations. More often than not, somebody would be at the piano, playing a freedom song or a rock and roll hit. And the hall would echo with the cacophony of excited, tense and often laughing voices. Someone would occasionally shout, "Quiet!" and a meeting would be called, an order issued, an announcement made.

Obviously, if this was the scene at the command post, the Danville protest movement was not a drilled, disciplined organization with a fixed heirarchy of leadership. And it was not.

It is only a slight oversimplification to say that the Danville movement was ~~made up of~~ a group of fearless, furious young Negroes whose core was ~~made up of~~ Langley High School students, and who were searching for leadership that would give them action.

Leadership was the property of the man who asserted it. And at noon on June 10, the Rev. Lendell Chase, pastor of High Street Church, a short, stocky man, and one of the most respected Negroes in Danville, stepped in. He decided that he would lead a demonstration that afternoon.

Chase did not like what had happened that morning. He was worried about the temper of the young Negroes. A member of the Rev. Martin Luther King's non-violent Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Chase was concerned that the lessons of non-violence were not being learned by Danville's young Negroes.

"We're down here to prove that we can have peaceful demonstrations in Danville," Chase told reporters when he got downtown with his group.

He proved it. They were orderly. Chief McCain and his men, as well as city firemen, stood by, watched the demonstrators, made no arrests.

That was the afternoon demonstration of June 10.

And that was the end of Rev. Chase's tactical leadership for that day.

* * * * * * * * * * *

4.

But was it the end of the demonstrations? Chief McCain, for one, needed to know. But how could he know what the Negroes were going to do when they didn't know themselves what they were going to do from one minute to the next? The very spontaneity of the Movement presented almost insurmountable obstacles to effective surveillance.

McCain had gone to some pains to keep in touch. He put a camera in the hands of one of his men, posted him in a building opposite High Street Church with orders to photograph everyone who came and went. In fact, he did the same thing at a couple of other places, where Negro demonstrators congregated. And it might be safely assumed that the Police Department had its paid informers within the protest movement.

But the Danville Movement had now come to have a momentum of its own. Like other protest movements in the south, the Danville movement had become just what that word implies -- a developing collective emotion. Except for its purpose, "the movement," as Negroes often refer to it, is very much like the old-time "protracted meetings," the extended religious meetings that used to be held by Negroes toward the end of the southern summer. These were held in "lay-by time," when cultivation of the cotton crop was finished, when there was nothing to do but wait for the subtropical sun to do its work with the staple.

Like those old-time meetings, the "movement" is in almost continuous session; it never adjourns. It has its emotional peaks and valleys. It goes on and on until it runs out of steam, until it gains some objective which its leaders have sought, or until it is abruptly halted by violence.

Another mass meeting was scheduled for that night. This one was to be held at Bible Way Church, 121 Grant Street, on the other side of Danville from High Street Church. The pastor at Bible Way is the Rev. Lawrence Campbell. Campbell is a small, intense young man, dapper, with finely-chiselled features. His personal style is quick and sarcastic, when not bitter; and his militancy has built him a personal following in the Danville Movement, especially among the young people.

At 9:30 p.m., while the meeting was going on at Bible Way, McCain sat outside in his police cruiser and, with the sound of the singing in his ears, tried to con the situation. "I figured that they would go on home when the meeting was over," he said later, in recalling the events.

At 10:00, he lifted the mouthpiece off his police radio and sent a message to headquarters that the day shift was to be relieved when it came in. But, before turning in, he decided to make one more swing through the streets that led from Bible Way to City Hall.

He had driven only a few blocks when he came on a group of Negroes, most of them walking, a few in cars, obviously bound for City Hall.

He grabbed his microphone, called Headquarters, ordered his day shift to be held on duty, warned that the demonstrators were on the way, and then took off himself for City Hall. He got there a few minutes ahead of the marchers, drove into Jail Alley at about 10:45 p.m.

The Movement had not run out of steam. It had simply accepted militant leadership again. The Rev. Campbell had asked, at the mass meeting, for a show of hands, for volunteers to go back downtown. He got nearly 100 volunteers. Their purpose, as they explained it later was to hold "an all-night prayer service at the jail for those imprisoned earlier in the day."

McCain didn't see it that way. "That morning they tried to rush the jail door," he has said. "And the first thing that went through my mind that night was that they were coming for the same purpose."

* * * * * * * * * * *

5.

What was to happen in the next few minutes would turn out to be one of the single most violent episodes in modern American racial history. Here now, in the middle of an American city in 1963, a time of plenty and a time of peace, the forces of law and order were about to make a brutal, savage, punishing attack on a group of citizens.

There is no substantial controversy about the facts. The disagreements are disagreements of degree only. Some authorities say there were 100 Negroes at the scene; others give the figure as 65. There is very little argument over the extent of wounds. The Negroes verified their statements by taking a movie of each of the wounded, showing their wounds.

The effect of the episode was so profound on everyone involved that there seems to be no spirit for argument about it, although there is spirit for argument about much else that has happened in Danville during its racial crisis.

At about 10:55 p.m., the Negroes entered the Jail Alley area on the Court Street side, marching two-by-two, strung out in an irregularly-spaced long twisting line. They went through the parking lot, on into the narrow alley, then around City Hall and back again.

About this time, the Council meeting upstairs broke up, and a small throng of Councilmen, lesser city officials, people who had business before Council that night, poured out of City Hall, took up positions as spectators on the Court Street sidewalk. Word quickly spread through downtown Danville, and the kind of people that are around and about the streets near midnight in a small town (not the best element by any means) began to drive up and get out of cars, form a crowd in Court Street. "Lots of white people were riding around in cars to see what would happen," says McCain.

While the Negroes were circling the building, Assistant City Manager _____ Neilsen rushed downstairs from City Council meeting, looking for Cheif McCain. He found him in a hallway, bound outside.

"Get them out of there before they try something," cried Neilsen.

Whit Scott, Danville's director of public works, ran through the corridors of City Hall, rounding up the deputies.

"They're coming," he yelled, urging his men out into Jail Alley.

The deputies and McCain's men, what few there were around (some of the day shift had already left, failing to get notice), poured out of Police Headquarters, the back entrance of City Hall, into Jail Alley.

Neither the uniformed men nor the deputies had any special orders. Chief McCain later denied that he even had control over the deputies, and insisted that he did not call them out that night.

But, in the breach, McCain now made hasty tactical arrangements. He sent a couple of his men out into Court Street, to put a cordon around those white spectators, to make sure they remained spectators. Two fire trucks had arrived in answer to his first message of alarm, and he put one of them in Court Street, covering the parking lot, that way of egress. The other drove into the passageway on the other side of city hall, parked right smack at the entrance

to Jail Alley. As quickly as the engines parked, firemen jumped out, nozzles at the ready, stood waiting, their hoses "charged" with extra pressure pumped at the trucks, they had the only other exit covered.

As the line of Negro demonstrators came winding into Court Street the second time, McCain blocked their way, began to talk to them through his bull horn.

"You people disperse and go home now," he warned. "There's nothing else you can accomplish tonight."

Instead of answering McCain, the Negro at the head of the line, a Rev. Hildreth McGhee, yelled back to his followers, "Let's pray now."

The long wavering line, curving out to Court Street and along the sidewalk there, dropped to its knees.

Whatever the mood of the Negro demonstrators in the morning, they were not belligerent now. In fact, they had voluntarily shaken themselves down back at the church before they set out. "The demonstrators had turned in all pencils, nail files and anything that could possibly inflict a wound, and they had committed themselves to nonviolence," says a statement issued later by the Negro movement. They were no less militant, but they were learning -- if perhaps a little late -- the lesson of nonviolence.

McCain now ~~He~~ walked up and down the line, warning the group through his bull horn, that he was going to turn the hoses on them if they didn't get out of there.

A few did, disappeared into the darkness down Court Street.

But most stayed. McCain then ordered Police Captain Newman Boswell, head of the Danville's uniformed division, to arrest the leader, Rev. McGhee.

Captain Boswell hesitated a minute. "He seemed reluctant to haul in a man who was praying," says an eyewitness. He did, but the Negroes stayed, there on their knees.

McCain now went over to speak to Danville's Mayor Julian Stinson who had been standing on the sidewalk watching the developing set-to.

"Well," said McCain, a question-mark in his voice.

"Give them all you've got," Stinson ordered, according to the Danville REGISTER.

McCain started back toward the Negro line. Just as he reached it, a young white man named Robert Zellner, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, stepped out of line and snapped a picture of the Chief. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is a band of militant, dedicated and determined front line fighters in the Negro movement.

Before this happened, McCain's uniformed men had meanwhile been prodding the Negroes into a small group, pulling them to their feet, pushing them together with the blunt ends of their billy sticks.

When Zellner's flash went off in McCain's face, that was <u>it</u> as far as McCain was concerned. He wrenched the camera out of Zellner's hands, smashed it on the ground.

And at once ordered the hoses turned on the Negroes. It all happened so fast that some of his own men were caught in the bludgeon-like streams of water.

In split seconds, it was a melee. The Negroes, huddled together, tried to lock arms around each other, as their bodies were pounded by the water, coming at them from two directions.

They were unarmed; they were at this point merely flotsam being buffeted around on the slick paved surface of Jail Alley and the parking lot.

One, then two, then three of the Negroes, slipped and slid around until they reached their feet, and ran for it, toward the darkness in Court Street. A couple of the deputies took off after them, wildly swinging their billy sticks at the fleeing Negroes.

And the rest of the deputies, along with McCain's uniformed men, waded in on the huddled Negroes, swinging their billy sticks. The Negroes scrambled. As many as could hid under or behind two cars which happened to be parked there that night.

Those Negroes who took off toward Court Street found themselves being beaten by pursuing deputies and policemen. "One of them passed me, whacking a Negro on the buttocks," says an eyewitness. When another Negro, with deputy in pursuit, flailing his billy stick, passed Mayor Stinson, the Mayor was obviously shocked.

"Hey! Hey there!" he called out admonishingly.

"Some (of the Negroes) were dragged into the street and sent running with still more licks from night sticks," says the REGISTER's account.

Most of this pursuing was done by the deputies, witnesses agree. Some witnesses assert that the behavior of the deputies was so brutal that the regular police could not stomach it. The story is told -- and denied -- that one regular policeman hit a deputy to make the deputy stop beating a Negro.

Then the deputies and police went after those who were hiding under and behind the cars. They "drove them (the Negroes) from between the cars by scrambling over the cars and beating them (the Negroes) with their newly-made night sticks," says the REGISTER. Those underneath the cars were driven out by the pressure of the hose, came out scrambling, bleeding.

In minutes -- maybe three, maybe four, five at the outside -- it was all over: the last of the Negro demonstrators had fled or been dragged off to jail.

One of those present said: "When it was over I suddenly felt sick, just sick."

One of the firemen who had manned the hoses was heard, muttering to himself: "But we had to do it. We <u>had</u> to do it!"

The bloody and wounded made their way back to Bible Way Church and from there they were taken to Winslow Hospital, a city facility for Negroes. There is controversy about the

number of wounded and the severity of the wounds. One reporter said that two were hospitalized and 13 others were treated for cuts and bruises. The NAACP, in a brief it later submitted in a court case, said: "48 out of 50 demonstrators.. were sent to the hospital by police action."

But there is no doubt but that the following statement, issued later by one of the Negro groups, is to be taken as fact:

"Heads were beaten, faces broken open and noses broken, breasts lacerated, limbs broken, eyes nearly punctured, bodies cut and clothes torn off by the force of the water."

As for the last part, the evidence was there, in the deserted parking lot to prove it.

After everyone had gone, Jail Alley was littered with soaked and faded scarves, torn fragments of shirts and blouses, and mis-matched shoes.

* * * * * * * * * * *

June 12, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I'm returning, herewith, your letter to Courtney Siceloff which you recently shared with Les, and which you wished returned.

Come to see us.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

SBV - for info
(Check if somebody else ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible]?)
MJ - pls return
letter to George
+ file his

June 6, 1963

Dear Leslie:

Will you please read and return to me the enclosed copy of a letter I have written to Courtney Siceloff at Penn Center, Frogmore, S. C.?

I thought you might be interested in the idea. As you see, I am at work on my book. I still have couple of other loose ends. But I have written both my agent and Seldes at Doubleday that when I have finished the loose ends I am neither going to seek nor accept other assignments. I am going to take the risk on the book myself, even if I have to borrow money.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
JUN 7 1963

Rec'd 8/30/63

file

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
Midway 9-4747

August 28, 1963

Dear Leslie:

You'll find enclosed memo which I have today sent to Timothy Seldes, my eidxor at Doubleday.

I have written him a covering letter in which I ask for an advance of $2,500. This would go primarily for research expenses. If I am to do the book, I would have to cover Beckwith's trial. His case is slated to come up in the term of court at Jackson, Miss., that opens September 2, 1963.

I would also need to spend at least another week in Greenwood. And I would also want to make one brief trip to Boston and New York -- to spend a few days with psychiatrists, etc in each place.

Can you help me ante up this money? I am almost sure that Seldes is not going to make an offer.

I am sorry I don't have another copy of my Saturday Evening Post article. The outline assumes you've read it.

But I hope you can make do.

Appreciate your consideration of this.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forzyth Streer
Atlanta, Ga.

MEMORANDUM

August 28, 1963

TO: Timothy Seldes

FROM: George McMillan

SUBJECT: Book outline: THE CRIME OF BYRON BECKWITH

What would you think of my doing a tight, dramatic book of about 75,000 words on THE CRIME OF BYRON BECKWITH?

Beckwith is the white Mississippian who shot Medgar Evers in the back in the early morning hours of June 12, 1963.

What will set the book apart, keeps it from being just another piece of topical junk, is the way I hope to explore the element of universality in Beckwith's crime.

Beckwith was reacting to a crisis that millions of Americans are going to come up against in the next decade: he was confronted by the upright, the no longer prone figure of the Negro.

It is not enough just to dismiss Beckwith as a man with a misguided loyalty to the South's "traditions" and to his own "old" family, as many have done. Nor is it enough to put the crime aside as one that was committed by an obsessive bigot.

Beckwith may have been, probably was a psychopath. But not all psychopaths go out and shoot at the color of a man's skin. In fact, Beckwith did not and coule not have pulled that trigger by himself. When he lay in wait there outside Evers' house in Jackson, Beckwith had Greenwood, his home town, beside him -- Greenwood, the rest of Mississippi and perhaps, if we could honestly examine ourselves, something of all of us.

Beckwith's crime gives me an exciting framework on which to hang many of the things I have been wanting to say about the nature of prejudice. Objectively.

I see the book as a kind of joint profile of Greenwood and Beckwith -- of Beckwith's twisted personality acting upon and being acted upon by the Mississippi environment -- and the gradual deterioration of sanity in both of them.

(more)

The opening scene would describe Beckwith walking into the courtroom in Jackson (he is to be tried in the term of court that opens September 2, 1963).

I would use the trial as a vehicle for re-telling the horrible and ghastly story of the crime itself. This might take a chapter, two chapters, perhaps three. It will be told with understatement, factually, with the flavor of Mississippi justice and law enforcement mixm woven into it.

This first section of the book would end with the murderer sighting in on Evers and blasting away.

Then the story would flash back. It would start again from the day in 1926 when Beckwith's mother, a widow of a few days, brought him back with her to her family's home in Greenwood. And go forward up through June 11, 1963, when Beckwith (if he is guilty) drove off down to Jackson bent on murdering a man he had never met nor known.

I am enclosing a mss. which gives this part of the Beckwith story in outline. I did this as an article for the Saturday Evening Post.

I would like to deepen its meaning and insights at almost every point. The story falls into three phases, and here are some suggestions as to approach and theme.

1. <u>1926-1954</u>

For Beckwith this covers his childhood, adolescence, service in Marine Corps and the early episodes of his married life. Here are the roots and the early symptoms of a psychopathic personality.

Beckwith's place, h is status in Greenwood is almost as significant as his role inside his family -- for his family life is conditioned by, a product of, Greenwood's social values. A "society" may consist of an upper class which is trying to rationalize, give meaning to a social complex, a social order. But it can work the other way too. A social complex, a community, may try to erect a "society," an "aristocracy" of "old families," as a form of self-defense. One gets the feelxing about the members of Beckwith's family -- his mother, his grandmother, the bachelor uncle who raised him -- were helpless and bewildered victims of this latter kind of social effort.

Thus a picture, too, of Greenwood through this period. Actually a relatively new town, no ante bellum houses. One of the largest cotton markets in the world. A town passing through Depression, through boom of WWII, with increasing government (New Deal) intervention in cotton growing and marketing...

(more)

A town where more and more Negroes were becoming economically disenfranchised, living a increasingly marginal existence as sharecropping comes to end.

Despite the steady undermining of the elaborate institutional structure of segregation, Greenwood and LeFlore County, with nearly 60 per cent Negro population, maintain the illusion of racialm equilibrium (our Negroes are happy).

2. <u>1954 to January, 1963.</u>

The pimpact of the Supreme Court school decision is terrific! Beckwith is galvanized. A neurotic personality finds something with which to identify. For Beckwith, a bigotry becomes a role. His behavior gnows more and more erratic, irrational. Note that prejudice, bigotry, scapegoating, serve same purpose for Beckwith as they do, in lesser degree, for many "normal" people who are prejudiced.

But Beckwith's bigotry is reinforced by Greenwood. Directly, immediately, intimately. For Greenwood builds a monolith of resistance to racial change, becomes national headquarters of the Citizens Councils of America. <u>Everybody</u> in Greenwood joins the local chapter.

Despite this seeming solid front, episodes of violence begin to occur and gradually to increase. The Emmett Till case in Greenwood's back door.

3. <u>January, 1963 to June 11, 1963.</u>

The threat, hitherto a largely abstract, becomes real. The Voter Education Project sends cadre of young SNICK workers to start registration drive in Greenwood and LeFlore county.

Neither Greenwood nor Beckwith no any other way to deal with the problem than intimidation. Beatings, bombings, burnings, shootings in the night, police dogs in the day -- these are Greenwood's response.

And Greenwood, as a result, becomes focus of Negro vote drive and the pOint at which Negro confidence in the Kennedy administration hangs in the balance, and drops. Birmingham follows immediately after disillusion over Greenwood.

It becomes almost logical for Beckwith to have committed the crime -- whether he did so in fact or not.

(more)

"When a crisis comes," a psychiatrist told me, "most psychopaths find a way out. But not Beckwith. Living in Greenwood, in <u>that</u> atmosphere, he was cornered. He had to act."

-- end --

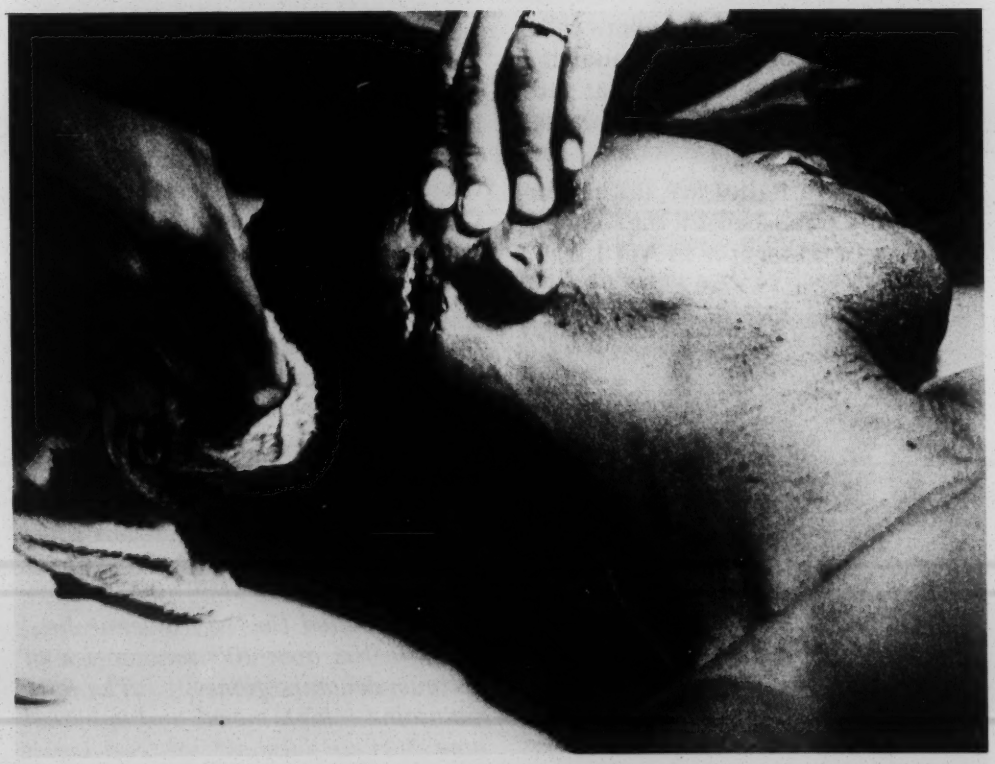
DANVILLE, VIRGINIA

OFFICIAL RECORD OF HOSPITALIZED DEMONSTRATORS,

JUNE 10th, 1963 — Danville, Virginia

Albert Chambers	Lacerations of head, fractured wrist, possible injury to back.
Juanita White	Multiple abrasions on legs and lacerations on knee.
Barbara Graves	Lacerations of scalp.
Richard Coleman	Lacerations of scalp.
Hubert Graves	Possible fracture or sprain of left wrist.
Mary Graham	Laceration of scalp.
Eddie Bethel	Lacerations of scalp.
Floyd J. Stone	Possible back injury.
Frank Davis	Laceration of scalp.
Jessie Warren	Lacerated scalp and possible dislocated shoulder.
Charles Russell	Multiple lacerations of scalp.
Joe Wilson	Injury to left knee.
Ronald Walton	Injury to left shoulder, scarum and coccyx.
Frank Adams	Swollen area right shoulder and complaints of hands hurting.
Paul Price	Laceration on right side head. Complains of dizziness and vomiting.

An unknown number of persons were treated as outpatients by the staff of Winslow Hospital and discharged without a record being made of their injuries or injury.



"Danville, Virginia Invites You to Make Our City Your City — A Fine Place to Live and Work." (Chamber of Commerce Report, April, 1963)*

A young Negro woman who will bear the scars of a police billy stick on her face for the rest of her life — she questions Danville as a "fine place to live and work." A Negro man who was beaten so savagely by police that he almost lost an eye, and was refused medical attention in jail for three days — he has questions also.

This "fine place" erupted into racial turmoil in late May, 1963 and for its size is running a close race with Birmingham for top honors in police brutality.

"Danville's population was 46,577 in the official U. S. census count...Ninety-nine per cent are American-born..."

The almost 15,000 Negro citizens of Danville, Virginia are all American-born. But: only 6.2% of them (in the county) are registered voters; the schools are integrated only in a token manner; they cannot have white collar positions or key jobs in municipal government; they cannot eat at most restaurants in the city; they cannot see motion pictures at the downtown theatres unless they sit in the balcony; they cannot sleep at the city's motels; their streets, for the most part, are unpaved and poorly lighted; their garbage is not collected regularly; and if they are ill — or beaten by white police — they go to an ill-staffed and ill-equipped segregated hospital.

They can be unemployed, or work as maids, doormen and janitors; they can be discriminated against, whipped, beaten, threatened, and jailed.

"The Library has nearly 70,000 volumes, over 900 records for children, other audio-visual material and a Genealogical Collection. There is a branch library for Negroes and a bookmobile which serves the outlying areas..."

Danville was affected with sit-ins when the movement spread rapidly through the South in 1960, but the central battle in this "enlightened, liberal" upper South state came over the desegregation of the main Library.

Negroes and a few, very few, sympathetic whites waged a furious battle for several months to desegregate the Library. Not so ironically, the Library itself is a Confederate Memorial, where the last full cabinet meeting of the Confederacy took place before General Lee announced his surrender.

After bitter wrangling, the library officials, facing a court order to desegregate, closed the building altogether from September to November, 1960. The building was then reopened — on an integrated basis — but without chairs. For some months afterward, the Danville Library was one of the few free public libraries in the United States where a one-year card cost $2.50.

"Often called the 'city of churches,' Danville has over 100 sanctuaries of various denominations. . . . .The city maintains a high moral and spiritual tone..."

* All quotes in italics are taken from this report published by the Danville Chamber of Commerce in April, 1963.

Rev. Lawrence Campbell

One June 22, several police officers kicked in a door in the main sanctuary of the High Street (Negro) Baptist Church and arrested three workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The lock on the front door had been jimmied open the night before. The three SNCC workers were charged with grand jury indictments of "inciting the colored population to acts of violence and war against the white population" and were taken to jail.

This event, conducted with such "high moral and spiritual" tones, was perhaps one of the most outrageous skirmishes in the battle between the Negro community and the Danville city fathers.

The battle began, properly, on a hot shining last day of May, when two ministers, who had long agitated in their parishes for equality, led a protest march to city hall. Rev. Lawrence Campbell and Rev. A. I. Dunlap walked almost every day from May 31 to June 5 to the city hall, demanding equality in municipal employment. They wanted, as Negroes, to be employed as firemen, policemen, city clerks, meter readers and typists.

On June 5 the two clergymen, along with several students, tried to see Mayor Julian Stinson. Mayor Stinson was not available. The students and ministers demanded to be heard, however, and when Mayor Stinson was not forthcoming, they replied calmly that they would wait, and sat down on the floor.

Police rushed them, pushed Dunlap down a flight of stairs, and choked a young Negro girl, who, not properly schooled in non-violence, responded abruptly and swung at a policeman with her pocketbook. She and the two ministers were jailed.

Campbell and Dunlap, both leaders of the Danville Christian Progressive Association, were indicted by the grand jury for "inciting to riot" and

Rev. L. W. Chase

"inciting or encouraging a minor to commit a misdemeanor." Bond was set at $5,500 each.

The next day, Campbell requested that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee send field secretaries into the city to aid the leadership, now being picked off and under heavy bond. The first SNCC field secretary arrived on Sunday, June 8. At one time or another, 15 SNCC workers aided the local movement in Danville.

Three— Avon Rollins, a SNCC executive committee member, Robert Zellner, a field secretary, and Daniel Foss, a summer volunteer for SNCC — hardly ever left.

Monday afternoon, June 10, 38 persons — including Rollins and Foss — were arrested as they marched to the city hall, still pressing publicly for their demands. Police turned fire hoses on them, and beat them with clubs.

That evening, the following scene took place:

A group of 65 Negroes (and one white woman, a SNCC office worker) walked five abreast from Rev. Campbell's church to the city jail. SNCCer Zellner was along, photographing the march. Mrs. Campbell was at the head of the line. The group, led by Rev. H. G. McGhee, sang hymns and circled the jail once, passing several policemen who stood there watching.

As they began the second trip around, police halted them. Chief of Police E. G. McCain snatched a camera from Zellner's hands, smashed it on the ground, and had him hauled into jail. McCain told Rev. McGhee to stop singing and disperse the group. Instead, Rev. McGhee broke into a loud prayer and asked forgiveness for the police "who know not what they do."

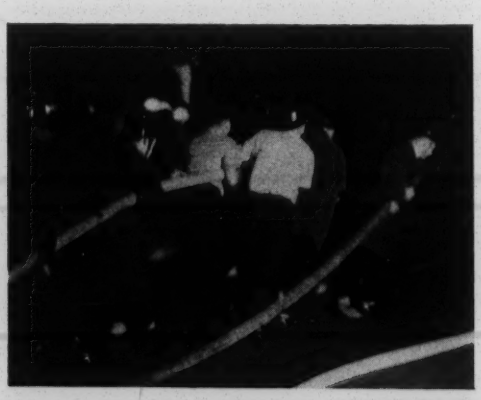
Chief McCain bellowed, "Let 'em have it" and firemen turned hoses on the people, many of them women and teen-agers. Nightstick-wielding police and deputized garbage collectors smashed into the group, clubbing Negroes who were bunched for safety against parked cars. Some were washed under the cars; others were clubbed after the water knocked them down. Bodies lay on the street, drenched and bloody. Police and garbage collectors chased those demonstrators who were able to walk for two blocks.

At the Bible Way Church, pastored by Rev. Campbell, bloody men and women came in by twos and threes and were shuttled to the hospital.

Of 65 demonstrators, 40 were hurt.

The next day, the two Danville newspapers, the *Register* and the *Bee*, mentioned casually that "demonstrators were dispersed with the use of hoses and nightsticks."

The next day, Rev. L. W. Chase, pastor of the High Street Baptist Church and President of the DCPA, led a group of 200 Negroes to the city hall to protest the police brutality of the night before and to again assert the need for equal employment. Many of those who paced slowly up and down in front of the city hall wore bandages on their heads and arms, and one young man walked with a crutch. Mayor Stinson was not available to see them.



Three days later, June 13, Rev. Chase again led about 250 Negroes to the city hall to speak to the Mayor. The crowd waited on the steps as Rev. Chase and five others — all victims of the attack June 10 — tried vainly to get into the city hall. The doors were locked, and sullen white faces peered at them unblinking as Chase called, "We want to see the Mayor."

Rejected, Chase and his group rejoined the crowd on the steps and everyone decided to stay all night, if necessary, to see the Mayor.

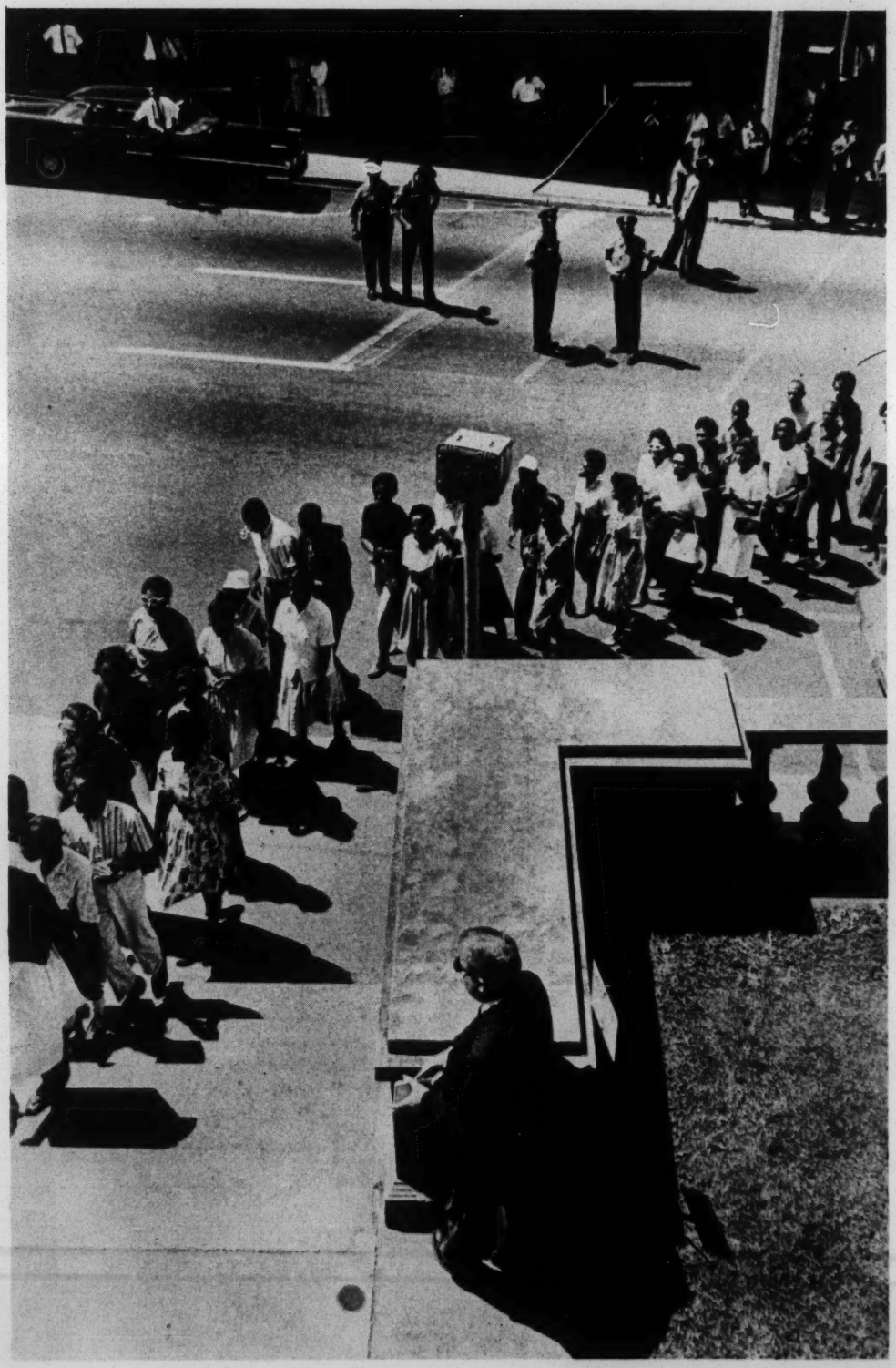
They stayed nine hours.

Women from the High Street church and other ladies from the community brought several hundred sandwiches and several hundred cokes for the demonstrators. The young and old people sang Freedom songs, talked, occasionally danced, heard a lecture on Negro history by James Forman, SNCC executive secretary, and waited.

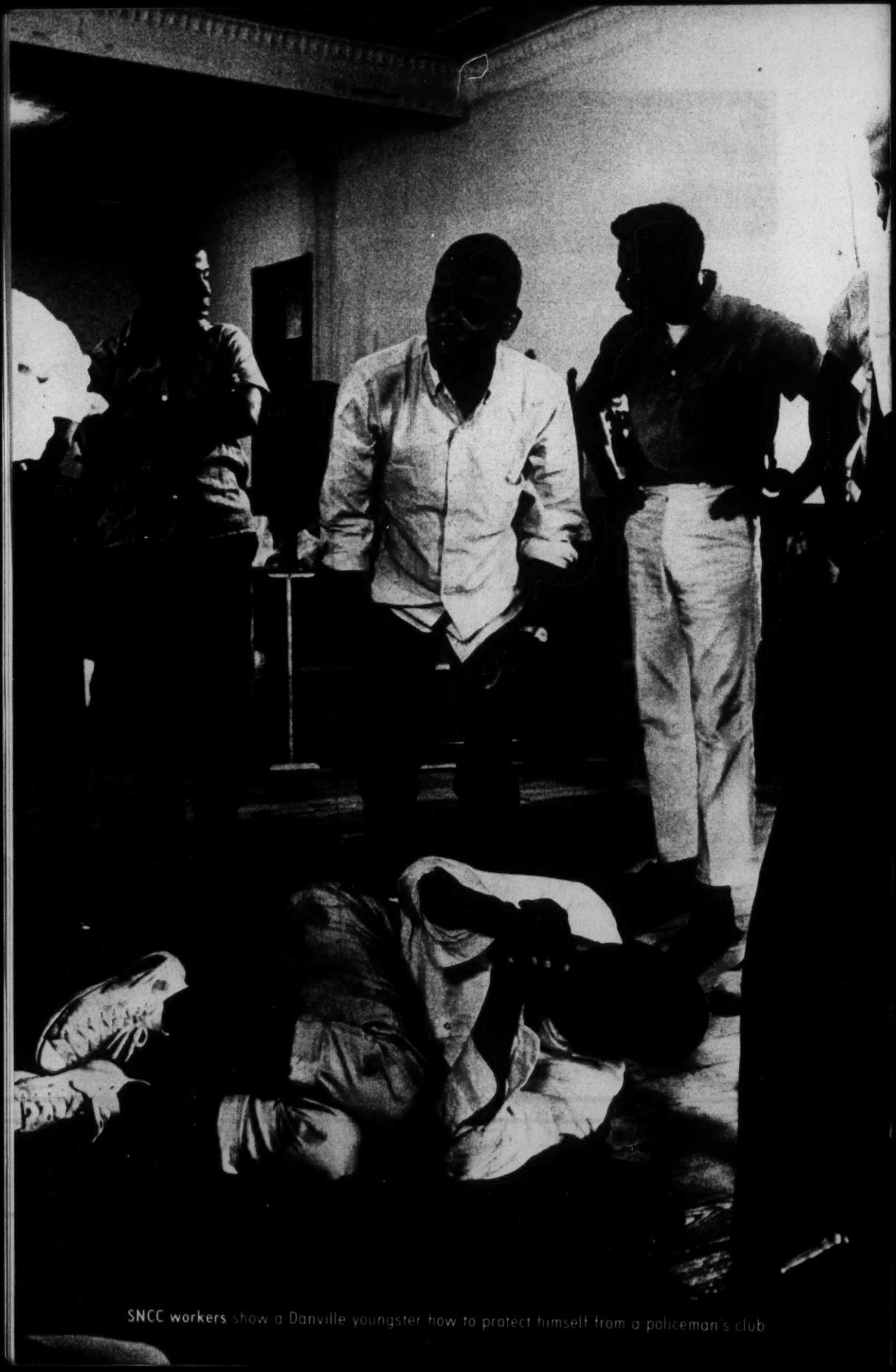
At 11 p.m., when some of the demonstrators had stretched out on the narrow stairs prepared to sleep, if possible, a sudden huddle took place among the police, who had previously blocked off the area for four blocks around.

Then the fire trucks appeared. And police suddenly appeared in back of the demonstrators, on the top steps, after they had come from inside the city hall. They had clubs in hand. An old lady, trembling, cried, "Are they going to hurt us again? Are they going to beat us?"

Dr. Milton Reid, Virginia representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Chase, and Forman conferred. The demonstrators huddled



One of several fruitless marches to the City Hall.



SNCC workers show a Danville youngster how to protect himself from a policeman's club

AP photo

Monday afternoon, June 10: a prelude to what came later that evening.

HARTMAN'S

And so the people reluctantly left the steps of the City Hall.

Left: at a non-violent workshop. Bottom: waiting in vain to be admitted to a Danville restaurant.

On the steps of the City Hall.

together, one hand protecting their faces, the other clenched tightly around the railing which ran down the steps of the building.

Some in the back, closest to the police, began to flee, but about 50 persons were prepared to brave three high-pressure fire hoses not more than 15 feet from their faces.

Forman jumped up and said to Chief McCain, "What are you doing?"

Reid and Chase spoke together as Forman confronted the Chief. It was this confrontation, many people believe, which gave the demonstrators time to get out of the way of the hoses. High pressure hoses could have, at that small distance, blown eyes out and broken bones. So the group got up and descended the stairs. Police followed them, brandishing nightsticks, to the Negro neighborhood.

After that night's mass meeting at Rev. Campbell's church, police, armed with submachine guns, set up roadblocks near the church and searched several cars. Standing near the four patrol cars loomed a riot tank with four machine guns mounted on top. This was Danville, Virginia, June, 1963 and its "high moral and spiritual tone..."

"LABOR — Danville people are largely native Virginians and Carolinians, 75.2 per cent white. They are loyal and intelligent workers...They believe in the old fashioned way of producing an honest day's work for an honest day's pay..."

SNCC workers: (left to right) **Cordell Reagon, Dorothy Miller, Bernice Johnson, Avon Rollins,** and **Robert Zellner. Reagon** and **Miss Johnson** are two of **SNCC's Freedom Singers.**

Dan River Mills, Inc., is described by the Chamber of Commerce as "the largest single-unit textile mill in the world." It employs some 12,000 persons and, in 1962, sold over $173-million worth of cloth and yarn.

Of the 12,000 employed at the mill, about 1100 are Negro. Although it is alleged that there are Negroes in key jobs, the highest position held by a Negro is as machinist. The maximum wage paid a Negro man is $75-80 per week.

Robert N. Gardiner, the public relations director of the mill, is now public relations assistant to Mayor Stinson, who, with other city councilmen, refused to negotiate with "criminals and outside agitators." Many Negroes in Danville believe that Gardiner was taken on to smoothe over police brutality and the refusal to negotiate; they say the mill could, single-handedly, change the racial situation in Danville.

Since the protest began, Negroes have picketed the employment office of the mill, and have even been arrested on mill property. On July 9 leaders of the DCPA announced a "world-wide" boycott against all Dan River products. Demonstrations occurred simultaneously in New York City and in Danville on July 17 against the mill. The New York demonstrators were sponsored by several locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and the New York Friends of SNCC.

"The City maintains a police court, civil court, juvenile and domestic relations court, traffic court, and jointly with the state, the corporation court."

The City of Danville also maintains a corporation court Grand Jury which,

on June 21, handed down indictments against 14 persons charging them with an ancient Virginia statute: "inciting the colored population to acts of violence and war against the white population." This statute, passed in the 1830's after a slave uprising, was used to hang John Brown after his Harper's Ferry raid. All the fourteen were placed on $5000 bond each. All were either local leaders or associated with SNCC, SCLC, or the Danville Christian Progressive Association.

When the Grand Jury held its hearings the week prior to June 21, no person subpoenaed was allowed to bring his lawyer. Attorney Len Holt of Norfolk, Virginia had handled most of the cases. He, too, was indicted and spent three days in jail after he was served with the indictment in the courtroom.

Holt and other lawyers asked that all pending cases be placed in the jurisdiction of the Federal court. They complained that Judge A. M. Aiken, who had tried two cases, walked into the courtroom wearing a gun, and refused attorneys the opportunity of obtaining witnesses.

"Danville's civic and social organizations have shown a consistently progressive spirit, adding much to the civic development as well as to the cultural and social life of the city."

Since demonstrations began in Danville on a large, concentrated and consistent scale, the only voice from the white community has been a statement from 13 ministers, speaking as individuals, asking for increased communication between the races. But not one "civic or social" organization issued any official statement urging the city fathers to create a bi-racial committee or to give the Negro community any of the rights it so stridently demanded. In fact, the sole city councilman who spoke up for an official bi-racial committee was publicly reprimanded.

Observers

So this, then, is the "progressive spirit" of Danville.

It will be up to the Negro community and the largely mute white community to see which direction Danville takes. There are only a few alternatives, and only a few roads on which to travel.

The hardest of all is the road on which the city administration has embarked, for the bitterness always latent in this tight mill community is now deeply embedded. Too many beatings, too many arrests, too many indignities have already been suffered by the Negroes of Danville, Virginia for them to forget.

The end of this story cannot be written now, and will only be written by the Negro community in Danville, the heroes who were beaten but were not afraid to go back and continue saying to the city: "We will continue. You can work with us to make this a truly 'fine place to live and work' or you can, as you have already done, try to thwart us in every way you devise. But no matter which way you choose, the outcome will eventually be the same. We will win."

Published by

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Text

Dorothy Miller

Photography and layout

Danny Lyon

THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE grew out of the student sit-in movement in 1960. It is composed of local protest groups across the South, a staff of 190 young people, and Friends of SNCC groups in the North.

SNCC staff and local affiliate group members work on voter registration and direct action in the hard core areas of the South. They daily face the violence portrayed in this pamphlet.

SNCC looks toward a day when all men shall walk with their heads high, each with equal opportunities, unafraid.

The costs of this pamphlet have been borne by SNCC in order that the Danville story could be told. Your contribution will help cover printing costs and further the struggle for human dignity in the South. Make checks payable to SNCC.

158

August, 1963

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

✓ MJ - what can you do with them?

September 9, 1963

SB - for you ✓

Dear Leslie:

MJ - file

You'll find enclosed the stamped, self-addressed manila envelopes which you furnished me at the time of the ATHENS assignment. I am sending the clips back under separate cover as educational material.

Please let me know if you fail to receive them.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

SB ✓
MJ file

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

September 9, 1963

Dear Leslie:

Forget the BECKWITH idea. I have, after some discouragement from my publisher.

For various reasons I have been getting my office in order, and I yesterday put together all the Athens clips and have them ready to send back to you.

We really came out even on the two projects I did for you. I badly lost money on the first and you lost money on the second.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1963

September 13, 1963

Dear Leslie:

Don't bother to give me your reactions to the BECKWITH outline I sent you a few weeks ago. My publisher has turned down the idea.

And I have decided, meanwhile, that I don't have the resources with which to do a book on the racial problem or on the South or on whatever I was going to do a book on. I have some savings and I had thought that it might be possible to get along on this resource plus some help from Ginny's salary as a teacher. But I have since concluded that this arrangement, for reasons which you may suspect, will be impossible.

I am going to finish projects in work and then make some new plans.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

LWD✓, fyi

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

September 19, 1963

Dear Staige:

Just to let you know that my piece about PROJECT RRIENDSHIP in Knoxville, Tennessee, is in the forthcoming October, 1963, issue of GOOD HOUSEKEEPING. Will you please call the piece to Leslie's attention? I think he'll like it. And I hope you will too.

Thanks for past favors.

George

Staige Blackford
Southrn Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta

BP ✓
MJ - file

GEORGE MCMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

September 26, 1963

Dear Leslie:

Just in case I forget... this is to thank you for the help I got from you and Barbara Patterson on my bombing story. I got some good stuff after I talked with you and [redacted] my agent is at this minute trying to sell it to a national magazine.

I'll [redacted] let you know where it eventually appears.

Again thanks,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
Midway 9-4747

RECEIVED
OCT 21 1963

file

October 19, 1963

Dear Leslie:

This is to confirm our phone conversation of yesterday.

I would like to do THE REPORT ON DANVILLE which you discussed with me.

It would be helpful to me if you would give me as much advance notice as possible. I am beginning to run into scheduling problems.

Just had a nice talk with Will Campbell, and I have written a note to Mr. Walmsley. I look forward to getting your memo on the churches. I will appreciate any other suggestions you may have for my NYTimes Magazine on The White Churches in the South and the Negro.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

LWD ✓

Dear Montez,

Thanks ever so much for the materials I received this morning. I hope to be able to quote the Sam Williams speech. I am writing the piece today.

Thanks again,

George

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

11/5/63

PA ✓
MJ

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

file

Leslie: Just to remind you that I am still interested in DANVILLE.

Best,

George

11/8/63

November 8 1963

Mr. Wes McCune
Group Research, Inc.
422 Bond Building
1404 New York Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Wes:

It was awfully good seeing you, and I hope we shall see more of each other. I have read through all of the materials you sent to me and was mightily impressed. I am wondering how we got along without them.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

GROUP RESEARCH INC.
422 Bond Building
1404 New York Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.
telephone: 783-2818

November 1, 1963

Mr. Les Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Les:

You and your colleagues rate 100% in cooperation, hospitality and general helpfulness. Please let us return the favors soon.

Here are some samples of material I mentioned. Barbara is also getting a bundle and will receive the newsletter regularly from now on.

It was a pleasure to see you.

Sincerely,

Wes McCune

enclosures

A GENERAL DESCRIPTIVE STATEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 10, 1963

This proposed project is an attempt to correct the four major communications problems of the civil rights movement with a single mass effort, a single organization, that would operate as something of a clearing house for public information concerning the civil rights movement in Chicago. The project would be limited to Chicago initially, but would expand its efforts elsewhere when possible without detracting from our effectiveness in Chicago.

The first problem is the mass of Negroes in Chicago - though aware of a growing sense of solidarity, they have no reliable source of information as to the progress of the civil rights movement, nor are they exposed to any detailed accouts of action in other communities. Chicago has six radio stations with programming exclusively aimed at Negroes, and will soon have an UHF TV station aimed at a Negroe audience. We have been producing 10-minute tapes from various scenes of activity in the south. They are then relayed to our present skeletal operation in Chicago over telephone lines and again relayed to radio stations in the area. Five stations have been using them regularly. We reach an estimated audience of 150 thousand Negroes for ten minutes at a cost of about 50 dollars. The national offices of SNCC and CORE have agreed to regularly supply us with live audio by using telephone lines to relay prepared on-the-scene tapes. Due to the lack of organizational manpower, SCLC has not been contacted, but I hope to speak with them in Atlanta before long.

Secondly, the four Chicago daily newspapers (excepting the Defender) and the four TV stations have not demonstrated any understanding of the goals, techniques or problems of the Chicago mass action movement. This is in part due to the fact that there is no organized effort to reach the editors and reporters other than during and after demonstrations. Such press relations work is valuable in keeping reports of daily activity somewhat accurate, but it is defensive. We, however, would put the relations between the action movement and the media on an aggressive basis. The advantages of the organizations speaking to the public through a central source are great. This would be a central source are great. This would be a central source rather than various ones operated by people who must be occupied with a multiplicity of other responsibilities detracting from their energies in press relations. The real problem is getting the groups to agree to this centralization. CORE in Chicago has agreed simply because it does not have the money to do any press relations other than what volunteers accomplish. SNCC has agreed because it directs many neighborhood organizations that have little in common, and through Civil Rights Inofrmation they would be more united.

SCLC is inactive in Chicago, and the only other action group is The Woodlawn Organization which operates on a strictly neighborhood level, but in any case it would be cooperative. Members would formally act as clients, and would sit on the Board of Civil Rights Information.

The third problem area is police brutality against demonstrators and Negro citizens. This is becoming a serious threat to the peace in Chicago. Clearly it is a reaction based on fear of the rising tide of Negro opinion. We are now actively working toward the easing of the situation, and the eventual re-education of the rank and file in the Chicago Police Department. Dr. Cens Long, Chief Resident at Michael Reese Hospital's Psychiatric Clinic, who has pioneered work in police re-education at Chicago's Police Academy, and Dr. Morris Janowitz, Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago who also works with the Chicago Police Department and is an expert on mass opinion, are now working to decide what for our effort will take. Both agree that a series of films produced especially for showing to small groups of the police in their district stations will probably be most effective. This is the result of experiments with the Military Police of the U.S. Army that show that if police see themselves, or rather see fellow officers with whom they identify, they will in situations of potential brutality come to repress the need for brutal treatment of those they fear.

The fourth area of our operation is in that of dominant opinion. The white population is not aware of the distinction between improvement of the Negro's lot and the abolition of Jim Crow. Therefore, insight into the basis of the action movement is difficult. Also, the white population is unaware of what it means to be a Chicago Negro and why the dominant white culture is responsible. Distribution of firlms through churches and other groups that have pledged a real interest in solution of the problem seems to be the most efficient means of educating the Chicago white man. We will be able to make use of this medium by supplying those films that are already available, and by producing our own that would be particular to Chicago and its problems. To date, we have contacted the Archdiocese of Chicago and the Greater Chicago Protestant Council. Both groups are eager to establish regular distribution of our material to their parishes for use with both youth and adult groups. As a further step, we are asking the leaders of the direct action groups to volunteer to speak twice a month to civic, political or fellowship clubs throughout the city.

These four projects are related in the sense that they are all attempts to fill a need, but more important is the fact that they support each other. As a unified effort they make for economy of operation, a unified approach, and a base for other projects in the future.

INITIAL EXPENSES

Rental Security	$ 250
Insurance	400
Lawyer's Retainer	300
Incorporation Fees & Expenses	100
Electricity Deposit	50
Phone Installation	148
Phone Deposit	500

Initial Expenses (Contd.)

Teletype Installation	$ 65
Teletype Deposit	200
Office Furniture	400
Carpentry, Electrical Work, etc.	750
Office Equipment:	
2 Electrical Typewriters	350
2 Mechanical Typwriters	250
Mimeo Machine	400
Postal Scale	25
Miscellaneous	450
Office Supplies & Stationery, including mimeo and teletype paper and supplies	1,500
Magazine & Newspaper Subscription (1 year)	2,600
Membership in publicity organizations, Press Club, City News Bureau, etc.	450
Automobile	2,800
to adapt for film crew use	225
Film Equipment purchase	
2 Projectors	700
Rewinds, Splicer & maintenance equip.	75
Film file and mailing cans	65
2 Movie Screens	250
Audio Equipment Purchase:	
2 Tape Decks	600
2 Preamplifiers	300
2 Monitor Meters	50
Tape Erasing Machine	10
Splicer	10
2 Head Phones	30
Patch Panel & Cords	150
1 Portable Recorder w/batteries	450
1 Portable Recorder, power operated	650
Amplifier	150
Turntable	100
Speakers (2)	200
Tape	200
3 AM Radios	100
FM Tuner	150
Miscellaneous Supplies	250
Audio Equipment Installation	350
Total Initial Expenses	$ 17,132.00

SALARIES

5 People @ $4000 a Year (Chicago subsistence) $20000.00 a year

Miscellaneous part-time people $5,00.00

FILM PRODUCTION

For Film Crew (separate budget) $18,000.00 min.

MONTHLY OPERATING EXPENSES

Rent	$ 300
Heat	75
Maintenance of Building	180
Auto Maintenance	40
Auto Gas, Oil, etc.	100
Business Machine Maintenance	25
Audio Equipment Maintenance	40
Visual Equipment Maintenance	25
Phone	800
Teletype	120
City News Release Charges	40
Recording Tape	92
Mimeo Paper & Supplies	30
Postage Meter Rental	20
Postage	85
Miscellaneous Office Supplies	150
Expenses for Delivery of releases, attending meetings, etc.	500
Accountant	75
Lawyer	200
Emergency Fund	
Total	$ 3,197.00
For One year	$38,364.00

George McMillan Box 299 Aiken, S. C.

Dear Leslie:

TA ✓
MT-file

I have received Muse report on Danville; thanks. I'm going up to Richmond Sunday for talks Heslip Lee Monday, etc. Will let you know how things go. Thanks again for your help.

Best,

George

11/21/63

File:
McMillan, Geo.

February 19, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I got so jammed up with my own things that, last week, I stayed away from the office in order to work. I do this every now and then, though afterwards I am never sure it made much sense. Things go on piling up, and there seems to be less and less time to do what I would call "work," time, all time, only to "operate." Next week, e.g., four speeches and two trips to Washington and one to Louisville; you want it?

Staige and Pat have, I trust, answered your queries. I want to tell you, however, how much I like the Danville beginning. Without an outline, I don't know clearly how you will develop the story, but this first part, which I read only on Tuesday, is really good. Only in the superfluous parenthetical phrase toward the bottom of page 12 did the writing seem to me to falter. I think you might throw in a phrase or two in sections 2 and 3, so that the inattentive reader will not forget that they also happen on June 10. For accuracy, especially in a publication under your auspices, you should change page 18 to read "The NAACP Legal Defense Fund." But it is a gripping, vivid, and best of all -- clear account, and I want to read the whole.

Manuscript is enclosed.

Our five city study is one we're handling directly out of here (Pat and Ben), both because we can and because their job has to be dovetailed into some other agencies' plans and timing. As a matter of fact, we don't yetknow how we'll finally publish it. I'd like to see you do something for us again.

Give my best to Ginny. I'm trying to get Peggy to think about our coming over for the joint Georgia-South Carolina Council on Human Relations meeting next month. Looks doubtful, but we may see you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Danville manuscript)

February 14, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Les is out of the office and has asked me to pass on to you Pat Watters comments on your Danville manuscript. When Les returns to the office, he promises to read it, and to pass on his comments.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

George McMillan Box 299 Aiken, S. C.

Dear Leslie:

Just can't wait to hear what you think of my DANVILLE mss. How about it?

Best,

George

Feb 14 1964

George McMillan Box 299 Aiken, S. C.

Dear Leslie:

Rev. Happy Lee likes my Danville mss very much. Hope you do. Seems especially approprite for you to read it if you are planning SRC study of police and race. Look forward to your reaction.

Best,

George

Feb 12, 1964

Rec'd 2/10/64 Phone Read by Leslie

GEORGE MCMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

February 8, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Don't want to seem to plague you... But my seeming to do so may really result from the fact that things back up at your end...

Anyway, I quote from letter I got from Staige Blackford: "We are planning to do a study of several southern cities and how they have handled both their racial problems and the threat of racial violence."

Are you? Am I eligible to do this study for you? Sounds exactly like the one I did which was a Big Hit. Why shouldn't I do it? I herewith apply.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

PW - would you like to read? Pls return to me

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

February 5, 1964

Dear Leslie:

I'm enclosing first hunk of the DANVILLE ~~XXXX~~ mss. Thought you might possibly like to read it. This is one of my few carbons and will apppeciate your retunning it fairly soon -- even if you can't find time to read it.

This will be, if my plan is accepted, the opening section. ~~The-purpose-is-to~~ I've chosen to start with the most tragic and dramatic moment. From this point on, I am going to flash back to the origins of Danville's racial troubles and go forward in straight chronological order. In that part, which will be most of the mss, I will do more analysis. The point here is to get the reader in -- and to give him from the beginning a sense of conviction, of the author's impartiality and objectivity.

Will appreciate comments, knocks if deserved and by all means boosts if any seem called for.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Rec'd 4/6/64

PWL
ML
MJ

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

April 3, 1964

Dear Leslie:

This is to let you know that the Stern Family Fund has given me a grant to cover expenses for research on the assignment I have received from ATLANTIC MONTHLY to do an article on The FBI and the South.

Will you please let Maggie Long and Pat Watters know that I am now in the market for material? I have some time; have set June 15 as tentative deadline so that I can finish other assignments.

Thanks,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Atreet
Atlanta, Ga.

April 7, 1964

file

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Enclosed is some material on Clinton, Tennessee, gathered by our research assistant, Sue Rusche. It looks pretty good to me, if you need any other help let us know.

As for contacts in Knoxville, I think your best bet will be Paul Christopher of the SRC Executive Committee. Also James A. Colston who is on our Board.

I hope this information will be of help to you. We will be looking forward to reading your article.

Sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

Paul R. Christopher
Regional Director, AFL-CIO
216 Flatiron Bldg.
Knoxville, Tennessee

James A. Colston
President
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

Rec'd 4/1/64 MA - for SB - please

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

March 30, 1964

Dear Leslie:

I have received so much help from your research staff that I feel just a little hesitant about calling on them for more.

But I just got a call from LIFE telling me that they definitely want me to go ahead with the mood piece -- a re-visit to Clinton, Tennnessee. The piece will appear in LIFE's issue of May 15, will be timed to coincide with 10th anniversary of you know what.

I am hopeful that I can do a nice piece; it's the kind of assignment I like.

Anyway, I would just love to know what has happened in Clinton in the past few years. I mean, just the major things. Could one of your excellent research staff pull together a select group of clippings on Clinton and send them to me, please?

I know you have some contacts in Knoxville. I remember you once gave me the name of a labor leader there. Can you give me this list of names once more, please?

There is no immediate hurry about any of this. I have some time. But I am getting so busy that I like to be a little bit beforehand with research, etc. That way I can use every free minute.

Thanks,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

P. S. Please tell Montez that my piece on the white clergy is gonna appear in this coming Sunday's New York Ti es Magazine -- the issue of April 5.

Ed Dunn
1959 U of D
Clinton file

April 16, 1963

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Returned, herewith, as you requested in you April 11 letter to Les, is the Columbia State clip of the same date. Our Research Department has made a picture copy for their files.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1. (Clip from Columbia State, 4/11/63: "Sen. Gressett: Who Told 'Post' Bald-Face Lie?")

PA ✓
SB - for + file clip
MJ - file

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

April 11, 1963

Dear Leslie:

The enclosed clip proves to me that my piece in the POST on South Carolina had a more profound effect than you seem to have thought it did. Do you see the same implications I do in Gressette bfinging this thing up again? -- that ~~a~~ my piece [redacted] created a ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ tentative consensus for law and order and that the pro segregation forces (which have stood solidly behind with full confidence in) GGressette are now unhappy and putting pressure on for a reversal of attitude? Back to the old forms of resistance.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Please return the clip. — Make picture for filing

May 7, 1964

File

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

This is just a shot in the dark, but with George Wallace campaigning in Maryland would either the Baltimore Sun or the Washington Post likely have an interest in your Wallace piece?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File →

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

PW (the way to the free-lance)

May 11, 1964 MJ-file

Dear Leslie:

I went to some pains to have my agent rush my piece on GOVERNOR WALLACE to the Washington Post so they could use it yesterday. They called me Saturday to say they wanted it, intended to use it. But they refused to give me more than $50.

The paper is so thick with ads you can't read it these days. I said I wanted $100 or nothing. They have frequently paid me $100 in the past. They refused although this was a 2,500 word piece.

The real trouble with the folks at the Washington Post is that they are "liberals" and "friends" of mine.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
* Forstyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

PS You are gonna write me re - LAST CHANCE FOR MODERATES

PW ✓ file
MI - file

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

May 7, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for your suggestion. My agent has sent the GOVERNOR WALLACD piece to The New Republic where, she reports, they regretfully turned it down because they had already assigned it to someone else. She has now sent it to The Reporter. If they turn it down I will ask her to submit it to the WashingtOn POST.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

File

GEORGE McMILLAN
~~P. O. BOX 299~~
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

PWC
PAL
SB
BP
MAV
MJ-file

May 2, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Thought you might like to know that my piece on THE INSIDE STORY OF THE SEARCH FOR THE BIRMINGHAM BOMBERS is going to be the lead article in the Saturday Evening Post issue that comes out first week of June. Will appreciate comment. And thanks for much help from your staff.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southenn Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

file →

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

April 21, 1964

Dear Leslie!

Just thought you'd like to know...to my profound disenchantment, NYTimes Magazine not only turned down my piece on Governor Wallace but assigned the subject to somebody else without giving me chance to make the changes they want. Actually, it was one of my best written things -- but I suppose it was a little bit too piercing... for the Times.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Retional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

P.S. I'm going up to Knoxville (Clinton) Friday morning this week.

VJV

MJ - file

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

April 13, 1964

Dear Leslie:

I did go to church, and Vernon made a first class talk and I enjoyed it.

So, there!

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

April 2, 1964

Dear Leslie:

This is to jog you about the idea of my working for you as a consultant on your publications program.

Let's develop that idea.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 295
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

file

file

March 19, 1964

Dear Leslie:

I am going to do a piece for the NYTIMES MAGAZINE on Governor Wallace. I called you last night, took Barbara Patterson in your absence, asked her for certain kinds of material on the Governor.

I write you now simply to make sure that I am not passing up any bet -- not missing anything that SRC may have on the Governor. As always I would especially treasure your own insights and perspective on him, if you have the time to give them to me. I probably won't be starting the piece for at least another week.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

File

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

Leslie
McMillan, Geo

Feb 20 1964

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for the kind words & specific suggestions about my Danville mss fragment. I won't impose on you again. I know you are very busy. And I can understand your frustration at [redacted] having to spend more time operating than "working." But I would think that that was really your job, and that the less [redacted] you do of what seems like "work" the more surely you are doing what you should be doing in the spot you're in.. When you are doing your job perfectly you will seem to have nothing to do: but in fact what you will be doing is giving temper, tone, direction, spirit, quality to an [redacted] agency functioning in one of the most important social problems in American history. Isn't that enough?

We do hope you and Peggy can come over, very much hope so. You're always holding out this promise; can't you fulfill it this time, purty please? You somehow manage to see the Dolinskys...

Best,

George

file

George McMillan Box 299 Aiken, S. C.

Dear Leslie:

Thanks very much for sending me the photostat of the ACLU release on Danville. I have been asked to be on program of Augusta HRC meeting in March. Hope you and Peggy are coming over to stay with us.

Best,

George

File

May 18, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I hope you are making good progress on the Danville piece. Happy needs it badly, both for objective and for personal reasons.

During the last couple months we have been busily engaged in learning as much as we can about the prospects around the South for compliance with Title II when it passes, with trying to persuade people, and with trying to stimulate organized local efforts in behalf of compliance. If the bill gets compromised much, the odds on compliance will go up sharply -- the degree of compliance around the region will be in direct ratio to the firmness of the command, I think.

As you say, this is another challenge to the South, and undoubtedly it will respond better than in '54-'55. The likelihood is, however, for some messy litigation. If the enforcement procedures of the bill are weakened by the Senate, we'll have, I believe, prolonged and widespread defiance. So Washington is, I think, key.

Moreover, the "debate" has dragged so long that the bill's chances for passage, in anything other than innocuous form, may well be in doubt. Consider, for example, what would be the aftermath of a Goldwater victory in the California primary. That would almost assure him the nomination. With that prospect who could expect those Republican Senators who do not have civil rights issues within their own states to support cloture or to vote against weakening amendments or, even, to vote for passage?

I have little expectation that white people -- in the South or elsewhere -- will exert much initiative now or later in revising racial practices. Their role is to accommodate and accept Negro initiative, and beyond that to fix up and strengthen things like schools so that they are worth integrating with.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

May 19, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for your letter of May 18. I had thought from what you said on the phone that you were going to let me in on some more specific kinds of information -- studies SRC was making, something like that. Are you making studies? Or are you doing the kind of exploring that Muse does? Incidentally, I can't chisel a free copy of his book from you, can I?

Been busy for last few days working with Curtis Publishing lawyer; he's checked out almost every sentence in my forthcoming piece on THE BIRMINGHAM BOMBER. The POST is very pleased and excited with it. It will be on the stands June 2.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

File: McMillan, George

May 28, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I am not on the same grapevine with James Baldwin. I had not heard that he had been down here any time lately working on the FBI or any other subject.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

May 26, 1964

Dear Leslie:

I hear on the grapevine that James Baldwin may be doing a piece on the FBI and the South for The New Yorker. Have you heard anything about this? Do you know how far along he is? I of course will never write as well as he does; but it is possible that on this particular subject I may have as much to say as he has.

Appreciate any information you have.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

June 3, 1964

Dear Leslie:

I have now thought out the main lines along which I am going to write my piece for ATLANTIC MONTHLY on The FBI in the South. I think I know pretty well how the FBI has been behaving and why.

But there is one thing I am still not clear about. And I would be very grateful for your help, advice, thoughts and suggestions.

Admitting certain general lines on which we would probably agree about the present situation....

WHAT IS TO BE DONE ABOUT IT?

There is Zinn's suggestion, of course. As you know, he recommends that the Dept of Justice create a special force of newly-recruited and specially trained men to work in civil rights disputes.

Do you think that is a good idea?

Or do you feel that the FBI could do a better job if the Attorney General insisted that it take more responsibility? That is, do you think that the fundamental fault is with the Attorney General rather than with J. Edgar Hoover?

Or do you have another idea about it?

This is a good time to thank you and your research staff for the excellent collection of material they put together for me. I have just read it all. Thanks very much.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

file

file

June 7, 1964

Dear Leslie:

When I finish DANVILLE and THE FBI AND THE SOUTH I am going to be bushed. I've been working at pretty high speed since last Thanksgiving. Do you know some phony conference I can attend for a rest and vacation? I mean, one of these conferences that is held at some lush vacation spot? Of course I would like to go as what they call, "a resource person." Ha, ha! That means, I would like to get my expenses paid. How about cutting me in on one of these?

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

→ file

PW ✓
MJ - file

June 14, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Had an opportunity to look at Pat Watters' CHARLOTTE report on the plane to Jacksonville the other day. It is without a doubt the most craftsmanlike, the best written of all SRC reports. Pat has done an excellent job, really first-rate. I hope there are more to come from him.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

July 14, 1964

Dear Leslie:

I called Happy Lee yesterday about the DANVILLE report. I promised to have it to him in three weeks. I am writing my St. Augustine story for LIFE today, will probably take tomorrow off (I've been working night and day for eight days), and then start on Lee's project. I made no excuses; I really have none. I've been a bad boy.

Lee wanted me to send what I had to him in Atlanta. He said he was going to be there with you all next week, that he woujld like to have something to discuss with you. Well, I do have (in addition to that chapter I sent you about the violence) some more rough draft. But I don't see how that can help any discussion. I think the best thing is to let me go ahead. I can finish the job in three weeks, once I settle down to it. And now I am going to do that.

A word about St. Augustine. I came away with the whole inside story of what is going on there and why. I know names, Klaverns, membership, methods of operation and control, etc. And it looks as if LIFE is not really interested in that side of it. Damn! And nobody else is even close to the story!

Best, George

PA file
MS file

Cr. pref.
Virginia Council
on Human Relations
Note that Contest
for Danville
piece attached

June 15, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

I got your letter of June 14 regarding Danville. I suppose you know without my saying so how unhappy the whole business is. Maybe you will get it done in three weeks, though if you have not yet written more than that first chapter I would not assume that Happy Lee could count on it. This is one time, at least, when your pay from an outfit of liberals was competitive.

Pat and I both are appreciative of your comment about "Charlotte." You are damn right it's good.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Heslip Lee

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

17 EAST CARY STREET RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA 648-4445

Heslip Lee, Executive Director

Henry L. Gesuvale, Director of Development

8 June 1964

Mr. George McMillan
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Without trying to be obnoxious I am at a loss as to what has happened to what everyone here felt to be a perfectly ideal choice for writing the Danville Story. We had hoped that our relationship during this project could have been one of such a positive nature until we could return to you again and again.

The contract says in Section 6 and I quote, "McMillan agrees to complete the investigation, research and writing of the report within six weeks of the execution of this agreement, unless such period shall be extended by mutual agreement of the parties hereto." This contract was executed on November 25, 1963, which was twenty-eight weeks ago.

On February 4, I received a letter from you stating that you had been sick, but that you expected to finish the Story within three weeks from that period.

On February 29, I received a letter from you stating that you had accepted another job to do INSIDE STORY OF THE SEARCH FOR THE BIRMINGHAM BOMBERS. You stated that this was a ten day job, and I quote from your letter, "I'm almost through with Danville, and will finish it promptly when I get back to Aiken."

Ten weeks passed without any further word from you and then I received a letter dated May 6, 1964, which apologized for your delay, but stated that you were STARTING BACK to work on Danville, and that you believed you could finish it in three weeks. I quote from that letter, "I should have the mss to you BEFORE the end of May, PERHAPS the first week in June".

I feel that I owe some explanation to the donor of the money, since it is simply too unjust for me to have accepted his money and not produce. I also owe some explanation to the other members of the Virginia State Advisory Committee, especially those who serve on this Committee with me, and I owe it to this organization of which I am responsible as Executive Director.

I am to be in Atlanta from June 15-19, and would like to have the Danville Story to discuss with Les Dunbar at that time.

Sincerely,

Heslip M. Lee

OFFICERS Dr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr., President Mr. W. R. Walker, First Vice President Dr. C. G. Gordon Moss, Dr. E. B. Henderson, The Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion, Vice Presidents

Dr. Harry Roberts, Secretary Dr. J. Rupert Picott, Treasurer

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
Midway 9-4747

May 6, 1964

Dear Happy:

What you want to know is this: I am starting back to work on DANVILLE Monday morning bright and early. I believe that I can finish it in three weeks of steady work -- at the outside. I should have the mss to you before the end of May, perhaps the first week in June.

As for the delay, I am so guilty, have so little in the way of justifiable ~~spiny~~ apology that about all I can do is tell you what I have done, what I have been doing.

I got involved in several magazine assignments -- all of which seemed important to my career and to, for that matter, the cause of racial progress.

Did you see the enclosed piece on the white clergy? I have also done: THE INSIDE STORY OF THE SEARCH FO THE BIRMINGHAM BOMBERS which is to be the lead article in the SATURDAY EVENING POST in the issue due out about June 1st. I made a re-visit to CLINTON, Tennessee, for LIFE magazine which should be appearing in next six weeks. It's a good story you'll like. I wrote an article back in 1956 about a child, Bobby Cain, who suffered through integration crisis there and graduated from Clinton High. This present LIFE piece is story of what has happened to other younger children in that same family -- the hardships and indignities they've suffered in a so-called "integrated" high school. I did a piece on assignment from NYTimes Magazine on GOVERNOR WALLACE which was so salty that Times would not print it. ~~And I have~~

And I have ahead of several ot er assignments. One of these is on THE FBI AND THE SOUTH which is to be a serious, thoughtful discussion for ATLANTIC MONTHLY. ATLANTIC assisted in getting me a small foundation grant so I could do a thorough job.

Anyway, I ain't been ~~idle~~ idle -- in fact have never worked so fruitfully and consistently -- but of course that's no ~~xxx~~ excuse at all....

Best,

George

Rev. Heslip Lee
Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 East Cary St
Richmond, Va.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

Feb 29 1964

Dear Happy:

Pls forgive me if I take a week off. SatEvePost has asked me to do piece -- and this is confidential -- INSIDE STORY OF THE SEARCH FOR THE BIRMINGHAM BOMBERS. Too juicy to turn down. Am leaving for Atlanta, Birmingham tomorrow afternoon, expect piece to take less than 10 days -- including writing.

But I'm almost through with Danville, and will finish it promptly when I get back to Aiken.

Best,

George

No Escaping

W&M Class Told To Face Racial Crisis

Times-Dispatch News Bureau

WILLIAMSBURG, June 7—A Yale professor who has taught Southern history for more than 30 years warned College of William and Mary graduates, and especially the Southerners, that they would not escape the present racial crisis by moving north.

It is a national crisis, not a regional one, Dr. C. Vann Woodward told the graduating class.

Addressing his remarks principally to Southern members of the class, Dr. Woodward urged them not to let compliance with a "discredited" racial doctrine become a requirement for their acceptance as loyal Southerners.

Increasing numbers of young Southerners are prepared to renounce their Southern identity rather than conform to "this illiberal" definition of Southern loyalty, he said.

Segregation is essentially a 20th-century phenomenon in the South, the historian said. Virginia did not adopt its first Jim Crow law until 1900, he noted. Only then did the South close its mind on the subject, smash dissent, and demand conformity of all, he added.

He said it would be an "unbearable irony" to let the South become the scapegoat of a bad national conscience . . . to make it appear as if the South bore all the guilt and constituted the whole barrier to progress. For, until the beginning of this century, courageous white Southerners were among the leaders in the fight for Negro rights, he said.

The South has the greatest stake in the outcome of the present movement for Negro rights, Dr. Woodward said, and also a unique opportunity "To move forward, not backward" in the field of racial relations.

The aggrieved people have not yet lost their faith in redress under the law so long as white people respect the law. They have not yet drawn the line to exclude counsel of nonviolence, so long as nonviolence is not met with violence, he said.

Dr. Woodward addressed more than 600 graduates at commencement exercises marking the end of the school's 271st academic year. The historian and author also was the recipient of an honorary degree from the college. Other recipients of honorary degrees were Lloyd U. Noland Jr., a Newport News industrialist, and Otto Lowe, a Washington attorney.

Russell Benjamin Gill of Petersburg won the Lord Botetourt Medal given for the greatest distinction in scholarship. The James Frederick Carr Memorial Cup awarded for scholarship, service to the school, and character, went to Anthony John Steinmeyer of Rolla, Mo. Algernon Sydney Sullivan Awards were given to William V. Cleveland Jr. of Arlington and to Susan Hall Roache of Scott Air Force Base, Ill. Dr. William George Guy, chairman of the chemistry department, also received an Algernon Sydney Sullivan Award.

Earlier Sunday the Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, chaplain of the United States Senate, delivered the baccalaureate sermon.

Minister Says Words Causing Many Problems

A Baptist minister told a North Side Roman Catholic women's group yesterday that the greatest problem in human relations is communication.

The Rev. Heslip M. Lee, executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, spoke before about 100 persons at a communion breakfast of the Ladies Sodality of St. Paul's Church.

"People are handicapped in communicating with each other," Mr. Lee said, "because we have to use words. Words are nothing more than symbols of an image perceived in one's mind. So many times others misunderstand the image we are trying to project."

Lee said the greatest need is to provide a meeting ground where not only Negroes and whites, but also Roman Catholics and Baptists and other religious groups can meet and discuss their problems.

AGREEMENT

This agreement made by and between the Virginia Council on Human Relations, hereinafter called the Council, party of the first part, and George McMillan, of Aiken, S. C., hereinafter called McMillan, party of the second part.

WITNESSETH:

1. The Council agrees to employ McMillan to investigate, study and analyze conditions, events, and developments in the City of Danville, Virginia, particularly as they are related to the recent racial crisis in that city, and to write for the Virginia Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, hereinafter called the Advisory Committee, an analytical report thereof, consisting of approximately 15,000 words.

2. The Council agrees to pay McMillan for his services the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars ($2,500.00) as follows: Five hundred dollars ($500.00) as a retainer upon the execution of this agreement; one thousand dollars ($1,000.00) upon the completion of the investigative and research phases of this undertaking, and one thousand dollars ($1,000.00) upon the completion and delivery to the Council of the first draft of said report.

3. The Council agrees to reimburse McMillan for actual out-of-pocket expenses incurred in this undertaking, estimated to be $250.00 but not to exceed $500.00 in any event, upon the submission by McMillan to Council from time to time of requisitions or requests for reimbursements accompanied by receipts, bills and vouchers.

4. The Council will undertake to publish or have published by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, or by the Virginia Advisory Committee therto, a report on Danville, Virginia, including the draft prepared by McMillan, subject to such

Agreement cont'd

revisions, deletions and additions as the said Commission or Advisory Committee shall deem desirable.

5. The Council agrees to give credit in the report to McMillan for his investigations, research and writing in the preparation of such report.

6. McMillan agrees to complete the investigation, research and writing of the report within six weeks of the execution of this agreement, unless such period shall be extended by mutual agreement of the parties hereto.

7. The report prepared by McMillan pursuant to this agreement shall be the exclusive property of the Council which alone shall have the right to publish it or to assign it for publication to the said Commission or the said Advisory Committee or other assignee.

8. The Council agrees to submit the final draft of its report on Danville to McMillan for review and McMillan shall have the right to withdraw his name from the report.

9. The acceptance by McMillan of any part of the fee mentioned herein shall constitute a waiver by him of all right, title and interest in the report prepared by him and submitted to the Council

Executed at Richmond, Virginia this 25th day of November, 1963

The Virginia Council on Human Relations

By Heslip Lee

Title Executive Director

George McMillan

George McMillan

Rec'd 6/19/64 mmj

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

PW ✓
WI - file

June 19, 1964

Dear Leslie:

This is another thank-you note. My article on the St. Augustine situation is to appear in the issue of LIFE that goes on the stands next Tuesday morning.

And the assistance I received from Pat Watters in doing the assignment was very helpful.

I'm grateful.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

PA-for
MJ-file

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

June 20, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Thanks deeply for recommending me so highly to NBC. I got call yesterday from Wasserman, am going to have lunch with him in New York this coming Thursday -- and am taking Mother along for the ride, and the break.

I'll let you know how it turns out.

I did have some good script on Danville, and very detailed outline, and material all chronologically arranged. So it has not been hard to pick up the project again, and I have done so.

Gratefully,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Rec'd 6/30/64

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

June 29, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Was in New York Thursday and Friday conferring with Al Wasserman and Irv Gitlin of NBC & we have reached agreement , etc, and I am gonna do the job. I am to work fulltime for them from July 15 through November 22. I like them very much add am very excited about the assignment. Ginny is going up with me (her summer school will be over by then) to stay with her Mother & set up base for us there for six weeks, until school starts again. I am damned grateful to you -- doubly so because I have let you down now and then. I am going to prove my gratitude by finishing DANVILLE; I had to fight to get this time -- the time until July 15. They wanted me at once, but I told them I had one project that must be finished.

With sincere gratitude,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

P. S. Both SatEvePost & LIFE have asked me in past couple of days to go to Mississippi & see what I can find. But I said No - it hurt.

Files,
McMillan, Geo.
Cr. ref.
Vir. Council on H.R.

July 22, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
c/o Lisel Eisenheimer
William Morris Agency
1740 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear George:

I have your letter of July 16; Happy had earlier sent me a copy of your letter to hime of July 12.

Neither Happy nor I have, apparently, succeeded in making clear to you the seriousness of this. The Virginia Council, and Happy personally, are in a very, very sticky position with the donor of the money.

In our last phone conversation, I thought you unqualifiedly offered to return the money if you did not finish before going to NBC. That, of course, would be an unhappy solution all around, but it would at least clear the decks.

It just isn't reassuring to anyone for you to say now that you'll finish it on week-ends in Dallas. For one thing, nobody knows how much you have already written, and whether there is anything beyond that first chapter.

(Parenthetically, let me say -- what you know anyhow -- that because of the time that has been lost, and because of the changed conditions, the piece would have to be very good to justify publication now or later. I don't have any doubts -- and you know this too -- about your ability to do that kind of job and your perception of the kind of thing which would have to be written in order still to have value and reader interest.)

Well, all this indicates that the whole affair should be settled, now. I am sure that Happy would like for you to finish, and I know that I would. But he doesn't want to bet his money on it any longer, and I don't think he should. He has, as I don't have to tell you, a binding contract with you. I believe you should return the advance and the travel money to him now. If you do finish a presently publishable piece later, maybe terms of sale could be worked out for a manuscript, assuming it had publishable value at the time.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Heslip Lee

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

17 EAST CARY STREET RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA MIlton 9-0872

Heslip Lee, Executive Director

Ocie Lee Smith, Associate Executive Director

A council that seeks — through fact-finding, discussion and action — to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia.

20 July 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, INC,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I sent a copy of George McMillan's letter to the donor from Danville, asking for his advice as to what I should do.

Enclosed is a copy of his reply which may be of help to you in advising me as to the course of action I should take.

Sincerely,

Happy

Heslip M. Lee

OFFICERS Dr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr., *President* Mr. W. R. Walker, *First Vice-President* Dr. C. G. Gordon Moss, Dr. E. B. Henderson, The Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion, *Vice-Presidents*

Dr. Harry Roberts, *Secretary* Dr. J. Rupert Picott, *Treasurer*

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N.Y.

CIRCLE 7-8300

July 16, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Just to let you know that I am at work in New York and that I have written Happy Lee about Danville...along the lines I discussed with you on the phone. I told him I would at worst refund the dough, but that I still wanted to do the script. I believe I can, especially now that it appears I am going to be spending good part of my time in Dallas. That means I'll have unoccupied weekends there.

Everything fine with this new job.

Thanks.

Best,

George

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

P. S. If you should want to reach me by phone call CIrcle 7-8300, Extension 2167. I will be here about another week.

CHARLES A. WOMACK
424 MAPLE LANE
DANVILLE, VIRGINIA

July 16, 1964

MAILING ADDRESS
POST OFFICE BOX 521

Mr. Heslip Lee
Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 E. Cary Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Happy:

The letter from George McMillan comes as a real surprise.

I can offer no real advice and I believe that all we can say at this time is that the Womack Foundation established a grant for the purpose of having the Danville Story written and placed in your hands the responsibility of the writer and the details and etc. concerned. I will leave the matter entirely up to you, however, I do think it appears as if George will not have time to finish the product in the very near future. Perhaps this is not important, perhaps it is - particularly in view of the example Danville could be setting to the other communities to help them over the period of enforcement of the Civil Rights law.

I regret that I can be of no further direct advice to you, however, I do appreciate very much your sending me the information as to the reason for the delay.

I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as you have been able to consult with others of your organization as to what procedure you plan to take.

Sincerely yours,

Charles A. Womack

Charles A. Womack

ptc

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

July 12, 1964

Rec'd 7/14/64

Dear Happy:

Bad news. I haven't finished DANVILLE. And I leave tomorrow noon for four-month assignment with NBC-TV in New York and Dallas.

I tell you the worst first. I still feel I can finish the job on weekends, especially when I am in Dallas with nothing foreseeable to do on weekends. I want to finish Danville. I see it now as a sad and tragic story of a community which took a very wrong turning, and I think it is important to explain why. It is still topical.

One of the morals of the Danville story is applicable tomorrow. One of the reasons Danville worked out the way it did was because leadership groups in the community (some very influential ones) could retreat into, or move forward from, the extreme right wing conservative view that is now so much under discussion in national politics.

I repeat: I want to do the story and I think it should be done.

But, if worst comes to worst I will refund the money you have advanced me. I want you to have that reassurance. I mean: I am able to refund the money and want to do so.

But I hope that I can get some more time in which to finish. I like what I have done.

And I believe you will be proud of it. And I feel sure it will still make a mark. I think you and your sponsor, and the cause of decent race relations, will profit more by letting me finish.

So, I am taking the stuff with me to New York, and will continue to work on it unless I hear from you. You can reach me (I am not certain of my home address at the moment) through my agent. Write me care of Lisel Eisenheimer, William Morris Agency, 1740 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. The number there is JUdson 6-5100. Miss Eisenheimer will know where I am.

Sincerely,

George

Rev. Heslip Lee
Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 East Cary St.
Richmond 19, Va.

File
McMillan, Geo.

July 27, 1964

Dear Leslie:

OK, I am willing to settle up with Happy Lee. But I have ~~two~~ one point I would like to raise.

~~Point:~~ Do you and Happy agree with me that something ought to be done with that long manuscript describing the events of violence that climaxed the tension at Danville?

I would like to see it published by Happy. I think it would be quite relevant. Besides, I think it is very well done, and my experience is that anything well done is worth publishing in the sense that it will find its audience and its usefulness.

I personally believe that a great deal of the New York violence is mirror violence, a kind of vengeance for ~~thinking~~ the brutal way Negroes have been treated in places like Danville. I think we can show this, say this in publishing the manuscript I wrote.

What's more, I think that manuscript is ~~true~~ true, has some depth, is revealing.

I think some more background should be worked into it, some more of the background of Danville. That can be done, and without slowing it down. What I am talking about is another 1,000, maybe another 1,500 words. Then it could be published as A NIGHT IN DANVILLE and would be something Happy could be proud of. I can do this background.

So, I propose that we publish it, and that you and Happy consider this proposal. And let me know about it. I am not stalling on the refund. I want to pay Happy back and will do so.

But I realize that, for my part, I have done a good deal of work on Danville and I naturally would like to see it used and credited against my account if that is possible. I frankly believe that I should be given credit for it. Almost everyone who read that script liked it and liked it a great deal. And I spent a great deal of time on it.--Three or four weeks piecing those facts together. As it stands it is as long as a conventional full-length magazine article. And it is one of the best things I ever wrote.

I am leaving New York for Washington and Dallas day after tomorrow. I may stop over in Atlanta. At any rate, I will be in touch with you in a few days to find out what your answer is.

Best,

George

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

GEORGE McMILLAN

REGARDING:

Re: Danville Contract - Letter from McMillan dtd 7/27/64.

DATE
7/28/64

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed under VA. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

GEORGE McMILLAN

REGARDING:

Manuscript concerning the racial cirisis in Danville.

DATE
August 3, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed under COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS _ VIRGINIA

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

August 5, 1964

Dear Leslie:

I have decided to send you at least part of the DANVILLE draft. It is enclosed -- 12 mss pages. It is not tight but I think some of the material is quite perceptive and true. There are even some good insights in it.

This is my only copy. Will you please make sure that it is returned to me?

Thanks,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Georgia

Charles Crowder
editor, Commercial A

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

August 5, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Here is the Danville script. My proposal is that I add 1,500 to 2,000 words to it. That would be partly background about Danville, straight factual stuff. And partld some ~~xx~~ comments, some very pertinent comments on violence, the nature of violence, the function of the violence in Danville -- to cement everyone in his posture, and the function of the violence in New York, etc -- to wreak vengeance for what happened in Danville.

Thanks,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

RI 8-6211
2321

See McMillan, George

September 1, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

Since returning to the office yesterday I have reviewed the Danville situation with Pat, and have read your letters of August 18 and 30. I am sorry that I was not responsive over the telephone last Saturday when you called; I got to bed about 2 o'clock that morning, after having driven all day, and you got me within the first half hour out of bed, when I can function for no one, not even myself.

I think Pat is right that what you have written, as it now stands, is not publishable material, at this date, for us. If, subsequently, you should want to work on it more, we would be glad to discuss it with you. I am not sure, however, that I can agree with you, at least for any purposes we might have, that it is not now dated. I don't see how it can be published without being put into a context of contemporary relevance that would require a fair bit of work on your part. I had the thought last month that perhaps our St. Augustine piece would lend it that kind of relevance. But I think Pat was right that, even so, Danville would have required an amount of fixing which would have delayed unfortunately our publication of St. Augustine.

We shall keep the manuscript here until you tell us what to do with it.

But — AND THIS IS WHAT THIS LETTER IS CHIEFLY ABOUT — I think it is terribly important that you make an immediate settlement with the Virginia Council. I never intended any discussion you had with us would delay that settlement, not, at any rate, past the telephone conversations you and Pat had on August 10 or 11, which ever it was, and again on August 17.

This is bound to be, George, a messily unpleasant situation all around if you do not settle with the Virginia Council, and promptly.

Personally, I think that once you have settled, you can be free to market the manuscript anywhere you can.

But there is no reason to ask the Virginia Council to wait while you attempt to do that with it.

Please write to Happy Lee, without waiting for a reply to your latest letter to him, and end this.

Please!

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Heslip Lee

Rec'd 8/31/64

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

August 30, 1964

Dear Leslie:

You will find an earlier letter from me on your desk in regards to the DANVILLE manuscript. I am writing this one to let you know that I have definitely decided to ask Hap Lee to publish the mss if you turn it down. It is damned good, and will be better if I write an introduction and work into it some of the material in the rough draft. It is not dated and will not be dated until the last episode of racial violence has passed into history.

Will you let me know whether you can use it and what you feel it is worth? You may write me at my Aiken address; Ginny is forwarding my mail.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Rec'd 8/20/64

File

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

PW - let discuss one final time

August 18, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Will you please pick up the DANVILLE mss from Pat Watters and review the situation with him? He nixed it for New South; partly because I wasn't sure I wanted it published there. I had higher hopes for it -- hopes that it would reach a wider audience. And, visualizing it in New South made me reduce my focus on how much I might receive for it in dollars. We had never got down to sums [redacted] in our discussion. Caught offhand, talking on the airport lphone to Pat, I told him I would like to get $500. But that's a sum that can be negotiated.

Have just returned from Haiti, a fascinating, exciting place, and am off to New York tomorrow. Hope you had a nice vacation.

Regards,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

OVER

I discussed the mss, etc, with Pat yesterday when I passed through Atlanta airport. Frankly, I did not agree with some of Pat's judgments of the script. He seemed to think I was too kind to the Danville police; and I tend to think sometimes that Pat, perhaps in this particular too, lets his mind run to stereotypes.

I am describing one of the most brutal beatings a group of Negroes ever received, and I describe in specific terms and fix the blame. The blame is on the police. At the same time, I think it is important to be able to see why the police did this; and I have chosen the simple device of trying to let my readers see why by giving them the police point of view.

I did this same thing in RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT and I am sure it is the one technique that made the pamphlet so successful with police departments.

UMCM

Dear George:

I have read the two things on Danville, slept on it, and worried to a degree you would find hard to believe, I am sure. What is here is beautifully done. But as an old city editor, God forgive me, I can't conclude anything but that more work needs to be done.

Here are notes I jotted as I went along: Were the cops really justified, as implied, or at least humanly understandable in their brutality? What do Negro leaders say about provocation? What happened after the episode described? What has happened since? Wasn't there a thing where cops broke into a church and arrested folks?

Even with the historical background, which tells just about everything I want to know to understand things that happen in such a place, I still think such questions as the above have to be answered.

Particularly, it seems to me the cop's-eye view needs to be balanced with the Negro-eye view.

All of the above is aside from the very practical considerations that hamper trying to rush this into print-- the need to send it to the newspaperman, the need to settle on a price.

Les may feel entirely different about all this. But since I am temporarily left holding this somewhat lumpy bag, I say hold off rushing this into the New South which will contain St. Augustine, and is already late. I can hold the manuscripts until Les returns, or send them back for you to prove me wrong by selling them elsew here. Whatever you say.

I still have, incidentally, your court transcripts from St. Augustine. Do you want me to send them to Aiken, hold onto them, or what? They were a great help.

May the good Lord be with you there in the place where you are.

Yours truly,

Sheraton-Dallas Hotel
Southland Center
Dallas, Texas

LWD

September 3, 1964

Dear Leslie:

I received your letter today saying that you dontt wish to publish the DANVILLE mss.

I am enclosing a copy of a long letter I have written just now to Hap Lee.

I wish I could go ahead and simply tell him I would repay him without further ado. But I have my life to live too.

I wroked hard on that part of the mss. It is excellent and you said so and Lee said so and so did two or three members of his board.

I disagree with you that the story is dated. I don't think anything well-written, something people will read that deals with a significant subject, is dated. And I don't really think you disagree.

Anyway, as you know, writing projects do not always come off exactly as they start out.

For my own protection against the time and money I spent on it (especially since he wants the expense money repaid) I am going to have to ask him to consider the value of the mss I have written in any settlement.

I have made a proposal that I think will lead to a firstclass publication his Council will be proud to put out under its imprint.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Please send the Danville mss in your hands, both parts of it, to me at: Room 2521, Sheraton Dallas Hotel, Dallas, Texas. I'll be here at least another 10 days.

COPY

September 3, 1964

Dear Hap:

I mm very sorry for the delay in resolving the DANVILLE manuscript situation. As you may have heard from Leslie or from your attorney, I have been interested in working out some disposition of the material I wrote on the project -- the magazine-length mss I submitted to you describing the events of one night.

I had hoped that Leslie might publish the mss -- let's call it A NIGHT IN DANVILLE -- as an SRC document. I have a letter from him today saying that he has decided finally not no do so.

So I herewith propose to you that the Virginia Council publish it. And in the form I am now going to describe.

Let me say that I believe the mss has significant value in the field of race relations -- that it is not dated. I need only remind you here of the comments you made on it, you and other members of your Council, at the time I submitted it to you. Wou praised it very highly.

It is my firm convbction -- and a rather obvious idea when you pause to think about it -- that any piece of writing that reports significantly and accurately on racial violence is very, very relevant and indeed lies at the heart of America's number one social problem. I somehow have the feeling that if the Virginia Council makes the decision, as I now propose, to publish x A NIGHT IN DANVILLE they will be xxxxx pleased with the result, with its reception and its impact, short and long rangd.

In facg the manuscript is as it stands a satisfactory length for publication -- a little longer than a full-length national magazine article -- and it is the crystallization of what is most dramatic and most telling in the Danville story.

Here, then, is what I propose specifically.

1. That I use the A NIGHT IN DANVILLE MSS as the basis for a publication for you to issue.

2. That I work into some 12 to 15 pages of additional maguscript which I wrote but which you have not seen. It is excellent background material, sets the whole Danville story.

(more)

COPY

3. That I further add an introductory section of some 1,000--1,500 words that will explicitly point the moral of the Danville story -- of the violence.

Thus you will have a publication that is not only readable and dramatic in its own right -- and you cannot overestimate the value of these points -- in addition to having a publication that will make an explicit comment.

I want to say one more thing about the publication being "dated." As so often happens with writing projects, and to every writer (as you'll learn if you read biographies of writers,etc) my manuscript for RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT was several months late. What's more, it appeared that the racial situation had undergone a drastic change in nature in those months. Leslie was very afraid that the publication was "dated." I urged him to go on with it. As you probably know, it was one of the most successful -- one of the most popular and one of the most useful -- publications ever issued by SRC.

I know you would rather have done with this whole thing. I know that in the technical sense I did not deliver the mss specified in our contract. But on the other hand, I spent a great deal of time on the project myself, time in Danville and time in writing. And I have something to show for it, even though it is not exactly what was proposed. I simply want in fairness to myself to have this product weighed in any settlement we make. In the history of writing projects, the product as ofen as not is NOT what was originally proposed. That's in the nature of writing. It is not mathematics.

I propose in summary that I go ahead and finish the manuscript I have described in the three points above in this letter and that I deliver it to you and pay you in addition $750.00 as refund on the $1,500 advance.

Sincerely,

Rev H. Lee
Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 Cary Street
Richmond, Va.

Richmond, Va -

Happy Lee

MIlton -

9-0872

648-4445

PW -

this is not a very good deal - will you please find out from Happy (a) what his reaction to it is (b) what if anything he wants me to do. . .

Know a good young liberal lawyer?...

Please let me know

Turn over to dHy...

Bd ohm hopping mad... Don't believe him... Not set up to [redacted]

would settle for that. Demand mattresses back...

PW
MJ-file

LAW OFFICES
DUVAL, DUVAL & MILLER
AMERICAN BUILDING
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

ROBERT C. DUVAL, JR. (19.3.1959)
JOHN B. DUVAL
WILLIAM READ MILLER

September 29, 1964

File Geo. McMillan
cc: VCHR

Mr. George McMillan
Post Office Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

and

Sheraton-Dallas Hotel
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. McMillan:

I have written you about your agreement with the Virginia Council on Human Relations. The terms of that agreement are quite explicit and I do not need to draw out before you again your repeated failures which constitute so grievous a breach of this agreement.

You have been advanced a total of $1,848.12. On August 3rd I asked that you return these funds. All this money was paid to you with the understanding that within six weeks of the execution of the agreement you would complete a 15,000 word analytical report of the 1963 racial crisis in Danville. You have broken your agreement in far more than a "technical sense". That you should make light of your own failure is preposterous. Your suggestions at various times that you dispose of the manuscript in some way or another on terms suitable to yourself are shocking. No part of what you have gathered and written under this contract belongs to you. You have no right to dispose of it. It belongs to the Virginia Council under the terms of the agreement.

We herewith demand the immediate return by you of $1,848.12 and together with this money all research and other papers used or written by you in your abortive attempt to write this article. If you have not complied with this request before October 15, 1964, I shall recommend that the Virginia Council file suit against you on these matters, asking damages for breach of contract.

Very truly yours,

William Miller

William Read Miller
Attorney for the
Virginia Council on Human Relations

Copy to:
The Reverend H. M. Lee

WRM:vm

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

17 EAST CARY STREET RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA 648-4445

Heslip Lee, Executive Director

Henry L. Caravati, Director of Development

A council that seeks through fact-finding, discussion and action to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia.

Be it resolved:

The Executive Director is authorized to institute suit against George McMillan for breach of his contract with the Council should he be unable to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of differences with Mr. Mc Millan.

Approved by VCHR Executive Committee in session Sept. 30, 1964.

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr., President Mr. W. R. Walker, First Vice President Dr. C. G. Gordon Moss, Dr. E. B. Henderson, The Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion, Vice Presidents

Dr. Harry Roberts, Secretary Dr. J. Rupert Picott

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.
RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N.Y.
CIRCLE 7-8300

September 29, 1964

Dear Leslie:

I tried to call you today but you were in meetings. This is the first momen t I've had to collect myself -- to realize that I haven't resolved the DANVILLE thing.

Virginia tells me that you have not written me about it and that neither has Happy Lee.

What's happening about it?

Best,

George

George McMillan
Creative Projects Division

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

Rec'd 10/12/64

October 11, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Thought you might be interested in enclosed copy of letter re my ill-fated DANVILLE project. I am terribly sorry I let you down on this; the fault was entirely mine.

Sincerely,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

COPY

October 11, 1964

Dear Mr. Miller:

You suggested in our longdistance phone conversation on October 7, 1964, that I make a proposal about settling the matter of my agreement with the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

Here is my proposal.

That I pay you $1,000.00 on receipt of your confirmation of this agreement for settlement.

That I pay you $848.12 on or before December 31, 1964.

These payments are to be made on the understanding that I reserve all rights to the material I have written and/or collected during research on this DANVILLE project.

If you are writing an agreement to cover this settlement, please specifically say that I have all publication rights to the manuscript I wrote and submitted to the Virginia Council on Human Relations, and which the Virginia Council on Human Relations rejected as not fulfilling the contract.

If the Council really wishes for me to "return all research and other papers used or written by you," (the language of your letter of September 29, 1964)-- then may I suggest that the sum of my indebtedness to the Virginia Council be reduced by $348.12?

That is to say: if the Council wishes to keep and perhaps to make use of the mss I wrote and submitted, I will agree to relinquish my rights to this material for $348.12.

I believe this covers the subject.

I am leaving Aiken Tuesday morning October 13 for a week's travel through the South, will then go to New York City. May I suggest that you write me at my Aiken address -- but NOT send the letter certified. My wife opens my mail and gives me the messagesx wherever I am.

Sincerely,

Mr. William Read Miller
Duval, Duval & Miller
Richmond, Virginia

Recd 11/13/64

file

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
NIDWAY 9-4747

November 12, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Just to let you know that I have satisfactorily completed my duties at NBC and that I have returned to Aiken. I have several loose ends in the way of assignments but my hope is that by January 15, 1965, I will be able to start my book on the racial situation -- the story of a decade, etc. I'll tell you more about that later.

Thanks again for recommending me at NBC.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Recd 12/17/64 PWL SW-file

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

December 5, 1964

Dear Leslie:

This is to let you know that I have taken the liberty of giving your name as a reference for a stay at something called the Ossabaw Island Project. I'm not sure what it is myself except a place (20 miles south of Savannah) for creative people to work in seclusion. I would go there to try to start a book.

Thanks for this and many past kindnesses.

Regards,

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlan ta, Ga.

Rec'd 1/18/65

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

file

January 15, 1965

Dear Leslie:

I write this to ask your help in getting me some foundation assistance for a book I wish to write.

I am aware that I have written you many times before along these lines.

What makes the situation different now is that I am going ahead and risk writing the book this time no matter what happens. I have some money left over from the NBC assignment. And I am looking into various "colonies" and other facilities where writers can go and work.

I will probably leave Aiken to go someplace before February 15. That is, whenever I have finished my present magazine assignments.

I believe my project well qualifies for foundation assistance -- especially for those foundations which give money for projects in the field of civil rights.

I intend to write a memoir -- very much in the first person-- covering the decade which I have devoted to writing about the race problem. It will be very specific, specific places, times, people. It will give me a chance to write about all the things that I saw and which did not fit into the format of the magazine article.

I think it can be a classic, possibly even another Steffens type memoir. Why not?

In asking you this I am aware that most foundation grants are actually made as a vote of confidence in an individual more than as a vote of confidence in a project. I see, for example, that Mr. Dabbs got a Field Foundation grant for that last book of his.

So that is why I know it is important to have your support. I now seek it. Will you let me know how and where you think I should turn?

Best,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

Recd 3/18/65
PWL
SW-file

March 17, 1965

Dear Leslie:

Here's copy of outline I sent last night by telegram to LIFE. If they're not interested, I'm gonna try it at LOOK. Remember that this is only an outline, that some of the statements in it are probably oversimplifications, etc. Will you return this to me when you have read it, please?

Thanks for your help.

Best,
George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Suggest do tough, objective, factually-informed piece about 4,500 words reassessing civil rights situation on assumption new LBJ voting rights bill will be passed.

Despite LBJ's passionate personal declaration Monday night, even new voting rights bill will not be enough to keep pace with Negro demands for equality.

And danger is that whole national community will think it is enough, settle back as it did after passage of 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Vital to make point now that much-touted 1964 Civil Rights Act is just as inadequate in most of its other provisions as it has turned out to be on voting rights.

Piece should take hard-boiled look at all provisions, chapter and verse.

One: The vote. It is not panacea, is too long range to meet present crisis. If vote would change South, South would already be changed. Enough Negroes vote now to make the difference. Where they have the vote they have nothing to vote for.

Two: Jobs. Provisions don't take effect until July, 1965, so inadequacies not felt yet but bill actually only creates another FEPC with powers not as strong as earlier President's committee equal opportunity. FEPC weaknesses are known.

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Three: Public accomodations. Simply isn't working except in minute fraction instances too small to have meaning to anyone except few Negroes who have money and starch enough to dare try to use white facilities.

Four: Publicly-owned facilities. This is a ~~xxxxx~~ long process, full of pitfalls and traps.

Five: Funds cut-off. This holds promise of being most effective provision of 1964 act. But requires vigorous enforcement from civil servants in Executive branch which has never hitherto shown willingness to be tough. And won't without strong Presidential push and follow-through.

General weakness of all provisions of bill is lack of enforcement, leaves burden on Negroes to do what they can which, as is obvious, is not much except go into streets. They are fed up with courts, even though they may pretend not to be.

Consider this fact: there are more Negro children in segregated schools in the South in 1965 than there were when the Supreme Court handed down its school decision in 1954.

Community Relations service which Collins heads relies on cooperation of Southern white moderates, a source of help that should always be encouraged but which has seldom been willing to do much.

What is going to happen as Negroes grow more and more disillusioned, a disillusionment that is now at a dangerous stage? Is cycle of street demonstrations, violence, palliative action, going to continue? Can the nation afford it?

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

What can be done? Experts now admit 1964 Act does about as much as legislation can do. Problem is now enforcement.

Only way to stop violence, produce new type Negro leadership, and purge the scene of Jim Clarks, is for Federal Government to take lead, initiative, in enforcing 1964 Act. This and other laws and orders on the books give enough authority to do the job.

But piece should be long on objective review of 1964 Act provisions and very short on prophesy. It should point up dangers of complacency if new voting rights bill is passed.

Each statement in this outline can be documented with fact and quotes from top Negro and white civil rights leaders and experts. This should be leavened with direct personal observation of effect of act in South based on brief trip I would make.

POST CARD

This is my studio
too bad photo doesn't
show tremendous
view of mountains. Will
be here until August 30.
Write me a note
sometimes & thanks for
your help.

George McMillan

PETERBORO
MAY 24
1965
N.H.

ARTVUE POST CARD CO., 225 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

ARTVUE

Leslie Dunlap
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta
Georgia

file

file McMillan Res.

June 4, 1965

Mr. George McMillan
Mac Dowell Colony
Peterborough, New Hampshire

Dear George:

We haven't done anything new on "violence," and I don't know of anything new that is particularly important. Certainly, we have not changed our views. I am enclosing some notes which Barbara Patterson drew up awhile back, which may be of some help to you.

I am sorry that I have waited so long to answer your letters of May 8 and May 20. I have had a lot on my mind lately which I'll tell you about later.

Virginia was over a couple of weekends ago, and we enjoyed her company. We did not see as much of her as we would have liked, because she was meeting her mother and uncle and taking them back to Aiken.

You have a wrong feeling about yourself and your work. I have always thought that the idea behind your book plans is sound and good, and I hope you keep at it.

We take off in the morning for Linda's commencement, and will idle a few days next week somewhere, hopefully on the ocean.

All the best, and I'll have more news next time.

All

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 5/10/65

GEORGE McMILLAN
Box 299
Aiken, S.C.
Midway 9-4747

MacDowell Colony
Peterborough, N. H.
May 8, 1965

Dear Leslie:

I don't want the moment to pass before I tell you how excellent I thought your annual report was. It is one of the best I have ever read. You know that I don't throw compliments like this around.

I liked the sense of justice and fairness with which you approached every issue you dealt with, whether it was with a person or a large ~~xxxxxx~~ problem.

But really what else would you be, knowing you? ~~X~~ You have always been that.

And except for the few opening sentences, you never got sticky -- you never mistook, as you have sometimes done in the past, obscurity for profoundity.

All goes well here. Everything is first class, etc. I have taken certain steps about my family ~~xxxx~~ situation, probably will never return to Aiken. Virginia hs decided to stay there. All this is still confidential as far as local Aiken folks are concerned. I suppose, but don't know, that Lennie Dolinsky is aware of things. I have discussed it with no one on earth but you, and one other person. At the moment I feel desolate and very much uprooted and at loose ends -- although that doesn't mean I have the least desire to return to Aiken. Just the contrary; I don't know I stood it as long as I did. I haven't yet decided where I will go when I leave here at the end of August.

A detail: will you change my address on your mailing list, please?

Best to you and yours,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Rec'd 5/21/65

MacDowell Colony
Peterborough, N. H.
May 20, 1965

Dear Leslie:

I have been working like a beaver since I have been here at MaCDowell Colony. I finally put that pi3ce on ATLANTA to bed; I have just finished the Giant Golden Book of Horses, with all the revisions asked by the publisher; and I am now at last writing that FBI and the South piece.

I am just checking with you to see if there is anything new about the situation. The latest modification of FBi policy I have is a clip from NYtimes that shows FBI trying to improve local police, purge them of Klan, in Mississippi.

Has SRC done anything in past six, nine months on violence? Any new recaps? Has SRC changed point of view expressed in your study, "Law Enforcement in Mississippi?" Is that still SRC's stand on "federal presence," etc? Has there been anything new written elsewhere that you know of on the subject?

When I finish this FBI piece, I am going immediately to work on the book. I have already pulled together many notes on what is to be the first chapter -- a memoir of my two trips to Clinton, one in 1956 and the later one in 1964. I expect I'll be able to start writing the book in a week. If I get bogged down on FBI piece, I'm drop it in favor of book which is of course much more important.

Personal side my life not good. Went through helluva time at home between November, 1964 and March, 1965 when I finally left. Spent month trying to put myself together at Courtney Siceloff's beach house down at Hunting Island. Still feel desperately uprooted, very lonely and desolate and quite depressed about myself and life. There's nothing left but work. And I have less confidence in myself than ever. Feel I did not make any cumulative impressions at all with all those years of freelancing. They add up to nothing, no kudos, no big job, no memberships on boards, etc. And I really almost feel that everything's been said about race problem. It was all quixotic and I look back on myself as nothing but a blowhard. Well, I meant good...

Best,

George

George McMillan

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Irving Lewis Miller
Columbus, Ind.

- Owen Hungerford

file
McMillan, Geo.

June 23, 1965

Mr. George McMillan
The MacDowell Colony
Peterborough, New Hampshire

Dear George:

I did write to you on June 4, 1965. I hope by now you have received my letter, but in case it went astray I am enclosing a copy.

It it happens that you feel like apologizing to anybody for anything more serious than a kicked shin, don't do it to me. I have never liked to be on the receiving end of apologies.

As I implied in my letter, I have been preoccupied recently with a number of things. One, of course, has been Linda's graduation which took us North and was combined with a few days of vacation on the New Jersey coast. Another has been a long, exhausting, and quite possibly fruitless series of negotiations with the Ford Foundation for a sizeable grant. Another, in addition to the normal growing demands of this job, is the fact that I have accepted a new one, beginning about the first of October. We shall be in New York where I shall be directing the Field Foundation.

There is a lot about this that I would like to chew over with you, but a letter is not adequate for that.

My immediate problem is that I have about six months of work to do in the next three. But when we do make the move, and you are still up that way, I hope we can see a lot of each other.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Rec'd 6/14/65

GEORGE McMILLAN
THE MacDOWELL COLONY
PETERBOROUGH
NEW HAMPSHIRE

June 10, 1965

Dear Leslie:

Take it from your silence that you're probably sore at me.

I'm sorry for that. You've been a great and generous friend.

On the other hand, [redacted] I haven't done anything for which I wish to apologize.

Best,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGE McMILLAN
THE MACDOWELL COLONY
PETERBOROUGH
NEW HAMPSHIRE

June 28, 1965

File

Dear Leslie:

Very pleased to hear about your new plans. Job sounds wonderful and I know you are going to be magnificent in it.

You'll be pleased to know that I have at last actually started the book I have talked so much about.

I'm writing it as a quite subjective memoir -- as you suggested. I like it this way. This is obviously the book I should write if I am going to write a book in the racial field.

Very best luck.

Don't know where I am going when I leave here August 30, but hope to see you.

Regards,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

File
McMillan, Geo.

PW
PA
MJ file

July 27, 1965

Mr. George McMillan
The MacDowell Colony
Peterborough, New Hampshire

Dear George:

I am delighted you liked Encounter.

My job has never taken me to New England since I got here, and I doubt that it will this summer. I may well go up to New York for a couple of days during August and certainly will be there for a few days during September.

Peggy and I, incidentally, spent last week in New York house hunting. We found a place in Pelham, but I am not sure the deal will go through.

Keep me advised of your whereabouts. I would like very much to hear what you've been doing.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js

GEORGE McMILLAN
THE MacDOWELL COLONY
PETERBOROUGH
NEW HAMPSHIRE

PW
PA
MI-file

July 26, 1965

Dear Leslie:

Are you by any chance going to be in the Boston area between now and the end of August?

If you are and have time to see me, I would like to talk with you. I could come down anytime at your convenience.

I'm trying to make my plans for when I leave here -- which will be August 30.

I'm making speech this coming Saturday at posh resort up here on future of civil rights movement -- and leaning heavily on that excellent thing Pat Watters wrote. Lots of interesting people here -- Alfred Kazin's wife and he was here the other night, had nice talk with him. Several young composers, one doing an opera with Edward Albee. The poetry editor of the New Yorker, and wonderful young guy named Woiwode who has just started selling stories to New Yorker. We became good friends. Other types too: James Ramsey Ullman who writes about mountain climbing, couple of young sculptors. Young Negro playwright from Ghana.

Luck in your enterprises.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
% Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

File
McMillan, Geo

August 6, 1965

Mr. George McMillan
The Mac Dowell Colony
Peterborough, New Hampshire

Dear George:

I hardly know what to say to you about an application to the Field Foundation. I shall not be there until October. If you send in an application after October 1, I shall get the best consideration for it that I can.

The Foundation has, however, its own policies, as do all foundations. It does not support, ordinarily, any individuals and it seldom, except under very unusual circumstances, has supported publications.

If you want to send it in, I'll do the best I can with it. If you send it in before October 1 it may get sent back to you before I even have a chance to see it.

I don't think, in any event, you need to do anything more than write a one or two page letter describing what the book will be and when it will be completed and what you need.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

GEORGE MCMILLAN
THE MACDOWELL COLONY
PETERBOROUGH
NEW HAMPSHIRE

July 29, 1965

Dear Leslie:

Before I leave here August 30 I want to make a formal application to the Field Foundation for a grant with which to continue work on my book.

I hope by then to have 50 pages or more for you to look at.

I find that my principal difficulty in keeping at the book is that of convincing myself that I am going to have a chance to do it at all. I seem clearly now that that's where I went sour on so many other projects.

I'm either going to write a classic, or nothing at all. That's the view I took when I wrote my Marine book. Whi le I was working on it, other military unit histories were appearing every week. I then simply had the virgin confidence to believe that I could outdo them all. And I did: as you recall, my book was wideldy acclaimed as the best unit history of WWII.

But now that I'm back at work on a book again after more than 15 years I see what it takes to write a good one -- struggling with its shape and form and approach, looking for the exact way to say something more meaningful than anyone else has said.

I'll appreciate any suggestions or advice you may have as to the best way to apply to the Foundation for the grant.

Best,

George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

file
McMillan, Geo.

via air mail special

August 25, 1965

Mr. George McMillan
MacDowell Colony
Peterborough, New Hampshire

Dear George:

I shall not be in New York permanently until the first of October. There is a chance I may go up for a day or two after September 15.

It is hard for you to believe this, but the Foundations with which I have had any dealing simply do not, as a matter of practice, support writing. Exceptions, of course, do get made, but all of the ones that I am familiar with have involved the sponsorship of some organization.

One person whom I think you could talk with usefully would be John Ehle at the Ford Foundation. Ford can do anything. John is himself a novelist and a writer (you may have seen his book this year on the Chapel Hill demonstrations). I just talked with him today on the telephone, and he told me that he would be in San Francisco the early part of next week, but expects to be in the office the latter part of the week, and would be very happy to meet you. Why don't you give him a call about Wednesday?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MacDowell Colony
Peterborough, N. H.
August 17, 1965

Dear Leslie:

Please forgive me for bothering you so much.

I am leaving MacDowell on Monday, August 30, and will probably be in New York City for a few days in the latter part of that week, certainly on September 2d and 3d. Are you going to be there then? Can we have lunch? Can I see you?

And: do you have any suggestions of foundation people I might call on about my book while I am in New York City? Will you let me know them if you do?

Thank you,

George

George McMillan

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Recd 8/17/65

MacDowell Colony
Peterborough, N. H.
August 16, 1965

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your very kind letter. Yes, please hold my proposal until October. In fact, I will have another one to make by then which I hope will be supported by a sample of the manuscript large enough to give you a definite feeling about the book.

I am tentatively thinking of going to Hilton Head Island, South Carolina, when I leave here. I had another piece about the place in GOOD HOUSEKEEPING in July, and the owner down there has made a lovely small house available to me at a rent I can pay. As of this moment, I plan to drive directly South when I leave here August 30.

But all my plans are in the air because Virginia has, for what seem to her good reasons, decided to throw over the oral agreement we made for tempoary division of our income and assets until we get a divorce. She has hired a lawyer in Boston, is threatening me, making obseene phone calls, etc. She is incurring bills we agreed she would pay and is now refusing to pay them. I have only very small savings, and they could disappear in three or four weeks if she prevails. I don't know what I would do then.... I've been waiting for several years now for some really good moment to slash my wrists. Maybe this would be it.

Best,

George

George McMillan

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Rec'd 9/8/65

file

Philips House
Sea Pines Plantation
Hilton Head Island
South Carolina
September 7, 1965

Dear Leslie:

At the last minute when I was leaving MacDowell Colony I decided after all to go to New York and talk with Mr. Ehle at Ford Foundation. I altered my plans, changed my route, etc.

I called in advance from Millbrook, New York, where I could stay cheaply with friends until it was time to see Ehle. I reached him eventually in Boston.

He was astounded that I wanted a Ford Foundation grant. He thought he was to help me find a publisher and was ready to give me a note to his editor at Harper's!

Thanks anyway. I'll be at this address for some time now, I think.

Best,

George McMillan

Leslie Dunbar
So8thern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

All - for
MT - files
MM
file "Mc" - gen

October 22, 1965

Miss Betty Jo McMakin
121 Taussig Place, N. E., Apt. 4
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jo:

Thanks for the note and the address. We didn't know where you were and wanted to. What are you doing?

Thanks for the good words. These have been a long 14 days.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

January 5, 1966

Mr. George McMillan
Sea Pines Plantation
Hilton Head Island
South Carolina

Dear George:

We liked MacDonald and were impressed by him. As I told you earlier, we have nothing specifically available but we are going to work on this if he really wants to be a do-gooder.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

GEORGE MCMILLAN
SEA PINES PLANTATION
HILTON HEAD ISLAND
SOUTH CAROLINA

January 3, 1965

Dear Paul:

Just to let you know that I am grateful for your kindness in seeing my friend, Laughlin MacDonald. He liked everyone at SRC and talks hopefully about working something out with you.

Gratefully,

George

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta

McMillan, George

February 25, 1966

Mr. George McMillan
Journalist In Residence
Clark College
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear George:

The salary of the journalism intern is open to negotiation. Since we don't know where the money will come from we can be very cavalier about it. Generally, however, we pay college students $200 a month and will in this instance unless you think differently.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 2/23/66

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

February 19, 1966

Dear Paul:

I am of course very pleased to hear that one of my journalism internees is to have an chance to work at SRC this summer. It will be a great experience. I'll be in touch with you again in from four to six weeks. Meanwhile, would it be possible for you to let me know what the salary is going to be?

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

George

George McMillan
Journalist In Residence

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Georgia

Rec'd 3/23/66
file
McMillan, Geo

MJ

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

GEORGE McMILLAN
Journalist In Residence

March 22, 1966

Dear Paul:

My friend, Laughlin MacDonald at Hilton Head, tells me that Mr. Morgan of ACLU has offered him a job and that he is going to accept it.

I want to tell you how grateful I am to you for helping this young man. Thanks very much.

Hope to see you soon.

Best,
George

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Rec'd 4/4/66

PWL
MJ-file

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

file

GEORGE McMILLAN
Journalist In Residence

March 31, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for going as high as $75.00 a week. I will be sending some students along for you and Pat to interview.

Cordially,

George

George McMillan

GM/c

Read 6/16/66
File McMillan, Geo.

MJ - file

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

GEORGE McMILLAN
Journalist In Residence

June 15, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am sending this because I think you might be interested in this side of the work of the Journalism Workshop. All of these jobs were found through the Workshop. I wish to point out that each one of the jobs is strictly editorial; none is clerical.

Sincerely,

George McMillan

George McMillan

GM/c
Enc: 1

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

Journalism Workshop

Clark College

June 15, 1966

The following is a list of students in the Journalism Workshop who have been placed in summer editorial positions:

Marie Banks, Clark College
Apprentice, Information Division Department of Labor

Jacqueline Bennett, Clark College
Summer Training Squad
LOUISVILLE COURIER JOURNAL

E. J. Brisker, Morehouse College
Summer Training Squad
WASHINGTON POST

Ann Carroll, Spelman College
Placed in Yale Summer School for Special Tutoring in Writing

Patricia Collins, Spelman College
Information Apprentice
Voter Education Program

Charles Jackson, Morehouse College
Offered St. Paul Pioneer
Took job on Atlanta World

Michael Lomax, Morehouse College
Summer Training Squad
WASHINGTON POST

Lula Jerrilyn McGhee, Clark College
Southern Regional Council
Special Summer Writing
Project on Children in Ghetto

Robert Maxwell, Morehouse College
(Negotiating) United States Information Agency

Robert Terrell, Morehouse College
Summer Training Squad
NEW YORK POST

Antonio Thomas, Clark College
Offered Job MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL APPEAL
Assisted in getting in Emory Law School

Anthony Whitfield, Morehouse
Southern Regional Council
Apprentice to Pat Watters, Information Director

file Potomac Inst.

June 23, 1966

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Just a note to say that Paul's promise to send you a copy of the Allred thesis on the Council is still good. We have xeroxed a copy for you, but discovered that several pages are missing. I have asked Will to get these to us, and when he does we'll send a complete copy to you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

File
MC "Gen."

MJ

The Superior Court
of the
Atlanta Judicial Circuit
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Chambers of
Judge Sam Phillips McKenzie

October 18, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Judge McKenzie has asked that I write and convey his sincere thanks to you for your kindness and courtesy to Mrs. Ted Maragas, as evidenced by your letter to her of October 11, a copy of which you sent to Judge McKenzie.

When Mrs. Maragas wrote Judge McKenzie, requesting the information, he did not know exactly which way to turn to obtain the information. It was indeed fortunate that your organization was available, and that you were so kind as to make the desired information so readily available to her.

Judge McKenzie has been away from the office since the last day of September on account of illness, which is the reason for his not answering personally, and conveying his thanks. At this time, he does not know exactly when he will be able to return to the Court House, hence, the second-hand thanks to you.

Again, thank you sincerely for your kindness to the wife of the Judge's fraternity brothers, and the help you were able to give her.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Henderson

J. M. Henderson
Law Clerk for
Judge McKenzie

See Mr. McKenna gen

March 28, 1967

Mr. Warren H. McKenna
118 University Road
Brookline, Mass.

Dear Warren:

So glad to hear you are joining the crowd in Atlanta.

Kathie and the children are still in Mobile and I have a little apartment with a spare bed. I would be delighted to have you bunk with me until you can find a place to live.

Yours very truly,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

Lee
Oma "gen"

November 28, 1967

Mrs. Grace Baird McIntosh
1890 S. W. 35 Place
Gainesville, Florida 32601

Dear Mrs. McIntosh:

Thank you so much for thinking of me during your obviously busy and exciting trip.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

BET.CHA THOUGHT I'D NEVER GET OFF IT, ...AND WRITE!

Nov 21 in
N.Y.C.

Hi

Came up for a grand daughter's birthday, Thanksgiving, and a visit to U.N. (yesterday). Back to Florida Sunday.

The delegates from Jordan, USSR, UK, USA, and Israel talked yesterday on Mid-east problem & the two resolutions offered (USSR & UK). I like Lord Caradon.

With pleasant memories of Fla. Council on Human Relations Conference.

Cordially
Grace David McIntosh

File
Geo. McMillan

file

GEORGE MCMILLAN
5 BALTIMORE PLACE, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308
PHONE 404-874-0375

December 11, 1967

Dear Paul:

I have finished the first part of my book and I am sending a 10,000-word hunk of it to Leslie Dunbar to read in line with your suggestion that he might be willing to support the project.

My next subject is going to be (for part II) the temper and tone of the South in the days immediateldy following WWII. As is my wont, I am going to tell it through people and anecdotes. The focus will be George Mitchell as a symbol and a person.

I want to go up to Ricmond and interview Alice Mitchell. Can SRC cover my expenses -- about $100?

Best,

Geo

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta

Yours
Geo. McMillan

GEORGE McMILLAN
5 BALTIMORE PLACE, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308
PHONE 404-874-0375

December 29, 1967

Dear Paul:

I am going up to Richmond Friday (January 5) to interview Alice Mitchell.

I'll be glad to carry messages or anything you might want to send -- in case you should want to.

Best,
Geo

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta

File: Geo. McMillan

RHA
MMJ file

January 11, 1968

Mr. George McMillan
5 Baltimore Place, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear George:

Enclosed is our check for your expenses to Richmond. I am sure your visit was a delight as well as a success.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

GEORGE McMILLAN
5 Baltimore Place, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Phone: 404—874-0375

January 8, 1968

Dear Paul:

I was in Richmond Friday and Saturday (Jan 5 & 6) interviewing Alice Mitchell. It was a great success for me, and of course she herself could not have been kinder and more hospitable. Isn't it nice to have an old friend, after a long interval, turn out to be just exactly what you remember him or her to have been?

The tab is $110.12.

I am attaching hotel receipt, air line ticket, etc. The sums not tabbed went for dinner, airline bus in Richmond, etc.

Thank you for underwriting this enterprise.

Sincerely,

GO

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlantq

file "L. McLemore" Gen.

vj - for Jordan
Return - mj

March 11, 1968

Mr. Leslie Burl McLemore
200 South East Street
Apartment 104
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002

Dear Mr. McLemore:

Your request is being shared with Mr. Vernon Jordan, the director of our Voter Education Project. In a short time we will give the request every consideration, and you will hear from us further. In the meantime, could you give us more specific information on the amount of financial assistance necessary for you to complete the thesis?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

P.O Box 2
Walls, Miss 38680
391-7076

200 South East Street, Apt. 104
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002
March 5, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, North West
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am twenty-seven years old, married, and a 1964 graduate of Rust College, Holly Springs, Mississippi, with a B.A. in Social Science and Economics, and a 1965 graduate of Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, with a M.A. in Political Science. Presently, I am pursuing my second year of graduate work at the University of Massachusetts in the area of Political Science.

During my matriculation at Atlanta University, I wrote my thesis on the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and I am also planning to write my Ph.D. thesis on the same topic. However, because of my financial condition, I am interested in acquiring financial aid to write my thesis. Because of the nature of the topic my thesis advisor--Professor John H. Fenton,--thought your organization might be willing to supply me with a limited grant to complete the project. My tentative topic is: The Freedom Democratic Party and the Changing Political Status of the Negro in Mississippi, which was the topic of my M.A. thesis.

I should be pleased to give you any further information you request. I wish to thank you very much for your kind consideration.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie Burl McLemore

Leslie Burl McLemore

Fee for me "Gen."

file

1890 SW 35th Place
Gainesville, Florida 32601
19 May 68

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I think of you often and the fun we had at the Florida Council on Human Relations 1967 meeting at Florida Presbyterian College, St. Petersburg.

Mac and I went to hear ELIJA, by Felix Mendelssohn, and I began to think of Elijah Coleman, Director of Arkansas Council. So I sent him a copy of the Program in my First Day of Issue, of the SUPPORT OUR YOUTH stamp. It is because I am a sort of Philatelist, in a miniature form. You know the stamp was cencelled in my home city of Chicago, on May 1.

David Anthony, also of Susan B. stock, is on a Conservation project in which I am interested. So, between Elijah, Paul, David, Anthony, and a wee bit of Grace (and my husband's name is Pleasant Ray) we should succeed, yes? HA!

My main gripe just now is the trend of Animated Business signs, or signs that flash or revolve. So, I have been telephoning all over the United States and talking to Presidents of big companies, asking them to look into the ecology of downgrading our environment, and in so doing, what the effect on the animal kingdom (including us Homo Sapiens) will be. I ask them to review their sign advertising policy, etc.

If I find that we have financial interest in any company, I quote the number of stock that our Association has and the Market Value of that stock. If the Southern office is Atlanta, I tell them to contact Bill Lewis, S. E. Property Manager of Sears and he will tell them who I am. He told Bill White, Phillips Petroleum head man, because he wrote me and told me that White wanted to know who this Mrs. McIntosh was "who is on my back." Bill Lewis said that he told him that he might just as well do as I ask, because he is going to, in the long run. "She will never stop talking about you." SEARS STOPPED THEIR REVOLVING SIGN. PANTRY PRIDE-J. M. FIELDS STOPPED THEIR REVOLVING SIGN. Pantry Pride's President is V.P. of University Board of Regents, and I asked him if it was he, or Robert Reisner, NYC.? Pres. of J. M. Fields who stopped it - and I talked to his office twice when I was in NYC.

NOW I HAVE LEVERAGE! Representatives of Atlantic-Richfield, Phillips (from Orlando) have come to see me about their signs. Leverage increases. I will see V. P. Miller, AMOCO next week (or so when I am home (Chicago). He lives near where I grew up.

(continued)

I shall wear my VOTE DEMOCRATIC hat tomorrow when I see Governor Rockefeller on U. of F. campus at 4:00 PM. Talked with our daughter Jean, in Chelsea area of NYC, and she said to ask him several questions. I want him to autograph Bayrd Still's book, MIRROR FOR GOTHAM, that I bought in NYC when I was there in 1966. Seeing that my name was Baird, and that I could easily be a little mouse running around in Gracie Mansion, I think I might be able to swing it. I also have a bar of Goldwater Soap that was given me during Barry's campaign - my good old Sigma Chi brother!

Will be across the river from Louisville, Ky., May 26

Will be in Peoria, Illinois - Bradley University Alumni Banquet, June 1

Will be (that is, I will be) at National College of Education Alumnae Luncheon, Evanston, Illinois, June 8

Will be visiting our son (younger twin) and family in Ft. Wayne, Indiana, June 14

Will be in Toledo, Ohio and then up to Williamstown, Mass, June 20 (or so). Then my cousin Lily will go with us to Adams, Mass. to visit our cousin's home, Susan B. Anthony. Lily's mother was Rose Anthony Baird.

Then back home in such a way as to have enough pennies to buy gas and enough strength so that Mac will leave for the Caribbean to build our retirement house.

AND NO MORE UNIVERSITY TEACHING - AFTER 45 YEARS.

Maybe you would like clippings a friend sent me. Rather flowery!

In memory of a pleasant too-short visit a n d in memory of a great and courageous lady, Governor Lurleen Wallace, who wrote me short notes while was hospitalized, in 1967,

Encl.
-2-

Yours cordially,

Grace David McIntosh

Mrs. P. R. McIntosh

See D. McNichols

July 26, 1968

Mr. Steven McNichols
236 East 36th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. McNichols:

Your letter to Mr. Anthony of the 24th has arrived while he is out of the city on vacation.

I would like you to know that there is a very high possibility that Mr. Anthony may be in New York on Friday, August 2 and, therefore, will not be able to see you when you are here. I have, however, made a reservation for you at the Atlantan Hotel for Thursday night in case he does not attend the August 2 meetin g in New York. Mr. Anthony returns to the office on Monday, July 29th at which time definite arrangements will be made about the meeting. When this is done I will let you know. I will let the reservation stand until then.

Cancelled

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

July 24, 1968

Steven McNichols
236 East 36th Street
New York, New York 10016

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Just a note to the effect that I will be in Atlanta Friday, August 2 en route to Augusta (for a weekend with Steve and Nina Robbins shortly before his discharge and removal to Yale Law) and Lexington (to secure an apartment, etc. before finally removing myself to U.K.). What are our chances for getting together over lunch or some other form of refreshment (libation?)? Wonder if your secretary would kindly arrange for a gauranteed-late arrival at The Atlantan the night before--i.e. on the 1st. (Thursday) Don't bother confirming now, I'll give you a call first thing Friday morning.

done
MJ

Trust all is well and looking forward to seeing you and all of my friends at SRC again.

Yours,

Steve

File
Geo McMillan

August 13, 1968

Mr. George McMillan
5 Baltimore Place, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Enclosed is the copy of your outline. I appreciated very much your sharing it with me. It is excellent and exciting. And, while I understand your not rushing it, I hope this one can be published as soon as possible. We need it!

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure

GEORGE McMILLAN

August 7, 1968

Dear Paul:

Thank you very much for your kind offer to allow my researcher to do some photostating for me in your research department.

I'm enclosing copy of my outline which is for your eyes only.

Gratefully,

Geo

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta

P. S. Will you please return the outline to me when you have read it?

5 BALTIMORE PLACE, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308 (404) 874-0375

GEORGE McMILLAN
5 Baltimore Place, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Phone: 404—874-0375

November 20, 1968

Dear Paul:

I believe that John Boone and I have worked out a satisfactory plan of operation. Thank you so much for making his services available to me.

Sincerely,

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEM:cw

November 18, 1968

Dear John:

I am pleased that you are going to be able to help me understand James Earl Ray.

I am enclosing a copy of an outline I have done for my book and a copy of the credentials letter I use for identifying myself. I can have a similar letter written for you from Little, Brown, if you feel you would like to have one.

Don't take the outline too literally, please. I have modified and amended a[illegible] of my ideas since I wrote it. But the structure of the book will remain the same as will the general emphases.

What I need to understand is:

1. The environment in the two prisons where Ray served significant periods of time. I am especially interested in Black-white relationships in the prisons during the time Ray was in them. The prisons are Pontiac, Leavenworth, and Missouri State Penitentiary. Ray entered Joliet 6/13/52, discharged Pontiac 3/12/54; entered Leavenworth 7/5/55, discharged 4/1958; entered Missouri State Penitentiary 4/1/60, escaped 4/23/67.

2. Ray himself as a prisoner, his role in prison, his sexual relationships, his relationships with Black prisoners.

I will be furnishing you with a package of research material I've collected on Ray which you may use for your background.

Sincerely,

Mr. John Boone
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGE McMILLAN
5 BALTIMORE PLACE, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308
PHONE 404-874-0375

file

January 13, 1969

Dear Paul:

Thought you might be inter ested in this story. Will you pass it on to Pat W. and to others in the office? With thanks for the generous help I've received from many hands there? And especial thanks to you.

Happy New Year,

GM

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council

Ray biographer in character study

By Robert P. Hey
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta

"What kind of man is it that will kill another man he never knew? Sit and wait for him, and kill him. Not everybody will do that. It take a special kind of guy to do that."

The speaker is George McMillan, an author and investigative reporter. He is musing particularly about the assassins of four well-known Americans in this decade: Medgar Evers, President Kennedy, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

By this time next year Mr. McMillan may have shed a good deal of light on this question. That is his intent. Next fall is the planned publication time for the book he is writing on James Earl Ray, charged by the State of Tennessee with the murder last April of Dr. King.

Ray's trial tentatively is scheduled to begin March 3.

Mr. McMillan is careful to say he is not prejudging Ray's guilt or innocence.

"My point of view is this: I'll let the court try Ray, decide whether he's guilty or not. But I believe if he did do it, he did it alone."

He says if Ray is convicted, he will publish. He is "wrestling with the question" of whether to publish if Ray is acquitted.

'Criminal, not the crime'

Mr. McMillan says of his book: "I want to do a book about the criminal, not the crime." Its tentative title is: "Portrait of an Assassin."

Though the book is to be specifically about Ray, what it uncovers may well apply to other assassins and assassinations. Interviewed in the book-lined writing room of his Atlanta apartment, the personable Mr. McMillan goes into some detail about his manuscript, on which he says he is "well along."

"The purpose of the book in the light of recent events is almost too obvious: What kind of person is an assassin? What precisely makes him kill? Is it some deep psychological compulsion? Is it environment? Is it distorted political fervor? Is it bigotry?

"Is there something profoundly wrong, sick in American society, of which men like Ray and Lee Harvey Oswald are merely symptoms?

"But even more important, what we all want to know is: Are we, all the rest of us, in any way guilty?

"And that I think is why people like conspiracy theories—it leaves them out. It exonerates them. That's why I think it's very necessary for people to believe in conspiracy theories. Because then they're not responsible."

Collective burden posed

"My book's going to prove," he continued, "that we'll all responsible for James Earl Ray. That every one of us bears some little responsibility."

The reason, he says, is that Americans permit a continuance of both poverty and woeful prison conditions—with their nefarious effects. Granting both conditions have improved in recent years, public opinion has not mobilized behind the view that a major effort must be made to wipe them out.

In his book Mr. McMillan will bore in on Ray's early years, and on his time in prison.

Says the author: "I want to recreate Ray's life so that the reader can see Ray's life at every stage of it, how Ray was viewing himself—his problems, his agonies, his anger. And what Ray thought his choices were. And why he made the choices he in fact made."

Mr. McMillan is taking both a psychological and environmental tack. He has hired an Atlanta psychiatrist to help him understand Ray, his background and actions. And he has made detailed studies of Ray's background, concentrating on his life in two towns during boyhood and early manhood.

Alton and Quincy, Ill.

The two are Alton and Quincy, both in Illinois. Ray was born in Alton, and later spent two years there after age 16, while he worked in a tannery and tried to go straight.

Ray spent much time in Quincy during his youth. He grew up across the river in Ewing, Mo. Ray's family had long connections in Quincy, Mr. McMillan says; for one thing, an aunt lived there. And after Ray's parents broke up in 1944, Mr. McMillan adds, Ray's mother went to Quincy to live.

Says the author: "One of the things I'm examining is the myth of the immigrant. We have our myth that everybody in America is an immigrant, that immigration made America.

"Well, I'm exploring some of the myths in America, and how Ray disproves them. Ray was not rising, he was going down. He was descending on the social scale.

"I'm doing two major things. One is the whole first part [of the book]—taking Ray in a culture of poverty. Plus all the psychological data. . . .

"The whole end of the book will be Ray in prison for nearly 11 years. You can say almost his whole adult life, he was in prison. Well, this has an effect on a man. The question is: exactly what, in Ray's case."

Mr. McMillan has had experience with this careful approach to examining persons accused of violent crime. With the aid of a psychiatrist he probed the background of Byron de la Beckwith, accused but not convicted of the murder of Mississippi civil-rights leader Medgar Evers.

Evers case probed

He says that what he found out about Mr. de la Beckwith, with the psychiatrist's aid, was totally different from the picture of "misguided regional patriot" that other newsmen were painting of him.

Mr. McMillan later spent five months in Dallas after the November, 1963, assassination of President Kennedy, checking out conspiracy rumors for a national news network. The more he investigated, the more interested he became in the man accused of the assassination.

Knowledge of Lee Harvey Oswald, accused of being the Kennedy assassin and who himself was soon shot down, runs in the McMillan family. Mrs. McMillan—Priscilla Johnson McMillan—is writing a book on Marina, Oswald's widow, after having spent several months with her. It is Mrs. McMillan who translated from Russian to English the memoirs of Mrs. Svetlana Alliluyeva, self-exiled daughter of Josef Stalin.

Lawyer trouble forecast

Something Mr. McMillan wrote in a later outline—dated last July 19—has turned out to be a particularly interesting foreshadowing. This was a full three months before Ray dropped the bombshell of dismissing his original attorney, Arthur Hanes, just before the trial originally was to have begun, early in November.

The outline says: "Ray will cross his lawyer up again and again before the trial is over. It is going to be fascinating to me at least to watch Ray move back and forth between the real world, that of his cell and the courtroom, the demands of his lawyers, and the world that had become so overpoweringly important to him by the time he escaped from prison, the world of his twisted senses."

Mr. McMillan says he told Mr. Hanes this well before the dismissal.

He adds that after the abrupt dismissal the attorney said to him: "'I've thought many times about what you told me a month ago. Your name has come up between my son and myself many times.'" Arthur Hanes Jr., also an attorney, was an associate of his father in the case.

file

March 10, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Please excuse my delay in writing this letter since we talked on the telephone three weeks ago. I am afraid several exams intruded in rude and, from my standpoint, wholly unjustifiable fashion upon the generally dull, controlled chaos of my life. As a result, those extra-curricular activities which normally take priority were temporarily set aside in favor of more pressing albeit less important concerns.

While our conversation was quite casual, I've learned from experience that it is wise to discuss even the most informal inquiry concerning the black community with at least one established indigenous leader in advance so as to place the matter in its most realistic context from the very beginning. Come to think of it, this practice (it's become almost habit) also usually pertains to organizations such as private foundations and race relations agencies which are based in the white community. In any case, I decided to have lunch with Mr. Freeman D. Bass before writing.

Freeman Bass is a young IBM research chemist who is President of the Committee On Voter Education and Registration (COVER) recently established by a panoply of indigenous organizations for the greater Lexington area and surrounding counties of central Kentucky. He seems intelligent, practical, capable. COVER's raison d'etre is singularly manifest in the fact that only one-third of the potentially eligible Negro voters in this area are registered notwithstanding an image which is considerably more enlightened (successful?) than deserved.

In considering central Kentucky for a VEP project, it seems to me important to focus on the following factors: 1) despite a local tradition of gross economic, social, and political paternalism, COVER was designed and is in a position to capitalize upon rapidly changing circumstances in a way which would effectively shift the balance of power to the black electorate within 2-4 years; 2) COVER represents the <u>key</u> but by no means the only instrument in a comprehensive economic and community development program now emerging within the black community; 3) young, aggressive, and concerned white leadership, largely centered around the university, is also emerging to coordinate

with blacks in the interest of a greater common cause.

However, it is not really practical to elaborate on these observations in the course of this letter. Freeman Bass and I, as well as some other interested individuals, would deeply appreciate an opportunity for further discussion with a representative of the Voter Education Project. Perhaps Weldon Rougeaux would visit Lexington or we could meet at his convenience in Atlanta. If VEP is being asked to consider a geographical extension of its present operating policy, it may be the circumstances warrant it. For both technical and financial aid of this kind, there is nowhere else the disenfranchised members of this community can turn.

I appreciate your assistance in this regard, Paul, since without knowing Mr. Rougeaux, I hesitate to approach him directly. Enclosed are copies of my papers, "Advocacy Planning, Model Cities, And The Woodlawn Organization" as promised. Professor Mason and I should be in Atlanta this Thursday evening and Friday--let's get together!

Sincerely,

Steve

Steven McNichols
209 Lake Shore Drive
Lexington, Kentucky 40502
(606) 266-0879

cc: Mr. Freeman D. Bass
589 West 2nd Street
Lexington, Kentucky 40508
office: (606) 233-2000
extension 2330
home: (606) 254-0656

June 25, 1969

The Reverend J. Oscar McCloud
635 Peyton Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30311

Dear Oscar:

Having toyed around with the idea of your joining us for almost six months now, I am all the more disappointed that you have decided not to do so. However, I do respect and understand the reasoning behind your decision.

(This still does not mean that I think you can do as much good with those "Yankee" Presbyterians as you could down here.) If at a later date you decide to come home I would certainly do everything possible to encourage it.

Every good wish in your new work.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

635 Peyton Road, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30311
June 16, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have delayed responding to your offer of a position with SRC because I have had a real difficult time coming to a decision. I have decided, that inspite of the challenge of working for SRC, the opportunity to remain in Atlanta, and the attractiveness of the job particulars, I cannot accept the offer at this juncture in history.

Personally, I have considerable respect for SRC, its work and the potential it has for the future in this region. If I felt it possible, and even responsible, to break my present ties and involvement with the United Presbyterian Church, I sincerely believe that SRC would be my choice of a new place to work.

I cannot accept a position with SRC at this time because I believe to do so would in effect amount to a kind of "desertion" of the United Presbyterian Church just when that church seriously needs the assistance of black leadership as it seeks to respond to the crisis in our society. I have during the past ten days participated in two one-day meetings with the "top executives" of the United Presbyterian Church (UPC), and during those discussions I came to see more clearly how much the UPC (which is about 98% white) needs the participation and involvement of the 2% non-white members. This is not to say that the non-whites do not also need the white churchmen. They definitely do. So at this juncture in history I am opting to remain within the United Presbyterian Church, and hopefully to assist that church in relating more significantly ;with non-religious groups like SRC, and even NBEDC, for I am convinced that the churches need both, and must utilize such instrumentalities to the extent they are conducive means to the church's ends .

Paul, if it doesn*t sound rediculous, let me say that I might after a few years of New York, and a few more years of "attempting" with the United Presbyterian Church seek on my own an opportunity to join your staff. If such occurs, I trust you will not have come to think of me as an "irrelevant Yankee", or "Southern Deserter"/.

It is my hope that during the coming years we shall continue to have many opportunities to work together on matters of common concern.

Sincerely,

Oscar

J. Oscar McCloud

GANDHI'S RELEVANCE TODAY

A symposium to mark
the 100th anniversary of his birth

November 18-20, 1969
Washington, D.C.

Auspices:
Dag Hammarskjöld College

"I have nothing new to teach the world.
Truth and nonviolence are as old as the hills."

Mohandas K. Gandhi

"My goal is friendship with the world
. . . I can combine the greatest love
and the greatest opposition to wrong."

THE RELEVANT GANDHI

Tentative Agenda*

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18
Sheraton-Park Hotel
Washington

1:30-3 PM "Goals of the Symposium"
Dr. Robert McCan
President, Dag Hammarskjöld College

Address
His Excellency Nawab Ali Yavar Jung
Ambassador of India to the United States

Address
The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Chairman, U. S. Committee
on the Gandhi Centennial

3:30-5 PM "Gandhi and the Human Potential"
Kanu Ramdas Gandhi
Mechanical Engineer
U.S. Army Materials and
Mechanical Research Center
Boston, Massachusetts

Gandhi's personality, reviewed both as a model of self-realization and as an approach to the study of his political and social philosophy. Gandhi's grandson will be paired with a distinguished behavioral scientist.

Discussion

6 PM Reception

7:30 PM Banquet
(Dress informal)

"Gandhi's Message to a World
in Continuing Revolution"
His Excellency Samar Sen
Permanent Representative
Permanent Mission of India
to the United Nations

Charles C. Walker
Director
Haverford College
Gandhi Colloquium

Alternatives for man in the nuclear age.

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*Only those persons whose participation has been confirme
are listed in this advance announcement.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19
Urban Life Center
Columbia, Maryland
(Transportation will be provided)

9:30-10:45 AM "Paths to Peace in a Warring World"
C. V. Narasimhan
Chef de Cabinet
of the United Nations

Arthur Lall
Former Indian Ambassador to
the United Nations

Some new diplomatic imperatives and their impact on world institutions.

Discussion

11 AM-12:30 PM "Minorities and Militant Nonviolence"

Gandhi's influence on the U. S. civil-rights movement—past, present, and future—as viewed by Bayard Rustin, Rev. William Stuart Nelson, Rev. Walter Fauntroy, and other leaders of the movement.

Discussion

1-2:45 PM Luncheon

"The Prospect of Nonviolence in America"
Harris Wofford
President
Bryn Mawr College

The main U. S. currents in nonviolent protest, viewed in their historical perspective. An introduction to the group discussions to follow.

3-4:15 PM "Gandhi Speaks to Youth"

Six concurrent group discussions: student unrest and civil disobedience. Participants will include spokesmen from major youth organizations.

4:30-5 PM Reports from Groups

7 PM Reception
Sheraton-Park Hotel

ed

8 PM Banquet
(Dress informal)

"Education as an Instrument for Organizing Truth"
The Rev. Howard Thurman
Dean Emeritus of the Chapel
Boston University

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20
Sheraton-Park Hotel

9:30-11 AM "Spinning Wheel and Skyscraper"

James Rouse
Developer
The New City of Columbia, Maryland

Floyd McKissick
Former National Director, CORE
Founder, Soul City

Is there a lesson for urban America in Gandhi's approach to village development? An exploration of a shared vision: the new community, conceived in man's best image.

Discussion

11:15 AM-12 Summary and Critique
Dr. Richard L. Park
Professor of Political Science
The University of Michigan

Note: Dr. Park will combine his summary with a report on the major considerations of the Gandhi symposium just completed in Honolulu under auspices of the East-West Center and the Association for Asian Studies.

"There are those who maintain that Gandhi was a phenomenon peculiar to his time and place. He could have done what he did only in India, they insist; only against a conscience-stricken power like Britain and only during an era of faltering colonialism. Nonviolence, they say, may be a laudable concept but it is as contrary to human nature as it is to the nature of governments.

"There are others, however, who argue that Gandhi was really ahead of his time, that his ideas have more relevance for the future than they did even in his lifetime. There are clergymen who see in his approach to religion the inspiration for the current ecumenical movement. There are political theorists who since his death have come to see *Satyagraha*—or some form of ritualized nonviolence—as the only realistic alternative to nuclear warfare and global annihilation. There are urban planners in America who find in his village experiments promising models for population dispersal and government decentralization.

"But Gandhi's most important contribution may ultimately turn out to be not to religion, politics, or sociology, but to psychology—to our understanding of ourselves and particularly of our potential for personal growth. For what Gandhi did, most of all, was to give us a new vision of man. 'Nonviolence is the law of our species,' he maintained, and he lived his life to prove that it could be. Most especially, he demonstrated man's capacity to change. In a technological age where change is likely to be equated with survival, the lesson could be crucial."

Afterword, "Gandhi, Soldier of Nonviolence,"
by Calvin Kytle (Grosset & Dunlap, 1969)

All correspondence about the symposium
should be addressed to:

Dr. Robert L. McCan
President
Dag Hammarskjöld
2017 Que Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Registration fee: $30 (includes two banquets, luncheon, and transportation to and from Columbia, Md.)

Banquet tickets may be obtained separately for $10 each.

For overnight accommodations, write:

Sheraton-Park
2600 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Hotel and Motel Inn
Washington, D.C. 20008

Plaza, Columbia, Md.

DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD COLLEGE is being established in the creative new city of Columbia, Maryland, as a co-educational, cross-cultural liberal arts college. Opening with a small first-year class in 1970, the College will grow to an enrollment of 1,500 by 1978. It will be pervasively international in faculty and student body, as well as in the polycultural design of its curriculum.

In concept, the College and Columbia both embody the quality of practical idealism that was so essentially Gandhi. Each is innovative and experimental, as was Gandhi; each is concerned with expanding the human community, as was Gandhi; each aspires to be a witness to the validity of truth, freedom, and fraternity, not merely as principles but as strategies—as did Gandhi.

BOARD OF OVERSEERS

Richard Barnet
Co-Director, Institute for Policy Studies
Washington, D.C.

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Pastor, The Church of the Savior
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Philip G. Hammer
Consultant, League of Women Voters Education Fund
Washington, D.C.

B. Neal Harris
Gulf States Paper Corporation
Cockeysville, Maryland

The Honorable Mark O. Hatfield
United States Senator, Oregon
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Rita Hauser
United States Representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights
New York, New York

Dr. Roy Jones
Director, Center for Community Studies
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Miss Jimilu Mason
Sculptor,
National Council of the Arts
Alexandria, Virginia

Dr. Glenn Olds
United States Ambassador
Representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council
New York, New York

Angus Peyton
Attorney, Brown & Peyton
Charleston, West Virginia

Mrs. James Rouse
Baltimore, Maryland

Dr. Rustum Roy
Director, Materials Research Laboratory
University Park, Pennsylvania

Dr. Herbert Striner
W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research
Washington, D.C.

The Honorable Joseph B. Tydings
United States Senator, Maryland
Washington, D.C.

Dr. J. Earl Williams
Director, Human Resources Center
University of Houston
Houston, Texas

September 24, 1969

Dr. Robert L. McCan
President
Dag Hammarskjold College
2017 "W" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Dr. McCan:

To my deep regret there is a long-standing commitment that will make it impossible for me to attend the symposium on November 18th.

Thank you for thinking of me. I hope you will give me an opportunity to join you at a later date.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

GANDHI'S RELEVANCE TODAY

A symposium to mark the 100th anniversary of his birth

Washington, D.C.—November 18-20, 1969

DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD COLLEGE
2017 QUE STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
202-462-6749
Dr. Robert L. McCan, President

SPONSORS

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Chairman, U.S. Committee
on the Gandhi Centennial

His Excellency
Nawab Ali Yavar Jung
Ambassador of India

Mr. Kanu Ramdas Gandhi
Mr. C. V. Narasimhan
Mrs. H. Rodney Sharp, III, Chairman
Mrs. Walter E. Washington

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Dr. Robert L. McCan
Dr. Rustum Roy
Mr. Praful Shah
Mrs. H. Rodney Sharp, III
Mrs. Walter E. Washington

September 1, 1969

Dr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Anthony:

This is to invite you to join the overseers, patrons and friends of Dag Hammarskjöld College at a symposium in observance of the Gandhi centenary.

The symposium will run from 1:30 p.m. Tuesday, November 18, through noon of Thursday, November 20. Tuesday and Thursday sessions, as well as both banquets, will be held at the Sheraton-Park Hotel here in Washington. On Wednesday we will convene near the site of our future campus in the new city of Columbia.

Our intent is to honor Gandhi in a way that he would find appropriate. ("The highest honor that my friends can do me," he once said, "is to enforce in their own lives the program that I stand for, or to resist me to their utmost if they do not believe in it.") We are building the agenda in the conviction that Gandhi still speaks pertinently to man's most pressing concerns; that he is as timely as the issues of peace and the quality of life; that for any decision-maker beset by the urgencies of institutional change there is much to be learned from a review of his teachings; that he may even have something special to say about America's need for a balanced urbanization policy.

In cooperation with the Embassy of India and the United States Committee on the Gandhi Centennial, the College is inviting participation from distinguished Gandhi scholars as well as from prominent public figures whose careers reflect an interest in the Gandhian ethic.

Because facilities at the Urban Life Center in Columbia are limited, we are obliged to restrict participation to 200 persons. I urge you to sign and return the enclosed registration card promptly.

We look forward to having you with us.

Sincerely,

Robert McCan

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91st CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 115 WASHINGTON, MONDAY, JUNE 2, 1969 No. 90

Senate

DAG HAMMARSKJOLD COLLEGE: A BOLD NEW EXPERIMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, a new college, named in honor of the second Secretary-General of the United Nations, is coming to Maryland. This is no ordinary institution of higher education, but is rather a new model which to me offers real promise of relevance at a time when colleges and universities are torn by student unrest.

Dag Hammarskjold College is designed as an international college, a 4-year independent, coeducational liberal arts institution. To be located on a beautiful tract of land adjacent to Merriweather-Post Pavilion in the new city of Columbia, Md., the college will have a pervasive cross-cultural philosophy of education.

I am pleased to announce to you that I have accepted a position as an overseer of this college. The board of overseers is distinguished, I might add, by the presence of our Republican colleague, the distinguished Senator from Oregon (Mr. HATFIELD).

Dag Hammarskjold College is built on the premise that we live in a global village, that reason requires we deal effectively with rapid cultural change, and that higher education can be made relevant to our world situation.

The college has designed its philosophy and program after careful study of creative colleges, not only in the United States, but from schools around the world.

The president, Dr. Robert L. McCan, received his bachelor of divinity degree from Yale University, a doctor of philosophy from the University of Edinburgh, and was visiting scholar in higher education for 2 years at Harvard University. Since leaving the Protestant ministry in 1963, Dr. McCan has been on the frontiers of education specifically preparing for the founding of this college. While studying at Harvard he was assistant professor in philosophy of higher education at Boston University. In 1965 Dr. McCan accepted a position in the policy and planning division of community action programs in the U.S. Office of Education as Acting Branch Chief for Behavioral Sciences. Since late in 1967 he has devoted full time to the development of Dag Hammarskjold College.

Dag Hammarskjold College is scheduled to open in the fall of 1970 with a small faculty and a first class of 120 students. Total enrollment of 1,440 will be reached by 1978. Approximately a fourth of the students will be off-campus at any given time in work, travel, and study-abroad programs.

Sixty percent of the faculty and students will come from abroad. Nine countries, in addition to the United States, will be represented. These countries are in widely scattered geographical areas of the world, and provide opportunity for the building of a miniature world community on the campus.

There has been an incredibily active and dedicated group of laymen and professional educators who have nurtured the dream and developed the college to its present level. Between May and September of this year there will be a summer gifts campaign conducted by these volunteers and friends of the college. Their short-term, widely based effort is designed to provide $250,000 for specific development needs, including expansion of staff, architectural planning, and funds for a major capital gifts campaign which will begin in the fall. Persons who contribute as much as $1,000 will be recognized as founders of the college.

The board of overseers are:

Mr. James D. Grant, chairman, vice president, National Institute of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Richard J. Barnet, codirector, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.

The Reverend Gordon Cosby, pastor, Church of the Saviour, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Paul F. Geren, president, Stetson University, De Land, Fla.

Mr. Donald E. Graham, officer, Washington Metropolitan Police Department.

Mr. B. Neal Harris, Manufacturing Development, Plastics Division, Gulf State Paper Corp., Cockeysville, Md.

The Honorable MARK O. HATFIELD, U.S. Senator, Oregon, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Roy J. Jones, director, Center for Community Studies, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Miss Jimilu Mason, sculptor, National Council of the Arts, Alexandria, Va.

The Honorable Glenn A. Olds, U.S. Ambassador, U.S. Representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, New York, N.Y.

Mr. Bernard Rapaport, president, American Income Life Insurance Co., Waco, Tex.

Mrs. James W. Rouse, Baltimore, Md.

Dr. Rustum Roy, director, Materials Research Laboratory, University Park, Pennsylvania.

Dr. Herbert Striner, director, Project Development, W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, Washington, D.C.

The Honorable Joseph D. Tydings, U.S. Senator, Maryland, Washington, D.C.

Dr. J. Earl Williams, director, Human Resources Center, University of Houston, Houston, Tex.

These representative endorsements of the college throw shafts of light on the enthusiastic response the college plan has received:

JAMES W. ROUSE, presiden, theZ Rouse Co., it is an exciting concept, responsive to the pressing needs of the United States and the world beyond. We are very pleased to make available to Dag Hammarskjöld College a site in Columbia appropriate for your needs.

PHILIP R. HARRIS, Ph. D., senior associate, Leadership Resources, Inc. It is a magnificent conception, well worthy of investment. You have done your planning well, consulted with a wide variety of professionals, and incorporated some of the latest and best thinking about higher education.

J. NED BRYAN, director, Special Study on Talent Development, U.S. Office of Education. There is a refreshing realism about the plan of operation. Controlled enrollment and modular units providing for meeting the objectives of close faculty-student involvement. In my judgment Dag Hammarskjöld College has the potential and promise of fulfilling an unmet need in the arena of American higher education.

February 26, 1970

Miss A. J. McLemore
Librarian
Savannah State College
State College Branch
Savannah, Georgia 31404

Dear Miss McLemore:

In reply to your letter to the Director of Southern Regional Council, past annual reports are not availbble. Our 1969 annual report will be ready in the near future and we will send you a copy as soon as possible.

We will be happy to place your name on our mailing list.

Sincerely,

Jerusha Brothers
Secretary

Rec'd 2/25/70

SAVANNAH STATE COLLEGE
STATE COLLEGE BRANCH
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA 31404

OFFICE OF
THE LIBRARIAN

Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Goergia 30303

Dear Sir:

We are interested in obtaining all of the annual reports of the Council. If there are charges for the same, please send a price list. If you have a catalogue of your publications please send one also.

If there are no charges for the above please place us on your mailing list for all of your publications.

Your response to the above will be greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,

A. J. McLemore

A. J. McLemore
Librarian

AJM/w

PA ✓
VI ✓
MJ. file

PROPOSAL

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

file: "Mc" gen. corresp.

Robert C. McNamara III

29 East Scott St.

Chicago 10, Illinois

MI 2-3331

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

This project is an attempt to correct the major communication problems of the civil rights movement with a single effort, a single organization, that would operate as a clearing house for public information concerning the civil rights movement. Civil Rights Information Service addresses itself to the three major problems in this field with practical solutions and development of new techniques. It therefore is dedicated to efficient and economical satisfaction of need.

The three problems to which we commit our efforts are these. First that the area of dominant or "white" opinion is in the main apathetic and poorly informed about the varied demands being made by Negroes today. The second problem is that the U.S. Negro, though aware of a growing sense of solidarity among his fellows, has no reliable source of information as to the progress of the civil rights movement, nor is he exposed to any detailed accounts of action in other communities. The third problem is in the present sources of information. Through an organized effort to reach editors, librarians, and writers, we will be able to keep these people informed and supplied with material at times other than at the height of demonstrations. Also, we realize that part of this problem lies in the use of archaic techniques of news reporting. We shall continue our development of news gathering techniques more consistent with current social needs. It is hoped that the media themselves will adopt the practices that we initiate and refine.

STATEMENT OF GOALS

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

The goals of Civil Rights Information Service explained below are predicated on actual need for such projects and a certainty that they can be in full function before the coming summer. It is probable that we would go into other areas of service, but under no circumstances would we commence a project at the sacrifice of one already under effort. Nor are we willing to stray from our purpose. As a matter of principle we will develop a project to the fullest before establishing any additional services. The priority of projects is below:

1. An audio news service to Negro radio stations that will give daily reports of civil rights activity and regular, deep accounts of the progress toward equality in both the urban North and South.

2. An accurate and current index of where information about the civil rights movement can be obtained, the channels for getting it, and a digest of the three hundred pamphlets and papers available with an index and cross index of that digested material. This would be mimeographed and bound looseleaf. We would mail it to perhaps five hundred newspapers, magazines, libraries, and church leaders. It would be brought up to date bi-monthly.

3. A library of films concerning civil rights that would be agressively distributed to churches and civic groups. We will develop distribution channels with a film we now have near completion that explores the Chicago school boycott and its effects.

4. An information bureau that keeps on top of the daily action of the civil rights movement. This would function to make it easier for magazines and newspapers to cover all aspects of the movement by being something like a press relations office, yet remaining clear of any bias. This project would send a daily notice of current civil rights action over the public teletype system.

5. A system of distributing the less sensational, yet newsworthy, photographs of the movement to television stations and newspapers. It is hoped that a well rounded library would grow out of this.

6. A library of audio material for FM stations and church groups that produce radio documentaries.

7. A mailing service for churchmen, neighborhood groups, and citizens interested in obtaining pamphlets, books, and films.

Clearly these various projects are complimentary, yet they demand the effort of an independant, well-coordinated organization. The large scope that they share is what makes them in demand; and it is that demand that makes them necessary.

PROGRAM OF DEVELOPMENT

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

We are committed to organizing a tax exempt, non-profit institution operating as an independant source of educational information concerning the civil rights movement. We will be staffed by those eager to make a direct contribution to the political peace of the nation at some personal sacrifice. The problems of developing such an effort are three: 1) a trained, dedicated staff; 2) equipment and techniques that are both reliable and economical; and 3) large scale financing. The first two problems have been solved in principle and in fact. So, they will each be expanded upon before giving a more detailed report on the money situation.

Staff members will work in a particular area, or field, of our operation for which they will have full responsibility. As many as is practical will sit on the Board where a monthly evaluation of their work is made. Thirty two people have asked to work for this project as a result of Mr. McNamara's travels to seven cities where recruitment efforts were made. The initial staff of six has been established, and most of this said staff are now working. The lack of funds for any salaries makes any organized effort impossible.

Equipment for the project is being engineered as a part of normal research and development procedures by large companies interested in new information distribution procedures. Bell Telephone, Western Electric, Ampex, Accoustech, Boom Electric and Gestetner have cooperated so far. This has happened despite the fact that we haven't had the money to incorporate. Illinois Bell and Ampex have provided legal help in several instances.

The vital ingredient now is money. Since it is also a long range problem, perhaps it is best to discuss it in reverse. A year and a half from now the project will have been established well enough to have its value recognized by a large segment of the so-called leadership community. It will, therefore, be possible to raise the necessary funds in many ways. Best would be to get a large annuity pledged by the Ford Foundation. Second to that, it would be possible to hire a fund raising firm to make a national appeal, much like the United Negroe College Fund or the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. The latter is less desirable because it requires the establishment of our service as a "name x", and this can cause useless conflict. To get to that position will require a single large grant for one years operation. It is our feeling that the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership should thus function. Three of the six major members of that body agree with us in this. There is also substance to the possibility that the Field Foundation might grant us this one hundred thousand dollars. The problem, therefore, that we are now faced with is how we might finance three to four months operation that will demonstrate our capabilities. For this we need nearly fifteen thousand dollars and a group with tax exempt status that will receive funds until the Treasury grants our own status.

There are, of course,other possibilities. However, at present this is the clearest course for us to steer.

BUDGET FOR THE OPERATION OF THE AUDIO NEWS SERVICE AND PAMPHLET DIGEST

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

INITIAL EXPENSES

Rental Security	$	100
Insurance		400
Lawyer's Retainer		300
Incorporation Fees & Expenses		100
Phone Installation		148
Office Furniture		100
Carpentry, Electrical Work, Etc.		225
Office Supplies		300
Film Production		2000
Audio Equipment Purchase		700
2 tape decks		
2 preamplifiers		
2 monitor meters		
tape erasing machine		
splicer		
2 head phones		
patch panel and cords		
amplifier		
2 speakers		
miscellaneous supplies		
Audio Equipment Installation		175
		$4,548.00

MONTHLY EXPENSES

Rent	$	110
Salaries		800
Office Equipment Rental		100
Building Maintenance		40
Audio Equipment Maintenance		20
City Travel		140
Phone		600
Teletype		120
Recording Tape		80
Mimeo Paper & Supplies		30
Postage Meter Rental		20
Postage		85
Miscellaneous Office Supplies		150
Travel		300
Accountant		75
		$2,670.00

4 Months	$10,680.00
	$10,680.00
	4,548.00
TOTAL	$15,228.00

ONE YEAR BUDGET

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

INITIAL EXPENSES

Rental Security	$ 250
Insurance	400
Lawyer's Retainer	300
Incorporation Fees and Expenses	100
Electricity Deposit	50
Phone Installation	148
Phone Deposit	500
Teletype Installation	65
Teletype Deposit	200
Office Furniture	400
Carpentry, Electrical Work, etc.	750
Office Equipment:	
2 Electrical Typewriters	350
2 Mechanical Typewriters	250
Mimeo Machine	400
Postal Scale	25
Miscellaneous	450
Office Supplies & Stationery, including mimeo and teletype paper and supplies	1,500
Magazines & Newspaper Subscription (1 year)	2,600
Membership in publicity organizations, Press Club, City News Bureau, etc.	450
Automobile	2,800
to adapt for film crew use	225
Film Equipment purchase	
2 Projectors	700
Rewinds, Splicer & maintenance equip.	75
Film file and mailing cans	65
2 Movie Screens	250

Initial Expenses (Contd.)

Audio Equipment Purchase:	
2 Tape Decks	$ 600
2 Preamplifiers	300
2 Monitor Meters	50
Tape Erasing Machine	10
Splicer	10
2 Head Phones	30
Patch Panel & Cords	150
1 Portable Recorder w/batteries	450
1 Portable Recorder, power operated	650
Amplifier	150
Turntable	100
Speakers (2)	200
Tape	200
3 AM Radios	100
FM Tuner	150
Miscellaneous Supplies	250
Audio Equipment Installation	350
Total Initial Expenses	$17,053.00

SALARIES

5 People @ $4000 a Year (Chicago subsistence) $20000.00 a year	
Miscellaneous part-time people	$5,000

FILM PRODUCTION:

For Film Crew (separate budget)	$18,000,00 min.

MONTHLY OPERATING EXPENSES

Rent	300
Heat	75
Maintenance of Building	180
Auto Maintenance	40
Auto Gas, Oil, etc.	100
Business Machine Maintenance	25
Audio Equipment Maintenance	40
Visual Equipment Maintenance	25
Phone	800
Teletype	120
City News Release Charges	40
Recording Tape	92
Mimeo Paper & Supplies	30
Postage Meter Rental	20
Postage	85
Miscellaneous Office Supplies	150
Expenses for Delivery of releases, attending meetings, etc.	500
Accountant	75
Lawyer	200
Emergency Fund	300
Total	$ 3,197.00
For One year-	$38,364.00

October 14

Well, you've been Executive Director of the Southern Legional Council, Inc. for 14 whole days: Like it? Seriously, Paul, I'm very happy for you and for S.R.C.!

Too, I hear by the Hateandnarsha communication system that Al is married: Congratulate him for me!

I presume that word has well gotten to you by now that I've finked out on the South. I doubt that you were at all surprised. I feel more than a little guilty, but presently I'm being very Epicurean about the whole thing.

Again, Mr. Director, congratulations and good fortune.

Take care

Jo

Leslie 2/23/65

GEORGE MCMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

February 19, 1965

Dear Leslie:

I'm grateful that you laced me on the phone re civil rights bill, etc. I also understand your reaction to the BELEL assignment.

But this is principally to let you know that the Admissions Committee of the MacDowell Colony has made a place for me there from May 1st through August 30.

I am grateful to you for your recommendation which I am sure carried much weight.

Thanks,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Rec'd 2/15/65

file

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

February 12, 1965

Dear Leslie:

Just to tell you how good it was to see you -- and Peggy and Tony.

And to thank you for offering me the hospitality of SRC's offices, phones and research staff.

Gratefully,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Rec'd 2/3/65

File

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

February 2, 1965

Dear Leslie:

Just a note to remind you I am interested still in getting that foundation grant.

And I appreciate your help.

Best,

George

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Sheraton-Dallas Hotel
Southland Center
Dallas, Texas

Monday, August 10

Dear Pat:

filed Research

Thought you might be interested inthe enclosed clip. A local reporter here told me that things are very tense in Dallas right now, that the police are very watchful. And a psychologist I talked to told me that he was riding with the police at night, acting as consultant.

Has any determination been made on my DANVILLE script? I'll be proud to have it appear in tandemm with your piece on St. Augustine which I am sure is going to be good. If you are going to use it, please remember the admonition I gave Leslie: it should be checked by Charles Crowder, editor of the Danville newspaper owned by Charles Womack. And by Crowder's photographer who was an eyewitness to the events.

My own work here is going OK.

You may write me at this hotel, Room 2321.

Best,

George McMillan

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Robert Blakely McNeill
Box 1094
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

Dear Friend and Correspondent:

This is in reply to your letter concerning the Look Magazine article. Of necessity this has to be a form letter because the correspondence was heavy. But I did want you to know how much I appreciated your going to the trouble to write a letter to one whom most of you have never met nor heard of before. Almost none of you were the fan letter or letter-to-the-editor type. Many of you confessed it was your first time for this sort of thing.

I received in all about two hundred and fifty letters. They came from thirty-five states, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia. Four out of five, 80%, were in favor of the article. Around 5% came from those who indicated they were, or I knew to be Negro. There were a good many from Roman Catholics and Jews. Most of the letters were quietly thankful and dispassionate. A good many, however, were scurrilous and should have been written on asbestos.

May I say a word to those who voiced opposition. I was glad to hear from you even if you did express disagreement. I was especially impressed with those who held their tempers, withheld the tired cliches like "do you want your daughter to marry a black man", and attempted to call in logic rather than call out names. I am influenced by such a presentation. So may I thank the loyal opposition who so qualified.

As you might surmise, the article caused no little stir in the local church. But race relations have advanced to the point where very few openly base their condemnation on my racial views. The resentment is here, of course, but it breaks out under other labels.

May I thank you again for writing me and may God give you and me more insight and wisdom for the strenuous days ahead.

Sincerely,

Rob McNeill